

**NORTHERN POWERHOUSES: THE HOMES OF
THE INDUSTRIAL ELITE, c.1780-1875**

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Abstract

This thesis explores the world of the industrial elites of Manchester and Liverpool in the period c.1780-1875, through their houses. The homes of the industrial elites, namely merchants and manufacturers, were extremely important tangible communicators of wealth, taste, and comfort. Whilst status-building was closely connected to the house, this thesis argues that the industrial elites carved their own identities into their domestic spheres and that emulation was not solely linked with aspiration.

The findings of this thesis are based around its three research aims regarding the changing location of houses in Manchester and Liverpool in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the appearance and use of houses, and the daily routines and involvement of the industrial elite in their domestic routines. An analysis of elite residential patterns in Manchester and Liverpool across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has created a more nuanced look at urban geographies of the region in this period. Though some residential patterns differed because of economic and political structure, a key finding has been that the process of suburbanisation in and around Manchester and Liverpool commenced earlier than previous scholarship has suggested. Suburbanisation among the elites began in the latter decades of the eighteenth century and into the early decades of the nineteenth century, with elite suburban communities being firmly established by the 1820s.

This thesis discovered that despite socio-economic and political differences, the industrial elites of Manchester and Liverpool used their houses, gardens, and landed estates in very similar ways. This was a result of conformity which arose from emulation at both a community-based level and the emulation and aspiration of elite, gentrified lifestyle. Also, the merchants and manufacturers analysed within this work were involved in their home at every level of domesticity, from the construction of the house to the financial management of the household, although this latter theme was often a cooperative effort between spouses and family members, adding more to our understanding of gender, domesticity, and familial relations. Through detailed case studies and a combination of sources, the private lives of the industrial elites have been revaluated and redefined, including showing how their houses functions metaphorically and in reality.

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List of Abbreviations

CL: Chetham's Library, Manchester

GL: Gladstone's Library, Hawarden

JRL UOM: John Rylands Library, University of Manchester Special Collections

LRO: Liverpool Record Office

MCAG: Manchester City Art Galleries (Platt Hall, Rusholme)

MRO: Greater Manchester County Record Office

NA: National Archives, Kew

SJC: Sir John Soane Collection, London

QBA: Quarry Bank Archive, Styal

UOL: University of Liverpool Special Collections

WLA: Wigan and Leigh Archives

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Introduction

Across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Manchester and Liverpool were two of the fastest growing towns within Britain. Regional developments in trade, industry and transport propelled the North West as a growing region of wealth and power.¹ The social groups which drove this prosperity, and which benefitted most from it, were the industrial elites, namely merchants and manufacturers. This social group has been viewed in terms of their work and business lives and through their roles in civic and economic developments, rather than their residential and domestic lives.

This thesis takes a new approach towards examining the lives of this social group by conducting a detailed analysis into their residential and domestic lives, with the house itself acting as a microhistory of their identities. Through a comparative, regional-based analysis this thesis reshapes current understandings of identity among mercantile and manufacturing communities across Britain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and it adds important considerations on broader international debates too. Three primary research questions are addressed:

- What were the residential patterns of the elite communities in Manchester and Liverpool and how did these change across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and why?
- In what ways was status-building demonstrated in the physicality of the house and what did this do for the industrial elites?
- How did the industrial elites' domestic sphere operate and how involved was the merchant and manufacturer in this?

These research questions will address three main arguments. Firstly, it will be argued that differences in the residential patterns of the elite populations of Manchester and Liverpool

¹ The title of this thesis is inspired by Mark Girouard's work on English country houses as 'power houses' the homes which belonged to those who held power or wished to possess it. See: Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978), pp. 2-12; see also p.16 of this thesis

arose from the differing economic and political structures of the two locations, especially in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. However, it will also address the similarities and shared characteristics of changing elite residential patterns between the two locations. Analysis of certain similarities and distinctions between the residential patterns of both towns creates a more nuanced look at urban geographies of the region in this period. Secondly, despite these differences, the industrial elites of Manchester and Liverpool used their houses, gardens and landed estates in very similar ways. This thesis argues that this was a result of conformity which arose from emulation at both a community-based level and the emulation and aspiration of elite, gentrified lifestyles too. Thirdly, through the analysis of a rich resource of personal writings and account books and through detailed case studies, this thesis suggests that the merchant and manufacturer's involvement in their home was visible at every level of domesticity, from the construction of the house to the financial management of the household, although this latter theme was often a cooperative effort between spouses and family members. Overall, this thesis argues that the house was an extremely important communicator of wealth, taste and comfort for the industrial elites. Whilst status-building was closely connected to the house, this thesis argues that the industrial elites carved their own identities into their domestic spheres and that emulation was not solely linked with aspiration.

Historiography

This thesis lies at the intersection of four main bodies of literature concerning elite housing and elite lifestyles and it will inform historiographical debates which cover the three areas outlined by the research aims: residential patterns of elite communities in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the role of the industrial elite as a social group, houses of the elite, and domestic material culture, domesticity and gender. This study will offer new analysis and insights in these areas, as well as providing a regional focus of these themes on Manchester and Liverpool.

Residential Patterns in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries Urban Developments

The residential patterns of elite residents of urban locations in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries attracted a great deal of scholarship in the latter decades of the twentieth century.

Christopher Chalklin's *The Provincial Towns of Georgian England* (1974) was a significant study of the urban growth in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries.² Chalklin used regional case studies to examine different stages of the building process of residential housing, from the acquisition of land to the development of residential streets. Chalklin attributed the rapid growth of provincial towns in the late-eighteenth century to three key factors; the development of industry, the development of seaports, and the development of urban amenities, and this latter category including specialised retailers and the assizes court.³ Most larger towns offered some variation of these amenities which attracted a wide range of classes. Chalklin's conclusions were supported by Alan Everitt, who suggested the economic and recreational activities of the upper classes, including races, appealed to the urban-based elites, which he referred to as the 'pseudo gentry' as they followed the same leisure activities as the aristocracy, but they did not have the landed estates to support themselves.⁴

Scholarship has also focused on examples of differentiation and segregation between elite residential developments and those of the working classes. Chalklin discussed the ways in which physical barriers could shape the development of land and thus lead to different developments. For example, rivers, and eventually artificial waterways such as canals, acted as obstacles to the development of the town and in Liverpool the presence of the River Mersey to the west of the town pushed developments in the north, east and south. Moreover, working-class populations tended to congregate around these natural and artificial waterways as they provided employment and cheap housing.⁵

The extent to which the rich and poor mixed in urban areas in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has also been debated in scholarship. In the eighteenth-century town and city, social mixing was more visible than in the nineteenth century urban sphere, as the residential patterns of different classes were constrained by the urban topography. Leonard Schwartz's research on London in the late-eighteenth century highlighted that, whilst the upper-middle classes had not yet dominated entire districts of the city, social segregation in the areas in

² Christopher Chalklin, *The Provincial Towns of Georgian England: A Study of the Building Process 1740-1820* (London: Edward Arnold Ltd, 1974)

³ *Ibid.* p.8, p.32

⁴ Alan Everitt, 'Country, County and Town: Patterns of Regional Evolution in England', in Peter Borsay (ed.) *The Eighteenth-Century Town: A Reader in English Urban History 1688-1820*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2013), Chapter three, pp.100-101

⁵ Chalklin, *The Provincial Towns*, ,pp.70-71

which they lived was a reality but it was constrained to certain streets and squares, and as such wealthy residents often only made up less than half the population of parishes.⁶ This was echoed by Peter Borsay who indicated that square-based residential developments were tangible structures in the urban environment, enforcing segregation and distinction, even though the square was an open thoroughfare and the properties had a unified architectural appearance.⁷

In 'Residential Differentiation in Victorian Cities: A Reassessment' (1984), Colin G. Pooley examined the continuation of segregation and differentiation of residential patterns in nineteenth-century cities.⁸ Whilst H. Carter and S. Wheatley argued there was evidence of residential mixing until the latter decades of the nineteenth century, with the exception of the very rich and very poor, Pooley counterargued this stating that a lack of consistency between studies and the different growth of case study towns were not accounted for and thus, this theory could not be applied to all locations.⁹ Pooley called for the comparisons and contextualisation between residential patterns and their meaning and interpretation among the economy and society, especially the impact on those living in segregated and non-segregated areas and how it filtered into social structure and class consciousness.¹⁰

The historic development of Manchester and Liverpool in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries drew much interest from social commentators at the time. Daniel Defoe in the 1720s, and John Aikin in the 1790s reported on the growth of the two locations, though with slightly more emphasis on Manchester, as they developed from small backwaters to large provincial towns.¹¹ These texts reveal much about contemporary development and improvement schemes in both locations, and as written by travelling observers, they provide

⁶L. D. Schwarz, 'Social Class and Social Geography: The Middle Classes in London at the End of the Eighteenth Century', in Borsay (ed.) *The Eighteenth-Century Town*, Chapter eleven, pp.322-329

⁷ Peter Borsay, 'The English Urban Renaissance: The Development of Provincial Urban Culture, c.1680-1760', Borsay (ed.) *The Eighteenth-Century Town*, Chapter eleven, Chapter five, p.178

⁸ H. Carter & S. Wheatley, 'Residential Segregation in Nineteenth Century Cities', *Area*, Vol. 12, No. 1, (1980), pp.57-62; Colin G. Pooley, 'Residential Differentiation in Victorian Cities: A Reassessment', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Vol. 9, No. 2, (1984), pp.131-144

⁹ *Ibid.* p.132

¹⁰ *Ibid.* pp.135-137

¹¹ Daniel Defoe, *A Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain Divided into Circuits or Journeys*, Volume Three, Fourth Edition, (London: S. Birt, T. Osborne, D. Browne, J. Hodges, J. Osborn, A. Millar and J. Robinson, 1748); John Aikin, *A Description of the Country from Thirty to Forty Miles Round Manchester*, (London: John Stockdale, 1795)

good counterbalances to local guidebooks which sought to praise their town on every page.¹² The later urban development of Manchester and Liverpool has been the subject of a great deal of scholarship since the mid-twentieth century and this renewed interest in the structures of the two cities was likely born from the changes to their topographies during the post-war period, especially with regards to urban planning and deindustrialisation which regionally reflected the ending of one era and the forging of new urban identities.

Seminal texts produced in this time, such as Asa Briggs' *Victorian Cities* (1963) were therefore largely concerned with the civic and industrial development of Manchester, as these were the most changeable factors contemporary to Briggs' writing and as such analysis of these developments overshadowed any discussion on the movement of the urban and suburban populations.¹³ Nonetheless, Briggs' work suggested residential patterns were influenced by civic and industrial growth in the town centre.¹⁴ To an extent this conclusion confirms the central core findings of H. B. Rodgers research article 'The suburban growth of Victorian Manchester' (1962).¹⁵ Rodgers looked more closely at residential patterns in Manchester across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and he inferred that the rapid redevelopment of the urban core of Manchester was a result of residential-focused streets becoming business-orientated which pushed the elite communities into the surrounding suburbs.¹⁶ Rodgers work was clearly influenced by the models of urban towns and population developments as seen in the works of human geographers and economists, such as Ernest Burgess (1925), Homer Hoyt (1939) and Gideon Sjoberg (1955). The theories of Burgess and Hoyt in particular show that urban towns and cities in the nineteenth century were based on concentric zones or sectors which accounted for city planning, immigration and natural geographic boundaries when looking at the growth of cities.¹⁷ In her research on London in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Elizabeth McKellar has highlighted how these

¹² Joseph Aston, *The Manchester Guide, A brief historical description of the towns of Manchester & Salford, the Public Buildings and the Charitable and Literary Institutions*, (Manchester: Joseph Aston, 1804); W. Moss, *The Liverpool Guide; Including a Sketch of the Environs; with a Map of the Town; and Directions for Sea Bathing*, (Liverpool: J. McCreery, 1801)

¹³ Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, (Watford: Oldhams Press, 1963), pp.88-139

¹⁴ *Ibid.* pp.88-139

¹⁵ H. B. Rodgers, 'The suburban growth of Victorian Manchester', *Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society*, Vol.58, (1962), pp.1-12

¹⁶ Rodgers, 'The Suburban Growth...', p.4

¹⁷ Michael Pacione, *Urban Geography: A Global Perspective*, third edition, (London: Routledge, 2009), pp.141-142; Gideon Sjoberg, 'The Preindustrial City', *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol.60, No.5, (March 1955), pp.439-441

boundaries between 'zones' became blurred, and outlying countryside was earmarked even before suburban developments began, by the location of pleasure or health resorts, or the odd commercial enterprise.¹⁸ To an extent this process appears to have been replicated in certain districts around Manchester and Liverpool.

The growth of suburbanisation, and thus of segregation, in the early-nineteenth century was at the forefront of Rodgers' study and he provided detailed analysis of the various regions beyond Manchester which became popular with the elite residents of the town. Despite the chronological structure to this work, Rodgers only loosely situated the suburbanisation of Manchester to the period of the 1830s and 1840s.¹⁹ This era is often attributed to the rise of the suburbs among provincial towns, as demonstrated in the work of Sarah Bilston and F. M. L. Thompson.²⁰ Thompson and Schwartz have provided examples of suburbanisation which occurred before this in the first two decades of the nineteenth century but their case studies were based on London-centric examples and they do not account for developments in provincial areas beyond the capital.²¹ Chalklin's analysis of disruptions to house building in this period expands upon this. Building projects stagnated during the Napoleonic Wars because of restrictions on foreign trade and through localised regional depressions such as a slump in the woollen industry in Leeds in 1808 and 1818-12 and a depression in the cotton industry in Manchester in 1808, resulting in very few houses being constructed.²² Chalklin also noted a national boom in house building in 1818-19 bolstered by multiple factors including: the end of the wars, easier credit for construction, as well as accounting for the demands of urban population increase.²³ However, Chalklin did not differentiate the location of house-building in this period by the intended class of its occupants or location, either urban or suburban.

Jane Longmore's research has offered new insights into understanding these elite residential patterns through focused, regional case studies. Her work has traced movements of the

¹⁸ Elizabeth McKellar, *The Birth of Modern London: The Development and Design of the City 1660-1720*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p.191

¹⁹ Rodgers, 'The Suburban Growth...', pp.4-6

²⁰ Sarah Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs: A Victorian History in Literature and Culture*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2019), p.21; pp.114-139; F. M. L. Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), pp.18-20

²¹ Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, p. 18; Schwarz, 'Social Class and Social Geography...' pp.315-337

²² Chalklin, *The Provincial Towns...*, pp.288-289

²³ *Ibid.* p.295

various members of Liverpool's Corporation between 1660-1800.²⁴ Longmore suggested that by 1800 the Corporation members were already moving towards the countryside on the edge of Liverpool, thus indicating that the start of suburbanisation occurred much earlier than previous estimates.²⁵ Longmore drew inspiration from aforementioned models and theories and her maps of concentric rings illustrating residential patterns demonstrate that mobility and outwards migration in Liverpool in this period was 'local and circular.'²⁶ Longmore's analysis also drew upon her earlier work and that of Colin G. Pooley and Richard Lawton which emphasised the significant role the Liverpool Corporation played in planning structured residential developments.²⁷ Publications such as Edna Rideout's article on Rodney Street in Liverpool or Maurice Spiers' book on Victoria Park in Manchester have used focused case studies to discuss rapidly developing areas in both locations, and these texts help to situate key examples within the overall narrative of understanding elite migration, and of urbanisation and suburbanisation.²⁸

The development of segregated residential locations in both urban and suburb areas conform to eighteenth and nineteenth century notions and aspirations of enlightenment and improvement. By the eighteenth century, as Paul Slack argued, the quest for improvement as a collective standing 'distinguished England from other countries'.²⁹ Personal improvement was linked with comfort and this drove social advancement on a national scale during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and merchants were in the position to act upon this as key players in global markets.³⁰ By the nineteenth century the desire to promote improvement had moved from a distinctly personal endeavor to a public one, although urban

²⁴ Jane Longmore, 'Residential Patterns of the Liverpool Elite c.1660-1800', in Paul Dunne and Paul Janssens (eds.), *Living in the City: Elites and their Residences, 1500-1900*, Studies in European Urban History, Vol.13, (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2008), Chapter 7, pp.175-192

²⁵ Longmore, 'Residential Patterns of the Liverpool Elite', p.182; p.189

²⁶ *Ibid.* p.175

²⁷ Jane Longmore, 'Civic Liverpool: 1680-1800', in John Belchem (ed.), *Liverpool 800: Culture, Character & History*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006), chapter 2, pp.157-8; Richard Lawton, 'The components of demographic change in a rapidly growing port-city: the case of Liverpool in the nineteenth century', in Richard Lawton and Robert Lee (eds.), *Population and Society in western European Port Cities, c.1650-1939 (Liverpool Studies in European Population)* Vol. 2, (2002), pp.91-123; Colin G. Pooley, 'Residential Differentiation in Victorian Cities: A Reassessment', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Vol. 9, No. 2, (1984), pp.131-144

²⁸ Edna Rideout, 'Rodney Street, Liverpool', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Vol. 83, 1931, pp.61-95; Maurice Spiers, *Victoria Park Manchester*, (Manchester: The Chetham Society, 1976)

²⁹ Paul Slack, *The Invention of Improvement: Information and Material Progress in Seventeenth-Century England*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp.1-3

³⁰ *Ibid.* pp.244-252

improvements directly affected housing, and London was at the forefront of this as a result of the destruction caused by the Great Fire in 1666.³¹ Other provincial towns were not far behind in their town improvements including laying out streets, sewage removal and supplying gas and water, and Bob Harris and Charles McKean suggest that the latter decades of the Georgian period were the most instrument in urban improvements in Scottish towns, 'laying the foundations of what was to follow' later in the nineteenth century.³² Improvements could also lead to segregation, as seen in the desire to make residential squares private in London from the 1720s, and in the aforementioned development of gated communities in the 1830s.³³ The extent to which Manchester and Liverpool improved their urban towns is discussed in more detail in the first chapter of this thesis.

The Industrial Elite as a Social Group

Historiographical trends over the past few decades have attempted to define class boundaries by situating different groups within the changing topography of the urban town and city. As such, mercantile communities have been identified as suitable case studies for examining wealth and status in Britain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The lives of merchants and manufacturers are interesting as they represent a liminal group regarding their position in society, with many historical studies often collating their socio-economic position alongside other professionals into a single 'middle class'.³⁴ The exception to this was a minority of individuals who were classified as the wealthiest members of society but deemed to be part of the aforementioned 'pseudo gentry'.³⁵

Within this thesis, men from each end of this spectrum will be discussed and analysed. Some fall into the lower-end comfortable bourgeois, others transcended this and styled themselves as 'gentlemen', and others still rose to become landowners and entered into politics. However, despite how the industrial elites styled themselves, or were styled by their

³¹ McKellar, *The Birth of Modern London*, pp.22-26; Slack, *The Invention of Improvement*, pp.147-148

³² Bob Harris and Charles McKean, *The Scottish Town in the Age of the Enlightenment 1740-1820*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), p.409

³³ McKellar, *The Birth of Modern London*, p.192

³⁴ See: F. M. L. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society: A Social History of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900*, (London: William Collins, 1988)

³⁵ Everitt, 'Country, County and Town...', pp.100-101

contemporaries, the historiography regarding this socio-economic group is somewhat indistinct in its conclusions. A thorough evaluation of this group through a statistical and individual sense is conducted in the first chapter of this thesis through an analysis of trade directories and case studies, and whilst their public lives are important as it informed what they did in the home, this thesis as a whole will concentrate more on their modes of living.

Attempts to define the middle classes and how they conformed to gentility but differed from the gentry has been subjected to much debate in recent historiography. The emergence of a visible, and more definable middle class in Britain is in the 1830s, which R. J. Morris argued is when the middle classes were labelled as such both publicly and also labelled by themselves.³⁶ According to Morris, and supported in the work of Dror Wahrman, the middle classes became most visible through property, politeness, social conduct and evangelical religion.³⁷

The debate about the visibility of the middle classes in the eighteenth century remains more fluid. Wahrman suggested it did exist before this time, though there was 'nothing immediately self-evident' about it.³⁸ Whereas John Smail and Paul Langford argued that middle class identity was already being carved out before the industrial revolution; moreover it was most visible in the domestic sphere through class distinctions created by the purchasing of decorative items.³⁹

Attempts to define the upper boundaries of the middling sorts in this period are somewhat muddled too. In *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (1998), Amanda Vickery referred to eighteenth century society as a 'complicated thread in the texture of gentility', and as such concludes that each socio-economic group were striving for this common goal and social acceptance.⁴⁰ Penelope J. Corfield's conclusions suggest that this was easier for the middle classes in the eighteenth century than in the nineteenth century, given

³⁶ R. J. Morris, *Men, Women and Property in England, 1780-1870: A Social and Economic History of Family Strategies amongst the Leeds Middle Classes*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p.20

³⁷ *Ibid.* pp.22-24; Dror Wahrman, *Imagining the Middle Class: The Political Representations of Class in Britain, c.1780-1840*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp.378-379

³⁸ Wahrman, *Imagining the Middle Class*, p.382

³⁹ John Smail, *The Origins of Middle-class Culture: Halifax, Yorkshire, 1660-1780*, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1994), p.186; Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1723-1783*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p.70; see also: Elaine Chalus & Perry Gauci (eds.), *Revisiting the Police & Commercial People: Essays in Georgian Politics, Society, and Culture in Honour of Professor Paul Langford*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019)

⁴⁰ Amanda Vickery, *The Gentlemen's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1998), pp.14-15, p.36

the 'elasticity of the term' in the earlier period meaning it was easily coveted but changing legal definitions of a gentleman in the nineteenth century restricted its use.⁴¹ This led to a state of homogeneity in the eighteenth century, at least among the wealthy mercantile groups and the local gentry, a common conclusion supported by Corfield, Vickery, Richard G. Wilson and even Smail, though he also counterargued that there was a 'profound cultural gulf' that separated them from the landed elite' and that their social aspirations may have been limited.⁴²

Focused case studies have highlighted how the genteel industrial elite were able to solidify their positions of power. In *Gentleman Merchants: The Merchant Community in Leeds 1700-1830* (1971) Richard G. Wilson conducted the first in-depth socio-economic study of a group of merchants outside of London. Wilson focused on the separate roles of merchants and clothiers in Yorkshire. The wealth of both groups in the eighteenth century created localised mercantile dynasties and as such Wilson's research demonstrated how merchants and clothiers in Yorkshire were able to form an oligarchy of power over local society and corporations.⁴³ This was not a regional phenomenon, as David Pope's 'The Wealth and Social Aspirations of Liverpool's Merchants in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century' and Jane Longmore's 'Cemented by the Blood of a Negro? The Impact of the Slave Trade on Eighteenth Century Liverpool' both highlighted the similar successes and aspirations of Liverpool's merchants in the same period, who were also able to create individual fortunes and achieve prominent social positions.⁴⁴

The literature also records the challenges to status faced by the industrial elites in both Liverpool and Leeds. By 1830 the gentlemen merchants of Leeds and surrounding districts

⁴¹ By the nineteenth century a gentleman was the legal designation for a person living of a private income with no occupation, see: Penelope J. Corfield, 'The Rivals: Landed and Other Gentlemen' in Negley Harte and Roland Quinault (eds.), *Land and Society in Britain, 1700-1914: Essays in Honour of F. M. L. Thompson*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p.26, p.5

⁴² Corfield, 'The Rivals: Landed and Other Gentlemen', p.6; Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, pp.24-25; Richard G. Wilson, *Gentlemen Merchants: The Merchant Community in Leeds 1700-1830*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971), pp.213-215; Smail, *The Origins of the Middle Class*, pp.199-201

⁴³ Richard G. Wilson, *Gentlemen Merchants: The Merchant Community in Leeds 1700-1830*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971)

⁴⁴ David Pope, 'The Wealth and Social Aspirations of Liverpool's Merchants in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century', Chapter 7, pp.164-226 & Jane Longmore, 'Cemented by the Blood of a Negro? The Impact of the Slave Trade on Eighteenth Century Liverpool', Chapter 8, pp.227-251 in, David Richardson, Suzanne Schwarz, Anthony Tibbles (eds.), *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007)

had lost their influential status and positions of power as they had failed to embrace industrialisation in the early-nineteenth century. Wilson argued this was partly due to 'class snobbery' which would have seen their social position amalgamated between a merchant and manufacturer and he suggested the two roles were 'incompatible to the comfort of either.'⁴⁵ The adaptability of merchants was discussed by Sheryllyne Haggerty in *'Merely for Money': Business Culture in the British Atlantic 1750 – 1815* (2012), and Haggerty argued the activities of the slave traders were largely overlooked by society due to the widespread commercialisation of transatlantic trade.⁴⁶ However, Paul Ingram and Brian Silverman challenged this impenetrable status of Liverpool's mercantile community in 'The Cultural Contingency of Structure: Evidence from Entry to the Slave Trade In and Around the Abolition Movement'(2016).⁴⁷ Ingram and Silverman's study highlighted changes brought about by the abolition movement, which diminished the power of Liverpool's slave traders in the public sphere.⁴⁸ Despite this, they concluded that the slave traders still remained an influential force in private social circles and this thesis expands upon this idea to see if the house and domestic sphere were altered and improved to account for the decreased public status.

Beyond their social lives, the industrial elites were keenly aware of their status in both their public and private ventures, and they continually attempted to improve their public image and solidify their status through investment in cultural improvements, such as art galleries, libraries and societies. The ways in which they could achieve gentility and transcend their mercantile and industrial origins through the public and civic spheres have also been extensively researched by David Hancock in *Citizens of the World* (1995).⁴⁹ Through an analysis of eighteenth-century merchants in the British Atlantic world, with a particular focus on London-based merchants, Hancock demonstrated the ways in which these men could rise in the social spectrum through wealth, marriage, purchasing land or entering politics, and he also explained the contextual arguments concerning why this was necessary.⁵⁰ Hancock linked

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* p.132

⁴⁶ Sheryllyne Haggerty in *'Merely for Money': Business Culture in the British Atlantic 1750 – 1815*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012)

⁴⁷ Paul Ingram and Brian S. Silverman, 'The Cultural Contingency of Structure: Evidence from Entry to the Slave Trade In and Around the Abolition Movement', *American Journal of Sociology*, 122, No. 3 (November 2016) pp.755-797

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* pp.755-797

⁴⁹ David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London merchants and the integration of the British Atlantic community, 1735-1785*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* pp.279-219

the mercantile acquisitions of power and status with contemporary debates about respectability and gentility during the time of the enlightenment.⁵¹ Whilst Hancock suggests these men were an exception to the rule, the study of other mercantile communities, such as those in this thesis, highlight the importance of self-identity and representation in this period across a broader region of study.

In their respective chapters in *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism: Middle-Class Identity in Britain 1800 – 1940* (1999) Simon Gunn and Arline Wilson continued Hancock's analysis by focusing on nineteenth-century middle-class identity and the ways in which it was intrinsically linked to the growing urban metropolis, especially how the city could be both moulded by its middle-class residents and it could also mould class identity which was continually formed and reformed in an attempt to maintain boundaries.⁵²

Wilson and Gunn both argued that the mercantile elites of provincial towns were lagging behind the capital, and this was likely due to the relatively late formation of local governance bodies under the 1835 Municipal Corporations Act which allowed the industrial elites to hold positions of power.⁵³ Although, the works of R. J. Morris, Arthur Redford, Craig Horner and Jane Longmore respectively have all demonstrated that whilst the elites of Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Leeds and Glasgow were all dominated by commercial and professional men, many of whom held positions of power on local boards, on court leets or on corporations, and also dominated the drive for the repeal of the Corn Laws.⁵⁴

Wilson demonstrated the ways in which cultural developments could be controlled by the industrial elites in line with their desire for an improved sense of personal identity which was intrinsically linked to local, civic identity.⁵⁵ Wilson highlighted how Liverpool became a

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p.320

⁵² Simon Gunn, 'The public sphere, modernity and consumption: new perspectives on the history of the English middle class', in Alan Kidd and David Nicholls (eds.), *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism: Middle-Class Identity in Britain 1800 – 1940*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), Chapter 2, pp.12-30; Arline Wilson, 'The Florence of the North? The civic culture of Liverpool in the early nineteenth century' in Kidd and Nicholls (eds.), *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism*, Chapter 3

⁵³ Wilson, 'The Florence of the North...', pp.34-46; Gunn, 'The Middle Class, Modernity', pp. 112-128

⁵⁴ Morris, *Men, Women and Property in England*, pp.61-63; Arthur Redford assisted by Ina Stafford Russell, *The History of Local Government in Manchester*, Vol. I, (London: Longmans, Green & Company, 1939); Craig Horner, 'Proper Persons to Deal with': *Identification and Attitudes of Middling Society in Manchester, c1730-c1760*, Doctoral thesis (PhD), Manchester Metropolitan University, (2001), Appendix 2, pp.289-291, available at EthOS <<https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?did=1&uin=uk.bl.ethos.367696>> [Last Accessed 17 December 2021]; Longmore, 'Residential Patterns of the Liverpool Elite', pp.175-192

⁵⁵ Wilson, 'The Florence of the North' pp.37-39

nationally and internationally recognised centre of culture and education in the early-nineteenth century, which superseded her northern rivals and gave way to the notion of regional identities through ‘the Liverpool gentleman, Manchester man and Salford lad.’⁵⁶ This thesis demonstrates how this popular saying would continue to mould the self-identity and perceived identity of the industrial elites well into the mid-nineteenth century.

Gunn suggested that residential patterns of the middle-class and their retreat to the suburbs of Manchester gave way to the rapid development of the central core of the city and enabled the Corporation to invest in new cultural and commercial buildings such as: a new town hall, a new library and a new cotton exchange, to supplement Manchester’s position as ‘Britain’s second city’ and it achieved city status decades before Liverpool.⁵⁷ In an indirect way, Gunn argued that the unique commercial district at the centre of Manchester, created by the absence of middle-class housing, enabled it to develop a strong sense of civic identity.⁵⁸ This is an important consideration of this thesis and, as Gunn noted, this was a residential pattern not seen in contemporary cities such as London, Paris, Berlin or Vienna, however, he made no comparisons with Liverpool in this respect, which this thesis will re-address.⁵⁹

The personal lives of the industrial elites are often only intermittently revealed among wider studies of the social networks of elite communities in the region or through individual family biographies. Although Bill Williams’s research on Manchester’s Jewish community and Anthony Howe’s research on the Lancastrian cotton industry have focused largely on the public lives of the men in each of their case studies, both examples also briefly examine personal relationships, for example inter-marriages among communities, which were testament to the foundation of business dynasties.⁶⁰ Religious and spiritual connections were also the focus of community networks. Williams argued that Jewish residential patterns in Manchester in the nineteenth century were driven by familial relationships.⁶¹ Likewise, John Seed’s focus on Manchester’s nineteenth-century Unitarian chapels emphasised the links between the mercantile congregation and their widespread involvement in the civic

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* p.41

⁵⁷ Gunn, ‘The Middle Class, Modernity’, pp.113-115

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* p.115

⁵⁹ Gunn, ‘The Middle Class, Modernity’, p.115

⁶⁰ Bill Williams, *The Making of Manchester Jewry 1740-1875*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976), pp.82-86; Anthony Howe, *The Cotton Masters 1830-1860*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp.73-77

⁶¹ Williams, *The Making of*, p.85

development of the town especially in local politics, education and societies.⁶² R. J. Morris conducted a similar study of the Unitarian mercantile community in and around Leeds and Yorkshire and found similar involvement in public activities and civic life.⁶³ Howe reiterated these conclusions and he argued that the concentration of Unitarian congregations in Lancashire was largely due to the dominance of the cotton industry and the powerful ties of the community.⁶⁴

The houses of the mercantile and manufacturing communities have started to become more prominent in twenty-first century literature, but this historiographical area of research is still in its infancy. The value of the house among the industrial elites was evident in Alice Johnson's study of Belfast's industrial elite community. Johnson concluded that it was the manufacturing and mercantile communities who were the most mobile around the city and its suburbs, with 55% of those in her study moving once or more between 1843-1870.⁶⁵ Johnson linked housing, residential patterns and status and she demonstrated that upward social mobility prompted the merchant and manufacturer to move to increasingly larger, and more expensive houses.⁶⁶ This was not a regional phenomenon, as several regional examples in Christopher Chalkin's research also showed the ways in which the merchants and manufacturers were involved in building projects as another form of investment.⁶⁷ Though Margaret Hunt as suggested that, instead of adding to status, the suburban and countryside houses of merchants were 'commuter houses' designed to give the 'patina of the gentry', and thus served to reinforce the gap between the industrial elite and the gentry.⁶⁸

Margaret Ponsonby has written more extensively about the domestic interiors of manufacturing families in *Stories From Home: English Domestic Interiors 1750-1850* (2007). In particular she sought to examine the ways in which manufacturing families, such as the Boultons attempted to convey status in their houses in Birmingham by choosing furnishings

⁶² John Seed, 'Theologies of Power: Unitarianism and the social relations of religious discourse' in R.J. Morris (ed.) *Class, Power and Social Structure in British Nineteenth Century Towns*, (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1986), pp.107-156

⁶³ Morris, *Men, Women and Property*, pp.25-26

⁶⁴ Howe, *The Cotton Masters*, p.69

⁶⁵ Alice Johnson, 'The Civic Elite of Mid-Nineteenth-Century Belfast', *Irish Economic and Social History*, Vol. 43, No.1, (2016), p.76

⁶⁶ Johnson, 'The Civic Elite of Mid-Nineteenth-Century Belfast', p.82

⁶⁷ Chalklin, *The Provincial Towns*, p.59

⁶⁸ Margaret R. Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680-1780*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996), pp.3-5

designed and purchased in London.⁶⁹ Ponsonby also assessed the extent to which the householder in provincial towns chose to emulate or reject London-centric fashions based on their judgements on cost and appropriateness.⁷⁰

There has been little similar analysis of the domestic situations of the industrial elites in the North West. To an extent biographies of certain families, such as Sydney G. Checkland's *The Gladstones* (1971) and the individual works of Mary B. Rose, Peter Spencer and David Sekers on the Greg family recorded more information about the domestic situation of the families and they discussed the involvement of wives and children.⁷¹ Nonetheless, analysis of the houses these families inhabited and how they were used for daily routines or to convey status are absent from these texts and as such leave a considerable void in our knowledge and understanding of these families and their world.

Houses of the Elite

There is a rich body of literature which has used the house as a microcosm of wider themes concerning status, comfort and convenience. Much of the attention of these architectural histories have focused on the country house, such as Mark Girouard's monumental study, *The Victorian Country House* (1971) which ignited an academic interest in socio-architectural history, particularly among the homes of the aristocracy and upper-classes. Girouard's assessment of the form and function of some five hundred historical properties redefined the value of the house in academic research. Moreover, his work served as an implement of change throughout the 1970s. In October 1974, the Victoria and Albert Museum ran a compelling exhibition, 'The Destruction of the English Country House' in preparation for the subsequent year of European Architectural Heritage in 1975.⁷² The exhibition propelled the country house into a status as the key expression of Britain's built heritage, which

⁶⁹ Margaret Ponsonby, *Stories from Home: English Domestic Interiors, 1750-1850*, (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007), pp.27-31

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* p.31

⁷¹ See: S. G. Checkland, *The Gladstones: A Family Biography, 1764-1851*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971); Mary B. Rose, *The Greg's of Quarry Bank: The Rise and Decline of a Family Firm 1750-1914*, (Cambridge: The Press Syndicate, 1986); Peter Spencer, *Portrait of Hannah Greg 1766-1828*, (Styal: Quarry Bank Mill Trust, 1985); David Sekers, *A Lady of Cotton: Hannah Greg, Mistress of Quarry Bank Mill*, (Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2015)

⁷² Ruth Adams, 'The V&A, The Destruction of the Country House and the Creation of 'English Heritage'', *Museum & Society*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (March 2013), pp.1-18

fundamentally preceded the shift in the largely apathetic public perception of historic, aristocratic properties, alongside the values and history encompassed within them. The decade of the 1970s therefore marked a resolute pinnacle for the future of the country house, as both an agent of social and architectural academic research and in the symbolic use of the country house as a physical embodiment of British cultural heritage.

Girouard's evaluation of the country house as an emblem of power, wealth and culture was reaffirmed by the chosen case studies in both *The Victorian Country House* and his later work, *Life in the English Country House* (1978).⁷³ His examination of the external and internal architectural features of these houses showed the various methods used to construct the country house, the impact of technology upon the home and how the use of the domestic sphere was divided into public and private spheres, which were then further subdivided for use based upon status, age, gender and household position. Girouard's dissection of the country house into particular themes and ideas based upon the fluidity of internal and external domestic spaces provided a useful foundational methodology for subsequent studies of the home, including this thesis. A particularly crucial theme examined by Girouard was the role of the building as a 'power house', as he believed the architecture, size and scale of property revealed the ambitions of the owner; 'When a new man bought an estate and built on it, the kind of house which he built showed exactly what level of power he was aiming at.'⁷⁴ Girouard's educement of the power house was reflected in the terminology of architectural treatises dating from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the same period of the construction of many country houses. For example, in *Of Building* (1696) Roger North urged inspiring gentlemen to reflect their own personalities and aspirations within their new homes: 'Consider well your owne ambition, that is what sort of housing you desire... the distinction of well borne and bredd, is by elegant and neat living.'⁷⁵ North's writing certainly alluded to the physical and psychological impact of the house, which was then later mirrored by Girouard's appraisal of 'statement' domestic architecture.

Following the precedent set by Girouard, subsequent studies concerning the country house and its wider historical themes have further contributed to our understanding of elite

⁷³ Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978)

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* p.3

⁷⁵ Howard Colvin & John Newman (eds.), *Of Building: Roger North's Writing on Architecture*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981) p.31

lifestyles in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society* (2003), edited by Dana Arnold, contained several insightful academic studies.⁷⁶ Arnold and the other historians in this edited volume expanded on themes which Girouard left undeveloped, such as the role of women in the country house. Arnold, like Girouard, also stressed the dual functionality of the house in this period, through its everyday function as a domestic space and through its metaphorical function as a symbolism of power.⁷⁷

Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley conducted a noteworthy and substantial evaluation of the country house in *Creating Paradise* (2000) by emphasising the methods and costs behind the construction of the property and explaining what this could reveal about status.⁷⁸ This methodology was drawn from non-hegemonic studies of different standards of residential housing in various urban environments across Britain. These examples included the social, economic and financial assessment of urban London as seen in John Summerson's *Georgian London* (1945), Harold James Dyos's *A Victorian Suburb: A Study of the Growth of Camberwell* (1961) and Christopher Chalklin's *The Provincial Towns of Georgian England: A Study of the Building Process 1740-1820* (1974).⁷⁹ A particular strength of Wilson and Mackley's work was its comparative approach to building processes across different period and different regions. As such Wilson and Mackley created useful parameters, absent from other literature, to distinguish a country house from a house in the country, based upon the size of the house and the estate.⁸⁰

In *The Gentleman's House in the British Atlantic World 1680-1780* (2015) Stephen Hague conducted a study on gentlemen's houses of the late-seventeenth and eighteenth-centuries.⁸¹ Hague's comparative analysis of Anglo-American properties fulfilled a gap in

⁷⁶ Dana Arnold (ed.), *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society*, (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing Ltd, 2003)

⁷⁷ Arnold, 'The Country House: Form, Function and Meaning' in Arnold (ed.) *The Georgian Country House...*Chapter 1, pp.16-19

⁷⁸ Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley, *Creating Paradise: The Building of the English Country House, 1660-1880*, (London: Continuum International, 2000)

⁷⁹ See: John Summerson, *Georgian London* (London: Pleiades Books, 1945); Harold James Dyos' *A Victorian Suburb: A Study of the Growth of Camberwell* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1961); Chalklin, *The Provincial Towns...*

⁸⁰ Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, p.5

⁸¹ Stephen Hague, *The Gentleman's House in the British Atlantic World 1680-1780*, (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015)

existing academic literature concerning the form, function and design of the smaller houses of prominent individuals and this greatly added to the historiography of material culture and status of the eighteenth century. Hague demonstrated that the domestic property of any size could still be used as an agent of social and cultural messages and his case studies go some way to bridging the socio-economic divide between the upper-middle classes and the aristocracy. The comparative approach to houses in American Colonies and the West Country have highlighted the fluidity of design and similar patterns of domesticity between Britain and her former colonies.⁸²

Hague's work also highlighted that careful balance between status and control exhibited among the architecture of gentlemen's houses, which were specifically designed to represent an equilibrium between dynamism and stability.⁸³ This was reflective of the characteristics of the social group itself and it made their houses distinct from other examples of elite domestic architecture.⁸⁴ This supports the conclusions of Bernard L. Herman in *Town House: Architecture and Material Life in the Early American City, 1780-1830* (2005), that urban properties reflected 'the presence of place, situation, comportment and circumstance.'⁸⁵ Likewise, Hancock's research of London's eighteenth-century mercantile community, discovered that they also displayed self-control and cost-saving measures as much as they were attempting to build status.⁸⁶ These localised studies offer an interesting foundation for future historiographical comparisons of mercantile and gentlemen's houses elsewhere in the country, which is a notable absence from scholarship.

The historiography of the townhouse in the eighteenth century is somewhat restricted to examples of towns and cities where these properties survive in large numbers. Christine Casey's *The Dublin Townhouse: Form, Function and Finance* (2010) thematically examined Dublin's eighteenth-century topography through the analysis of status and domestic material culture as seen in the work of Girouard, Arnold and Hague.⁸⁷ However, *The Dublin Townhouse*

⁸² For more examples of material culture in the British Atlantic world see: Jennifer Van Horn, *The Power of Objects in Eighteenth-Century British America*, (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2009)

⁸³ Hague, *The Gentleman's House*, pp.26-48

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* pp.26-48

⁸⁵ Bernard L. Herman, *Town House: Architecture and Material Life in the Early American City, 1780-1834*, (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), p.2

⁸⁶ Hancock, *Citizens of the World...*, p.322; p.342

⁸⁷ Christine Casey (ed.), *The Eighteenth-Century Dublin Townhouse: Form, Function and Finance*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010)

focused on several interdisciplinary perspectives and used a wide range of published and unpublished sources to add to its methodology. Therefore, it opened new interdisciplinary perspectives concerning the role of the townhouse, in particular discussions on how the form and function of the house could be used to display power in an urban setting, even when the house had been designed as part of a residential development. Casey highlighted the influence of speculative builders upon the internal and external design of the house, and they concluded that the relatively plain façades was the result of cautious economies rather than emulation of patrician styles.⁸⁸ This supports Connor Lucey's analysis of the interiors of eighteenth-century townhouses in Dublin, London and Philadelphia. Lucey concluded that ornamental interiors were the by-product of standardised architectural designs on the exterior of the house and that plasterwork 'emerged as one of the most effective visual and material means to reflect new architectural tastes in a standardised brick shell.'⁸⁹ In her exploration of London's eighteenth century townhouses, Rachel Stewart discussed how the internal appearance of the townhouse could then affect the leasing of that property and its longevity in the property market, with leases of various length designed to suit the activities and budgets of potential wealthy tenants.⁹⁰

The duality of urban and rural residences also became prominent in the latter decades of the eighteenth century and the early-nineteenth century and the relationship between the elite and their properties has been debated in literature. The emergence of the rural residences had a significant impact upon the domestic practices of the elite and Dana Arnold's edited collection of essays on Georgian villas in England, Scotland and Ireland has shown how this style of property was emulated throughout the social classes across different geographies.⁹¹ M. H. Port's chapter 'Town and Country House: Their Interaction' in *The Georgian Country House*, argued that physical demonstrations of wealth were upheld by occupying and maintaining two houses.⁹² In her analysis of 24 'country houses' of slave traders around

⁸⁸ Christine Casey, 'The Dublin Domestic Formula', in Casey (ed.), *The Eighteenth-Century Dublin Townhouse...*, Chapter 3, p.57

⁸⁹ Conor Lucey, *Building Reputations: Architecture and the Artisan, 1750-1830*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), p.123

⁹⁰ Rachel Stewart, *The Town House in Georgian London*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), p.72

⁹¹ See: Dana Arnold (ed.), *The Georgian Villa*, (Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2011)

⁹² M. H. Port, 'Town and Country House: Their Interaction', in Dana Arnold (ed.) *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society*, (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2003), Chapter 7

Liverpool, Jane Longmore argued that the properties may have acted as 'rural retreats' such as weekend or summer residences, in an emulation of the domestic patterns of London merchants at the time and also those of the landowning elite from the seventeenth century.⁹³ Likewise, Jon Stobart's research also emphasised the role of the countryside villa as a place mainly for recreation and relaxation.⁹⁴

The ties between the British Empire and trading of enslaved peoples to the mercantile communities of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were inescapable. Although many mercantile families operated at a distance far removed geographically and socially from the conditions of slavery, recent research has revealed how omnipresent it was, especially in the materiality of their houses.⁹⁵ Within the past decade, the historiography concerning country houses and the elite have shifted to focus on these themes. In 2013 the edited collection *Slavery and the Country House*, edited by Madge Dresser and Andrew Hahn, explored the global links between properties in the United Kingdom and former plantations elsewhere in the world and Jane Longmore's chapter on Liverpool slave traders is especially relevant to this thesis.⁹⁶ A recent publication, *The Country House Past, Present, Future: Great Houses of The British Isles* (2018) has demonstrated the ways in which the discourse on country houses has changed in the 21st century, by combining a socio-architectural history of country houses, alongside thematic chapters, such as Madge Dresser's 'Legacies of British Slave Ownership: Facing a Difficult Past'.⁹⁷

⁹³ Jane Longmore, 'Rural retreats: Liverpool slave traders and their country houses' in Madge Dresser and Andrew Hann (eds.), *Slavery and the British Country House*, (Swindon: English Heritage, 2013), pp.44-45; J. T. Cliffe, *the World of the Country House in Seventeenth-Century England*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), pp.146-147

⁹⁴ Jon Stobart, 'So agreeable and suitable a place': The Character, Use and Provisioning of a Late Eighteenth-Century Suburban Villa', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 1, (2015) pp.89-102.

⁹⁵ A key exploration of these themes has been conducted by the National Trust in 2020. See: Sally-Anne Huxtable, Corinne Fowler, Christo Kefalas, Emma Slocombe (eds.), *Interim Report on the Connections between Colonialism and Properties now in the Care of the National Trust, Including Links with Historic Slavery*, (Swindon: National Trust, 2020) <<https://nt.global.ssl.fastly.net/documents/colonialism-and-historic-slavery-report.pdf>> [Last Accessed 8 October 2021]

⁹⁶ Jane Longmore, 'Rural retreats: Liverpool slave traders and their country houses' in Madge Dresser and Andrew Hann (eds.), *Slavery and the British Country House*, (Swindon: English Heritage, 2013), Chapter Three, pp.43-52

⁹⁷ Madge Dresser, 'Legacies of British Slaver Ownership: Facing a Difficult Past' in Jeremy Musson and David Cannadine (eds.), *The Country House Past, Present, Future: Great Houses of The British Isles*, (New York: Rizzoli, 2018), pp.343-348

Subsequent publications, including Stephanie Barczewski's *Country Houses and the British Empire, 1700-1930* (2014) and Margot Finn and Kate Smith's edited collection *The East India Company at Home 1757-1857* (2018) link the tangible with the intangible, and each book examined the ways in the house was used as a cultural display of Empire, including the construction of identities and commodities as a tool of cosmopolitanism.⁹⁸ Whilst an analysis of the home alongside the British Empire and the trading of enslaved peoples are not central to the aims this thesis, it is important to acknowledge that they are concurrent themes, as they underpin how many merchants in Liverpool and Manchester consolidated their wealth, and many biographies of individual families reveal links with slavery.⁹⁹

Though houses in the North West region feature in these areas of research, there has been little expansion on the significance of the house beyond its immediate locality, or any comparative studies conducted between different locations. The architectural significance of Manchester and Liverpool were first detailed by Nikolaus Pevsner in his *Architectural Guides to South Lancashire* (1969).¹⁰⁰ Pevsner's assessment is an invaluable street-by-street record of historical architecture in post-war Britain. Despite this, the compendium-style nature of his volumes coupled with the substantial area he covered resulted in minimal notes for each building and the text is evocative of Pevsner's subjective view with many non-hegemonic buildings, such as cinemas, housing and places of industry being dismissed as they were deemed 'of little interest' and therefore the significance of many houses was overlooked and underestimated.¹⁰¹

Pevsner's guides were republished in the early twenty-first century and the content was amended and updated by Clare Hartwell and Joseph Sharples, for Manchester and Liverpool respectively.¹⁰² The modern interpretation by Hartwell and Sharples of Lancashire's built heritage was much more profound and detailed than Pevsner's original book, to the extent

⁹⁸ Stephanie Barczewski, *Country Houses and the British Empire, 1700-1930*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014); Margot Finn and Kate Smith (eds.), *The East India Company at Home, 1757-1857*, (London: UCL Press, 2018)

⁹⁹ Checkland, *The Gladstones*; Rose, *The Greg's of Quarry Bank*; Peter Earle, *The Earles of Liverpool: A Georgian Merchant Dynasty*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015); Alan Kidd, *Samuel Touchet (c.1705-1773)*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (2004), < <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/57578>> [Last Accessed 8 October 2021]

¹⁰⁰ Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: South Lancashire*, (London: Yale University Press, 1969)

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* pp.223-4

¹⁰² Clare Hartwell, *Manchester*, (London: Penguin Books, 2001); Joseph Sharples, *Liverpool*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004)

that his one volume has subsequently been split into two volumes for the South East region around Manchester and the South West region around Liverpool. Architectural guides solely focused on the two cities and their immediate perambulation further adds to the depth of knowledge concerning the development of both locations. Nonetheless, as architectural histories rather than social histories, there is little space devoted to the relationship between the buildings and those who inhabited them. Other publications, such as those by English Heritage/Historic England have conducted detailed investigations between buildings, their former uses and their contextual histories, but these have tended to focus solely on industrial buildings, or industrial areas of each city, viewing the region for its rich manufacturing heritage but with little or no discussion on the many domestic buildings.¹⁰³ As such, these works provided a useful context on which this thesis can build upon and expand with more research, to demonstrate the value of these houses beyond their local architectural value.

Critical in-depth studies of residential areas in both Manchester and Liverpool, such as Maurice Spiers *Victoria Park* (1974) and Susan George's *Liverpool Park Estates: Their Legal Basis, Creation and Early Management* (2000) have vastly contributed to our understanding of the suburban environment and these detailed studies often act as an in-between among architectural histories and urban histories.¹⁰⁴ Spiers and George's work focused on the development of park-based residential communities in the 1830s and 1840s. The particular emphasis of both texts was upon their legal foundation, especially important as Spiers noted because Victoria Park in Manchester was the first example of such a residential development in the country.¹⁰⁵ The successes and failures of these parks were also analysed as they were early experiments of socio-residential business ventures. The work of Spiers and George will inform the analysis of these park communities in this thesis, and more research will be conducted to examine how these elite communities sought to reinforce status through domesticity and to what extent building regulations led to a conformity of architectural styles across both Liverpool and Manchester.

¹⁰³ Simon Taylor and Julian Holder, *Manchester's Northern Quarter: The greatest meer village*, (Swindon: English Heritage, 2008); Michael E. Rose, Keith Falconer, Julian Holder, *Ancoats: Cradle of Industrialisation*, (Swindon: English Heritage, 2011); Joseph Sharples and John Stonard, *Built on Commerce: Liverpool's Central Business District*, (Swindon: Historic England, 2015)

¹⁰⁴ Spiers, *Victoria Park Manchester*; Susan George, *Liverpool Park Estates: Their Legal Basis, Creation and Early Management*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000)

¹⁰⁵ Spiers, *Victoria Park Manchester*, pp.1-12; George, *Liverpool Park Estates*, pp.5-66

By comparing elite residential patterns with those of merchant and manufacturers, this thesis supports the conclusions of Port and Longmore that the use of urban and suburban properties was subjective.¹⁰⁶ Moreover, it also expands upon the study of the domestic habits in the urban environment, which has largely focused on properties of the lower classes, such as eighteenth-century tradesmen in the region researched by Hannah Barker.¹⁰⁷ This thesis highlights the importance of the location of the urban house to business premises and amenities of the town and how this linked to status.

Material culture, Domesticity and Gender

There have been extensive historiographical debates regarding status, consumption and material goods; in the past 40 years, theories have moved away from those of Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J. H. Plumb, who presented oversimplistic models which did not account for the agency or subjectivity of the purchaser. In *The Birth of a Consumer Society* (1983) McKendrick argued there was a 'trickle down' effect which restricted the driving forces of middle-class consumerism to imitation and emulation.¹⁰⁸ McKendrick's conclusions were inspired by historical interpretations of conspicuous consumption such as those of Thorstein Veblen in *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899).¹⁰⁹ Veblen argued that modes of consumption were the basis for social status and that social emulation was the driving force behind conspicuous consumption.¹¹⁰ Veblen's work in the late-nineteenth century was, in turn, influenced by eighteenth-century debates on the changing definitions of luxury. In *Political Discourses* (1752) David Hume claimed luxury was a progressive part of society and as such it was available to all through consumerism, which could gratify the senses and in turn support the economy.¹¹¹ However, it must also be noted that Hume was writing in midst of Britain's first consumer era and his bias towards commerce is evident in his work, and Slack argued

¹⁰⁶ M. H. Port, 'Town and Country House: Their Interaction', in Arnold (ed.), *The Georgian Country House...*, p.138

¹⁰⁷ Hannah Barker, *Family and Business during the Industrial Revolution*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017)

¹⁰⁸ Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, J.H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society*, (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1983), p.11

¹⁰⁹ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1994)

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.* pp.1-260

¹¹¹ See: 'Of Commerce' in David Hume, *Political Discourses*, (Edinburgh: R. Fleming, 1752)

that, in some instances, the vices associated with old luxuries in the eighteenth century halted societal improvement.¹¹²

More recent concentrated studies of domestic material culture have reinterpreted middle-class and elite consumer habits, especially debates regarding the commercialisation of luxury in the eighteenth century.¹¹³ In *A Taste for Luxury in Early Modern Europe: Display, Acquisition and Boundaries* (2017), Marie Steinrud's chapter 'Books, Wine and Fine China: Consumption Patterns of a *Brukspatron* in Early Nineteenth-Century Sweden' and Ulla Ijäs's chapter 'English Luxuries in Nineteenth-Century Vyborg' both focused on early-nineteenth century domestic consumption among mercantile households.¹¹⁴ Steinrud examined the domestic spending of a *brukspatron*, the owner and manager of an ironworks, whereas Ijäs looked at the Russian-Finnish mercantile elite in Vyborg and both studies show the extent of global academic research of the domestic habits of this socio-economic group. These studies of consumerism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries reinforced the link between consumption and status, but they also accounted for identity and personalities. The mercantile elite of Vyborg favoured high-status goods which were manufactured in England or elsewhere to English designs which communicated wealth, culture and quality within the community, to the extent local newspapers lamented over the possible decline of traditional handicraft skills, given the popularity of purchased goods.¹¹⁵ Conversely, Steinrud's *brukspatron* displayed more economic restraint. He was economical and practical and any high-value purchases he made were of tangible goods which had a longevity to them, for example jewellery or he spent the money on construction projects, and crucially he was determined to distance himself from the 'wasteful' spending of the local nobility.¹¹⁶ The lack of emulation of the nobility and gentry by the lesser elite was also evident in Hague's work and he concluded that West Country gentlemen in the eighteenth century did not actively emulate the aristocracy, instead

¹¹² Jan de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behaviour and The Household Economy 1650 to the Present*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) pp.44-59; Slack, Slack, *The Invention of Improvement*, pp.204-205

¹¹³ Maxine Berg, *Luxury & Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp.21-45

¹¹⁴ Johanna Ilmakunnas & Jon Stobart (eds.), *A Taste for Luxury in Early Modern Europe: Display, Acquisition and Boundaries*, (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017)

¹¹⁵ Ulla Ijäs, 'English Luxuries in Nineteenth-Century Vyborg' in Ilmakunnas and Stobart (eds.), *A Taste for...*, p.269

¹¹⁶ Marie Steinrud, 'Books, Wine and Fine China: Consumption Patterns of a *Brukspatron* in Early Nineteenth-Century Sweden' in *Ibid.* pp.185-188

preferring to create a moderate balance of old and new goods.¹¹⁷ In her exploration of the British domestic interior and consumer habits in the nineteenth century, Deborah Cohen argued that morality also affected taste, as much as cost.¹¹⁸ Cohen suggested that the Design Reform Movement drew upon an early-nineteenth century wave of Christian evangelicalism and applied the debate to art, design and objects, which then affected the debate over interiors reflecting moral character from the mid-nineteenth century onwards.¹¹⁹ However, beyond Hancock's analysis of the houses of London's merchant population in the eighteenth century there has been little interpretation of the spending habits of mercantile communities.¹²⁰

It is too simplistic to simply look at material culture and consumerism as evidence of status. Pierre Bourdieu argued consumerism was the product of culture and taste and as such, our understanding of culture is based upon education, class and upbringing.¹²¹ Bourdieu referred to habitus as a product of social and cultural conditioning, which is therefore something which affects perceptions of taste. Simultaneously he refers to the doxa, an elite-led process of defining culture and taste, which is perceived as a natural order, but it is actually a fabrication and social construction.¹²² Therefore, according to Bourdieu, the process of consumption can only be understood within the framework of a social, cultural and psychological background: the boundaries between class distinctions are not simply economic.

Likewise, it is important to frame elite consumption habits within the context of the household and daily life. In *Consumption and the Country House* (2016) Jon Stobart and Mark Rothery made the connections between consumption as both the function of daily routines and also spending as a socio-political statement.¹²³ The lack of correlation between architectural and social histories regarding a detailed analysis of daily lives and routines remains a contested theme within the historiography. In 'Why are houses interesting?' (2007)

¹¹⁷ Hague, *Gentleman's House*, pp.95-106

¹¹⁸ Deborah Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), pp.1-32

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* p.28

¹²⁰ Hancock, *Citizens of the World*, pp.347-375

¹²¹ Pierre Bourdieu (Translated by Richard Nice), *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), pp.18-21

¹²² Bourdieu, *Distinction*, pp.169-175

¹²³ Jon Stobart & Mark Rothery (eds.), *Consumption and the Country House*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp.53-82

Peter Borsay critiqued Peter Guillery's methodological approach regarding his analysis on houses in eighteenth-century London, as there was little discussion of the internal layout of the house and the effects of this upon the domestic habits of the household.¹²⁴

Within the current literature regarding domesticity there are a number of debates concerning the separation of the house into different spheres; based on location in the home, intended room use and the gender, and social position of the householder. These debates arise from architectural treaties and guides from the seventeenth century onwards such as Roger North's *Of Building* (1696), Robert Kerr's *The Gentleman's House* (1865) and J. J. Stevenson's *House Architecture* (1880), which traced the gradual inclusion of discernible physical boundaries within the fabric and form of the house.¹²⁵ The relationships between larger and smaller spaces in the home was also evident in Jane Hamlett's research on late-nineteenth century middle-class houses which questioned evidence of privacy in the home and the relationship between the arrangement of rooms and the household.¹²⁶

Individual identities and the fabric of the household currently present a divide within the historiography concerning masculinity and domesticity, which has been identified by Karen Harvey and Alexandra Sheppard. Harvey and Sheppard argued that this was a result of the separate unifications of studies of the early modern period, including the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and those of the modern period encompassing the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹²⁷ Despite the divide in the historiography, there exists a similar discourse in themes relating to socio-economic status and masculinity which links both the works of Shepard on early-modern masculinity and the works of John Tosh on nineteenth-century domesticity, which this thesis will further verify.¹²⁸

In line with the changing theories on middle-class spending among scholarship in the late-twentieth century, there were also significant changes to study of the agency of men and women as household consumers. In 1980 Carole Shammas identified the decade of the 1720s

¹²⁴ Peter Borsay, 'Why are houses interesting?', *Urban History*, Vol.34, No.2, (2007), pp.338-346; Peter Guillery, *The Small House in Eighteenth-Century London*, (London: Yale University Press, 2004)

¹²⁵ Howard Colvin & John Newman (eds.), *Of Building: Roger North's Writing on Architecture*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981); Robert Kerr, *The Gentleman's House*, (London: J. Murray, 1865); J. J. Stevenson, *House Architecture*, (London: Macmillan, 1880)

¹²⁶ Hamlett, *Material Relations*, p.5

¹²⁷ Karen Harvey and Alexandra Shepard, 'What Have Historians Done with Masculinity? Reflections on Five Centuries of British History, circa 1500-1950', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 2, (April 2005), pp.276-279

¹²⁸ Harvey and Shepard, 'What Have Historians Done with Masculinity?' p.279

as a definite turning point, linking women as the catalyst for consumer behaviour in the domestic sphere.¹²⁹ However, later research by Lorna Weatherill and Margot Finn on the same economic period revealed men were just as prolific consumers for the domestic sphere and this was evidence in their recording of mundane household items in account books.¹³⁰ This was supported by Karen Harvey's assessment of eighteenth century men's account books and commonplace books, which again highlighted household consumption across a wide range of classes and backgrounds.¹³¹ Harvey also presented the oeconomic, efficiently ordered household as a training ground for masculine developments in the public sphere.¹³² Likewise, Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall suggested the domestic sphere presented men with a suitable form of domestic power, but they argued it acted as a haven from the immoral political and economic-driven public sphere outside the home.¹³³ In *'A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class in Victorian England'* (1999), Tosh argued that the domestic sphere reflected both masculine and feminine sensibilities and ideologies, as it was the male duty to provide and protect for his family.¹³⁴ Nonetheless, Tosh's work highlighted how there was an alteration in the mid-nineteenth century and that the public sphere was the cause for significant change in the role middle-class men played in female-influenced family homes.¹³⁵ Tosh suggested the rise of homosocial culture outside the home, which developed in correspondence with the civic improvement of towns and cities, altered the masculine involvement in the domestic sphere beyond 'the ties of gender and generation, sustained by residence in a common space.'¹³⁶

¹²⁹ Carole Shammas, 'The Domestic Environment in Early Modern England and America', *Journal of Social History*, Vol.14, (1980), pp.3-24 (pp.5-16)

¹³⁰ Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760*, (London: Routledge, 1988); Margot Finn, 'Men's Things: Masculine Possession in the Consumer Revolution', *Social History*, Vol. 25, No.2, (2000), pp.133-154

¹³¹ Karen Harvey, *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p.133

¹³² Karen Harvey, 'Men Making Home: Masculinity and Domesticity in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Gender & History*, Vol.21, No.3, (November 2009), pp.520-554

¹³³ Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850*, (Oxon: Routledge, 1997) pp.149-192

¹³⁴ John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), p.50

¹³⁵ John Tosh, 'Home and Away: The Flight from Domesticity in Late-Nineteenth-Century England Re-visited', in Raffaella Sarti (ed.), *Men at Home*, special issue of *Gender & History*, Vol.27, No. 3, (November 2015), (61-75) p.572

¹³⁶ *Ibid.* p.570

Conversely, the previously under-researched experiences of aristocratic women and their homes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been extensively analysed in recent historiography. The works of Davidoff and Hall, Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths, and Amanda Vickery have readdressed the imbalance of the roles of women within the household, in particular concerning debates on household management, with the emphasis on the middle and upper classes.¹³⁷ In *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (1998), Amanda Vickery examined the domestic influence of wives and daughters of northern gentleman merchants.¹³⁸ Through primary sources Vickery redefined the positions of these women within the fluidity of Lancashire's society in the eighteenth century. The physicality of the house itself as a microhistory does not feature in any great detail although Vickery highlighted the importance of domesticity for these elite women through various contexts, such as social networks or attitudes to consumerism and material possessions.¹³⁹ In contrast in *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (2009), Vickery explored the minutiae of the domestic sphere in the eighteenth century.¹⁴⁰ The role of women in the household was again readdressed, and a rich array of primary material was drawn upon to discuss their active participation in purchasing items for the household, for themselves and the joint collaboration between men and women in daily routines and running the household.¹⁴¹

The role of women connected to the mercantile and trading communities has been assessed by Sheryllynne Haggerty in *The British Trading Atlantic Community 1760-1810: Men, Women and the Distribution of Goods* (2006) and her research has demonstrated that women played a part in most levels of trade among the diverse trading community in Liverpool.¹⁴² Although Haggerty's work only focused on a class of women who were socially below the industrial elite, her analysis opens new avenues of research into how the domestic lives of the wives

¹³⁷ See: Davidoff & Hall, *Family Fortunes*; Jane Whittle & Elizabeth Griffiths, *Consumption & Gender in the Early Seventeenth-Century Household: The World of Alice Le Strange*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1998)

¹³⁸ Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughters: Women's Lives in Georgian England*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1998)

¹³⁹ *Ibid.* pp.127-161

¹⁴⁰ Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009)

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.* pp.106-128, pp.184-206, pp.231-291

¹⁴² Sheryllynne Haggerty, *The British Trading Atlantic Community 1760-1810: Men, Women and the Distribution of Goods*, (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2006)

and daughters of wealthier mercantile families were conducted under the shadow of the family business and how this was reflected in their houses and their households.

Thesis Structure

This thesis draws together these various strands of literature to address the core question of understanding the significance of the industrial elites' houses as both conveyors of status and of domestic life. It takes a comparative approach, examining the houses of Manchester and Liverpool's mercantile and manufacturing communities in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This approach serves to produce firmer conclusions on the residential patterns and the domestic habits of the industrial elite as it accounts for a broader geographical range and case studies are drawn from a wider sample of merchants and manufacturers. Both Manchester and Liverpool are ideally situated as regional case studies in the North West. Each location had a significant mercantile population in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but different economic bases, structural power systems, and geographical factors, and these accounted for different customs and practices in both towns which was reflected in urban environments. A comparative approach across the two centuries enables changes and continuities regarding housing, residential patterns and domestic habits to be analysed in greater detail. The period c.1780-1875 has been chosen as this was reflective of the most substantial social, political and economic changes within the region. In 1781 the first steam-powered cotton mill was opened in Manchester by Richard Arkwright, which marked the beginning of irrevocable changes on the topography of the region.¹⁴³ The year 1781 also marked the third and final publication of Elizabeth Raffald's directory of Manchester, which was more comprehensive than her previous volumes and thus this source will be used to commence the analysis residential patterns in the first chapter. By the 1780s Liverpool was a decade into sweeping urban redevelopment projects and the development of Castle Street in 1786 was a significant factor in altering commercial and residential growth. By the 1860s the suburban expansion of both locations had reached its peak and this decade also allows for the analysis of the domestic habits of the second and third generations of the industrial elite

¹⁴³ Terry Wyke, 'Rise and Decline of Cottonopolis', in Alan Kidd and Terry Wyke (eds.), *Manchester: Making the Modern City*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016), Chapter Two, p.71

just before the start of the second industrial revolution in which a new generation of elite would rise.

The thesis is split into four chapters. The first examines the residential patterns of elite residents in Manchester and Liverpool through an analysis of trade directories. This is a comparative study which will analyse the residential locations of a number of elite residents including gentlemen, merchants, manufacturers and cotton brokers to assess whether there was emulation among the movements of the industrial elite, or whether migration and movement were the result of other factors. A quantitative approach is used to map these movements and to analyse the data in the first half of the chapter. The second half of the chapter offers explanations for the patterns which emerge and thus it provides a broader sense of spatial and social context for the subsequent chapters which focus on specific case studies of individuals and families. These families and individuals run as a continual thread throughout the thesis and based upon the availability of archival material, some families are represented in each chapter, whereas others appear sporadically. Nonetheless, this approach allows for greater clarity and understanding when tracing the industrial elites' building, inhabiting, and managing of their households.

The second chapter looks more closely at the architecture of houses in this period and what this could convey about status and taste. This chapter uses individual case studies to look at the communication of status through the construction of houses, the renting of houses and the relationship between the house and workplace and the impact of this upon the domesticity of the wider household. The thematic approach is continued in the third chapter, which assesses the internal structure of the house and in particular how domestic space was both positional and practical for the needs of the private domestic sphere and those who crossed the threshold from the public sphere. A comparative element is used within this chapter to determine to what extent the advice and plans presented in architectural treatises from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was reflected in the structures of extant houses, as demonstrated through floorplans. This chapter also reviews changes and continuities between the urban, suburban and rural houses popular in this period.

In response to the issues raised in the literature review, the final chapter will more closely examine the merchant's household and how the house was used within daily life. A traditional gendered lens is used to examine how men and women managed their households. The role

of men within the domestic sphere is addressed through their financial control of the house and its contents. Their personal account books and diaries are used to highlight their involvement in routines and how material culture was used to express status. The role of women will be looked at through their management of servants and this will highlight human interactions between space, place, possessions and people. This structure allows for a detailed analysis of the domestic sphere, and it emphasises the importance of the house for the industrial elites.

The case-study towns

The period c.1780-1875 was a time of dramatic change for the North West region and it incorporated the changes brought about by the first industrial revolution and concludes at the period which marks the start of the second industrial revolution. At the start of the eighteenth century, both Liverpool and Manchester were small provincial towns; although Liverpool achieved early prominence in the North West as the slightly larger town, with a higher population. In 1710 the population of Liverpool stood at 8,134 persons, whereas the population of Manchester was estimated to only be around 8000 persons in 1717.¹⁴⁴ The population of Liverpool in 1770 was 34,050 persons and the population of Manchester in 1773 was 22,481 persons.¹⁴⁵ By the 1780s when this study commences, despite some fluctuations in the populations of both towns, they were more even in size and scale than they had been at other points in the eighteenth century.

The rise in the populations of Liverpool and Manchester in the eighteenth century was the result of urban growth which was rapid and irregular and each town acted as fluid agents which fostered economic, social and cultural changes.¹⁴⁶ The construction of the world's first enclosed wet dock in Liverpool between 1710-16 propelled the fortunes of the town as a

¹⁴⁴ William Enfield, *An Essay Towards the History of Liverpool, drawn up from the papers left by the late Mr. George Perry and other material since collected*, (Warrington: 1773), p.28; Thomas Percival, *Essays: Medical, Philosophical and Experimental*, Volume Two, Fourth Edition, (Warrington: W. Eyres, 1789), p.1

¹⁴⁵ Enfield, *An Essay Towards the History of Liverpool*, p.28; John Aikin, *A Description of the Country from Thirty to Forty Miles Round Manchester* (London: John Stockdale, 1795) p.156; Alfred P. Wadsworth and Julia De Lacy Mann, *The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire 1600-1780*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1931), p.510

¹⁴⁵ Longmore, 'Civic Liverpool: 1680-1800', p.127

¹⁴⁶ Jon Stobart, *The first industrial region: North-west England c.1700-60*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004) pp.15-16

centre of global shipping and served to strengthen existing trade links with Ireland and America and as the century progressed it forged new connections to the West Indies, where resources, including sugar and enslaved peoples were exploited for the domestic market in Britain.¹⁴⁷ The commercial success of the port likewise increased trade and industry with Manchester, though the difference between the two locations was still evident. Manchester lacked the official Parliamentary representation and the associated social prestige which had been granted to Liverpool, with its two Members of Parliament from the sixteenth century and its merchant-controlled Corporation from the late-seventeenth century.¹⁴⁸ Manchester did not have political representation until the 1832 Reform Act and it did not form a Corporation until after the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835. Prior to this the town's governance was a somewhat chaotic amalgamation between the Manorial Courts, the Boroughreeve and the Police Commissioners, the latter being established in 1792.¹⁴⁹ Daniel Defoe commented upon these structural political differences during his travels around Britain in the 1720s. Defoe described Liverpool as 'one of the Wonders of Britain' a glowing accolade he attributed to 'its prodigious Increase of Trade and Buildings, within the Compass of a very few Years; rivalling Bristol in the Trade to Virginia, and the English Colonies in America.'¹⁵⁰ In turn, Manchester was described as 'the greatest meer Village in England. It is neither a Town, City nor Corporation, nor sends Members to Parliament; but it is a manor with a Court Leets and Baron.'¹⁵¹ Therefore, the residents of Manchester occupied a strange position in society with a lack of national status but a considerable amount of local prominence. This juxtaposition was described by Defoe as he continued his account of Manchester, recalling the various prestigious institutions which had been founded there; the college, hospital, free school and library and he detailed the burgeoning manufacturing industry in the town which already had global connections and cottons, buttons, filletings, checks and various small wares were exported to the West Indies.¹⁵² Jane Longmore has linked the intertwining of the economic, political and religious boundaries in early-eighteenth century Liverpool which

¹⁴⁷ Defoe, *A Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain...*, pp.237-238; Paul G. E. Clemens, 'The Rise of Liverpool, 1665-1750', *Economic History Review*, Vol. 29, No. 2, (May 1976), pp.216-218

¹⁴⁸ John A. Phillips and Charles Wetherell, 'The Great Reform Act of 1832 and the Political Modernization of England', *The American Historical Review*, Vol.100, No.2, (April 1995) p.414

¹⁴⁹ Kidd, *Manchester*, pp.13-30

¹⁵⁰ Defoe, *A Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain*, Volume Three, pp.235-236

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.* p.243

¹⁵² *Ibid.* pp.243-247

controlled the development of the town.¹⁵³ The infrastructure of the port and by association, the town, grew conservatively as trade developed, to the extent church building was delayed in the 1720s as the docks expanded.¹⁵⁴ These variable factors resulted in a steady growth, which saw Liverpool surmount other port-towns in Britain such as Bristol and Glasgow by the end of the eighteenth century.

Following an Act of Parliament in 1721, construction work began on a navigation system between the two towns by altering the two natural rivers, the Mersey and the Irwell. From its foundation, the Mersey and Irwell Navigation was supported by Manchester's textile merchants, as it offered a more direct trade route between the port and the town.¹⁵⁵ By 1734 boats could travel from Manchester to the Irish sea along the two river systems.¹⁵⁶ The waterway transportation system was surpassed just decades later by the Duke of Bridgewater's canal system, which again linked Manchester with the River Mersey and lowered the cost of importing and exporting goods but this maintained the interdependence of both towns upon each other and as industrialisation took hold, the two towns and their occupants became competing rivals of status, power and prominence.

The subsequent chapters of this thesis will expand upon the themes discussed in the historiography. They will look more closely at the architecture of houses across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as well as how domestic space was used and divided, and what this communicated about daily lives and routines for the merchant and his household. The following chapter will first analyse where the elite residents of Manchester and Liverpool chose to live across the period 1780s-1860s.

¹⁵³ Longmore, 'Civic Liverpool: 1680-1800', p.136

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.* p.148

¹⁵⁵ Michael Nevell, 'The River Irwell and the Archaeology of Manchester's Early Waterfronts', *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, Vol. 100, (2004), pp.15-30

¹⁵⁶ David Elystan Owen, *The Manchester Ship Canal*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), pp. 3-4

Chapter One:

The Residential Patterns of the Industrial Elite in Manchester and Liverpool

Introduction

The period c.1780-1875 saw the exponential growth of Manchester and Liverpool in both their urban structures and their populations. In these decades, each location developed from a town to a city with suburbs sprawling into the former countryside. This chapter traces key shifts in the urban environment and the residential patterns of the industrial elite in each town informs the analysis provided below.

This chapter is based on a comprehensive examination of the domestic addresses of the industrial elite, alongside other influential figures including gentlemen, across case studies of four different decades, which roughly correspond with each new generation; the 1780s, 1800s, 1820s and 1860s. Case studies drawn upon here reveal the concentration of elite residents on selected streets. Home addresses convey changing motivations and aspirations of inhabitants, and disclose changing attitudes towards domesticity, work, self-identification, and the growth of the town and suburb. The results of this analysis will form a thorough overview of residential patterns in Manchester and Liverpool. The latter section of this chapter seeks to identify the motivations behind the changing residential patterns and to what extent the community played a part in this. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries represent an important period for the topographies of both Manchester and Liverpool and it also speaks of similar trends in other provincial towns in the same era.

The rise of urban histories from the mid-twentieth century has demonstrated a growing interest in the study of residential patterns as a methodology. Gideon Sjoberg's research has shown socio-economic divisions were evident in the populations of pre-industrial towns, despite the relatively small-scale these places covered.¹ The growth of the town and city in the nineteenth century were modelled by Ernest Burgess (1925) and Homer Hoyt (1939) which provided similar conclusions to Sjoberg, suggesting urban segregation was a long-

¹ Gideon Sjoberg, 'The Preindustrial City', *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol.60, No.5, (March 1955), pp.439-441

standing element of residential patterns. Burgess's model of concentric zones was applied to the growth of Chicago in the period 1860-1910 and it featured five zones based around a central business district in zone I at the heart of the city. Zone II was a transitional zone of former mercantile houses which had been consumed by industry, zone III was working men's homes, zone IV consisted of better residences and finally, zone V was the commuter belt of those removed from the city.² Hoyt was critical of Burgess's model and his own model was based on different sectors rather than concentric zones, which accounted for city planning, immigration and natural geographic boundaries when looking at the growth of cities.³

The movement of the urban population around these zones and sectors has been extensively covered within the historiography and suburbanisation has been offered to explain as well as describe the movement of the elite classes away from the central core.⁴ The development of the suburbs is often loosely connected to the period of the late-eighteenth century and the mid-nineteenth century, with post-Waterloo years marking the start of modern suburban development on a widespread scale in England.⁵ A number of texts focus on suburban life from the 1830s and 1840s onwards and, as Sarah Bilston's research has shown, this was largely due to mass idealisation of the suburban home in poetry, literature and advice manuals of the time, which in turn demonstrated that the suburb was a rooted part of life.⁶

In that respect Liverpool and Manchester followed the same patterns as other parts of Britain with firmly established suburban communities by the 1840s. Little research has been offered about the pre-1815 suburb in Britain. F. M. L. Thompson noted its presence was a marker of 'material and social success' but his focus was on London-centric examples.⁷ Moreover, Asa Briggs' seminal text on nineteenth century cities briefly discussed residential patterns in Manchester but under the context of civic and industrial growth rather than analysis of the

² Michael Pacione, *Urban Geography: A Global Perspective*, third edition, (London: Routledge, 2009), p.141

³ *Ibid.* p.142

⁴ See: Richard Lawton, 'The components of demographic change in a rapidly growing port-city: the case of Liverpool in the nineteenth century, in Richard Lawton and Robert Lee (eds.), *Population and Society in western European Port Cities, c.1650-1939 (Liverpool Studies in European Population)* Vol. 2, (2002), pp.91-123; Colin G. Pooley, 'Residential Differentiation in Victorian Cities: A Reassessment', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Vol. 9, No. 2, (1984), pp.131-144

⁵ F. M. L. Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), pp.18-20

⁶ Sarah Bilston, *The Promise of the Suburbs: A Victorian History in Literature and Culture*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2019), p.21; pp.114-139

⁷ Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia*, p.18

autonomous decisions of the residents themselves.⁸ Therefore, the growth of Manchester and Liverpool in this period and the movement of their residents are a noticeable absence from the literature. This chapter uses new methodologies to refocus scholarly attention on the development on early suburbs in the first decades of the nineteenth century in the North West and it will discuss the ways in which suburbanisation was shaped by the elite residents of each town.

The movement of the population was discussed in contemporary writing from the nineteenth century but in this period before the modelling of urban geographies such as Burgess, Hoyt and Sjoberg, commentators such as Friedrich Engels were puzzled by the layout of the early nineteenth-century town. Engels described Manchester as 'more an outgrowth of accident than any other city' but he also acknowledged that the residential districts of the town followed a series of concentric circles, which were not dissimilar to the Burgess model.⁹ This suggested some conformity and planning in the districts around the town for the comfort of the elite, especially as Engels noted that the wealthy could take direct roads into the town centre through 'the middle of all the labouring districts [...] without ever seeing that they are in the midst of the grimy misery.'¹⁰ At the centre of Manchester Engels described a commercial district 'nearly abandoned by dwellers', which was then surrounded by a 'girdle' around a mile and half in breadth of working-class housing.¹¹ He noted these were 'sharply separated' from middle-class residential locations beyond this girdle, with the homes the 'upper and middle bourgeoisie' closest to it and the villas of the wealthy removed furthest away.¹² This would confirm the findings of Elizabeth McKellar's conclusion on social segregation in London. Her study of the seventeenth and eighteenth century city highlighted that segregation was based upon the location of the house, not the architectural style of it, and this was clearly evidence elsewhere in the country as towns also developed into cities.¹³

⁸ Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, (Watford: Oldhams Press, 1963), pp.88-139

⁹ Friedrich Engels, *The Conditions of the Working Class in England*, (London: George Allen & Unwin LTD, 1892), p.47

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p.47

¹¹ *Ibid.* p.46

¹² *Ibid.* p.46

¹³ Elizabeth McKellar, *The Birth of Modern London: The Development and Design of the City 1660-1720*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p.221

Whilst Engels described these patterns as they appeared in the mid-nineteenth century, it was not until H. B. Rodgers's article in 1962 which examined why the city developed in this way.¹⁴ Rodgers's chronological approach to Manchester's changing boundaries between the late-eighteenth century and mid-nineteenth century resulted in a conclusion which discussed the 'organic' growth of the town, resulting from the growing commercial and industrial sectors pushing the wealthier population outwards and thus not too dissimilar from Engels' observations.¹⁵ This chapter builds on Rodgers's research and, significantly, it expands his overview of suburban growth around the city, which he only loosely defined as occurring in the 1830s and 1840s, as seen in aforementioned histories. The analysis of residential patterns in this chapter demonstrates that suburban growth in Manchester occurred much earlier and it also highlights that different socio-economic groups in the eighteenth-century town were more mixed than previous models of urban environments would suggest.

The movement of the local populations has received more analysis in recent publications. Jane Longmore's research has traced elite residential patterns among the various members of Liverpool's Corporation between 1660-1800.¹⁶ Longmore suggests that social segregation was visible in seventeenth-century Liverpool and by 1800 movement to the countryside on the edge of Liverpool was clearly visible among the mercantile members of the Corporation but, importantly, this distance did not yet mean a withdrawal from urban and civic life.¹⁷ Longmore argues that mobility and outwards migration in Liverpool in this period was 'local and circular' and her maps of concentric rings demonstrate this.¹⁸ This chapter will expand on Longmore's research by examining a broader range of the elite population to include merchants, and extending the analysis into the mid-nineteenth century to examine whether there were challenges to the idea of circular mobility, particularly if one area was favoured as a residential location over another.

¹⁴ H. B. Rodgers, 'The suburban growth of Victorian Manchester', *Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society*, Vol.58, (1962), pp.1-12

¹⁵ Rodgers, 'Suburban Growth', p.4

¹⁶ Jane Longmore, 'Residential Patterns of the Liverpool Elite c.1660-1800', in Paul Dunne and Paul Janssens (eds.), *Living in the City: Elites and their Residences, 1500-1900*, Studies in European Urban History, Vol.13, (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2008), Chapter 7, pp.175-192

¹⁷ *Ibid.* p.182; p.189

¹⁸ *Ibid.* p.175

Ultimately, this chapter goes beyond a simple mapping exercise as it addresses and offers explanations and nuance as to why the elite populations of Manchester and Liverpool chose to move around from urban to suburban and rural locations. This research will go some way to covering the shortfall in the current historiography regarding the factors shaping elite residential patterns in the North West, as well as speaking more broadly to the themes of suburban residential developments across Britain in this period. The first section of this chapter will look at the methodologies of using trade directories as a historical resource, as well as offering some context regarding the eighteenth-century development of residential streets within both towns. The second section will then contain the findings of the analysis of the trade directories alongside maps plotting the key elite residential streets in each chosen period. The final section will explore the themes and justifications for the changing residential patterns in Manchester and Liverpool across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Section I: Context and methodologies

Manchester and Liverpool: Residential Developments in the urban town c.1720-1770

Until the early decades of the eighteenth century, the topographies of Manchester and Liverpool remained largely unchanged from previous centuries and the materiality of both towns had altered little since the introduction of brick-built houses in the sixteenth century. Both towns remained clustered around their medieval cores. The collegiate church of St Mary, St Denys and St George and the market place remained at the centre of Manchester, and streets in Liverpool still followed the gridwork of seven main streets which were laid out in the thirteenth century.¹⁹ These streets comprised of: Bank Street (now Water Street), Castle Street, Chapel Street, Dale Street, Juggler Street (now High Street), Moor Street (now Tithebarne Street), Whiteacre Street (now Old Hall Street).²⁰

By the mid-eighteenth century the Liverpool Corporation had embarked on a process of implementing the first of their town centre redevelopment programmes, which included the removal of sixteenth-century buildings and earlier structures such as the remains of Liverpool

¹⁹ The collegiate church became a cathedral when the Diocese of Manchester was created in 1847.

²⁰ Joseph Sharples and John Stonard, *Built on Commerce: Liverpool's Central Business District*, (Swindon: Historic England, 2015), pp.4-5

Castle. As Jane Longmore noted this systematic destruction of the past went beyond the need to erect new, modern buildings and it was a reflection of the change in local power structures.²¹ The mercantile influence over the town actively swept away tangible legacies of the feudal landowner, and symbolically the stones of Liverpool Castle were used to build townhouses on Moor Street.²² Daniel Defoe described the expansion of Liverpool with glowing praise; 'there is no Town in England, except London, that can equal Liverpoole [sic] for the Fineness of the Streets, and Beauty of the Buildings. Many of the Houses are built of Free-stone, and completely finished; and all the rest; (of the new Part I mean) of Brick, as handsomely built as London itself.'²³ The town hall, which had been rebuilt in 1673 was replaced between 1749-54, after seventy years of 'struggle and self-assertion', and the neo-classical structure was designed by John Wood of Bath.²⁴ The town hall again acted as a tangible marker of the transferral of power to the mercantile elite. The ground floor of the town hall acted as an exchange where Liverpool's merchants would meet and trade. The subsequent erection of the exchange flags surrounding the town hall between 1803-08 confirmed this location as the economic centre of the town and thus new streets of residential housing grew around it.²⁵ The successes of Manchester were also evident in the erection of the first exchange building there in 1729 by Sir Oswald Mosley.²⁶ Unlike Liverpool, Manchester had no corporation in the eighteenth century, though its Court Leet officers and the Boroughreeves were roles performed by men from largely mercantile and trading backgrounds.²⁷ The role of the Court Leet was more restricted than the freedoms of the

²¹ Jane Longmore, 'Civic Liverpool: 1680-1800' in John Belchem (ed.) *Liverpool 800: Culture, Character & History*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006) Chapter 2, p.153

²² J. A. Picton, *Memorials of Liverpool: Historical and Topographical, Including a history of the dock estate*, Volume Two, (London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1875), p.9

²³ Daniel Defoe, *A Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain Divided into Circuits or Journeys*, Volume Three, Fourth Edition, (London: S. Birt, T. Osborne, D. Browne, J. Hodges, J. Osborn, A. Millar and J. Robinson, 1748), p.240

²⁴ Picton, *Memorials of Liverpool*, Volume Two, p. 27

²⁵ Sharples and Stonard, *Built on Commerce*, pp.6-8

²⁶ W. H. Thomson, *History of Manchester to 1852*, (Altrincham: John Sherratt and Son Ltd, 1967), p.161

²⁷ See: Craig Horner, 'Proper Persons to Deal with': *Identification and Attitudes of Middling Society in Manchester, c1730-c1760*, Doctoral thesis (PhD), Manchester Metropolitan University, (2001), Appendix 2, pp.289-291, available at EthOS <<https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?did=1&uin=uk.bl.ethos.367696>> [Last Accessed 17 December 2021]

Liverpool Corporation as many economic and urban developments were still controlled by Manchester's local landowning families for much of the eighteenth century.²⁸

The remodelled Liverpool was in part inspired by, and in emulation of, London. The town hall of 1749 was modelled upon London's Royal Exchange albeit with architectural symbols connected to Liverpool. There were six walks across two arcades that were designed to represent Liverpool's six main trade routes at that time: Ireland, West Indies, Coasting, Baltic, Virginia and the Mediterranean.²⁹ The laying out of new streets and squares of residential housing in Liverpool were named in emulation of London: Drury Lane, Islington, Kensington, Paddington, Soho, Vauxhall, as well as the rebranding of old streets such as Frog Lane which became Whitechapel between 1769-1781.³⁰ This was likely done to appeal to the aspirations and metropolitan tastes of the rising middle-class community. However, in the late-nineteenth century, local historians attempted to dispel the connection with London and to reassert Liverpool's autonomous position, which was particularly important to local morale as national recognition was not forthcoming and the town did not become a city until 1880.³¹ Manchester had some London-centric placenames as well, such as Pall Mall and Piccadilly but the town did not develop as much as Liverpool in the eighteenth century and had no need to rename as many new streets or districts. Other streets within both towns followed the general trend in towns and cities with streets named along patriotic themes, such as royalty and battles, and also localised names reflecting a pride in prominent residents and topographical landmarks.

Modern, planned residential developments designed to appeal to the elite communities in Manchester and Liverpool did not always progress in the ways developers planned. In Liverpool Clayton Square was laid out between 1745-50 but the development stagnated initially and by 1769 only four houses had been completed.³² Williamson Square was laid out in 1764 and several mansions were built before the proprietors applied to turn the site into a

²⁸ A comprehensive analysis of local governance in Manchester in this period can be found in: Arthur Redford assisted by Ina Stafford Russell, *The History of Local Government in Manchester*, Vol. I, (London: Longmans, Green & Company, 1939)

²⁹ Picton, *Memorials of Liverpool*, Volume Two, p.28

³⁰ *Ibid.* p.174

³¹ Picton, *Memorials of Liverpool*, Volume Two, pp.86-121

³² *Ibid.* p.172

market, reflecting how quickly a residential street could fall out of fashion.³³ Conversely, residential squares in London had initially been open to public use, and then became private for the use of the residents.³⁴ This would suggest that by the mid-eighteenth century Liverpool had not yet managed to completely shake off its image as a trading town. The Earl of Sefton was granted Parliamentary approval in 1771 to develop his lands in Toxteth, located some two miles south of Liverpool's Exchange.³⁵ In the mid-1770s Cuthbert Bisbrown attempted to emulate residential developments in Bath and Edinburgh, with the creation of a new estate in Toxteth named Harrington. However, the layout of the estate was poorly designed and as such it allowed speculative builders to create narrow streets with court houses at the rear, and by 1776 Bisbrown was declared bankrupt.³⁶

These locations were likely deemed inconvenient due to their location on the edges of town. Also, the population seemed satisfied at this period living on mixed status streets, which contained both residential and commercial properties. The church-fronted St. Ann's Square was laid out in Manchester in 1712 and the exchange was built to the north of the square.³⁷ Defoe described it as a '*a fine new square*'.³⁸ The site was of mixed use and a fair was regularly held there through to 1823, long after the erection of houses.³⁹ St. Ann's Square had always held a dual-purpose, especially given its proximity to the exchange and Market Place. From the 1750s the centre of the square was a meeting-point for sedan chair carriers and hackney carriages.⁴⁰ The increased commercialisation of the square meant properties were sought out for the retail value rather than as domestic properties as an advertisement from 1760 revealed; 'To be Lett, to enter on immediately, A Good Brick House, having extraordinary Convenience for a Shop, &c situate in St. Ann's Square, Manchester.'⁴¹ Likewise, Redcross Street in Liverpool was described as 'a street of shops [...] interspersed with residences of

³³ *Ibid.* p.166

³⁴ McKellar, *The Birth of Modern London*, p.192, p.214

³⁵ Joseph Sharples, *Liverpool*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2004), p.269

³⁶ Longmore, 'Civic Liverpool: 1680-1800', p.158; Picton, *Memorials of Liverpool*, Volume Two, p.460

³⁷ John Aikin, *A Description of the Country from Thirty to Forty Miles Round Manchester*, (London: John Stockdale, 1795), p.186

³⁸ Defoe, *A Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain*, Volume Three, p.244; for a contemporary account of the opening of St. Ann's Church see: Craig Horner (ed.), *The Diary of Edmund Harrold, Wigmaker of Manchester 1712-15*, (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2008), pp.19-20

³⁹ Aikin, *A Description of the Country from Thirty to Forty Miles*, p.88

⁴⁰ Aikin, *A Description of the Country from Thirty to Forty Miles*, p.191

⁴¹ *Manchester Mercury*, 17 June 1760, p.4

merchants.⁴² Dale Street was an important thoroughfare which connected the town to the docks, as such the northern end of the street was residential but the southern end commercial. The longevity of these mixed-use streets in both locations emphasises the importance the eighteenth-century residents of the towns placed on convenient, centralised locations despite the topographical changes during the period 1720-1770.

Where did they live? A Methodological Approach

Trade directories have been used in this chapter to locate, map and analyse residential patterns of the elite in Manchester and Liverpool. The directories have been cross-referenced with other sources, such as newspaper advertisements, rate payers' books and census records to verify the occupants of certain streets and locations. The focus of this chapter is upon the changing addresses of merchants, manufacturers, brokers and gentlemen. The comparison of these individuals, who represent the socio-economic elite of each town has enabled a more comprehensive overview of their changing residential patterns.

Trade directories represent a source which was consistent and regular in the recording of residential addresses across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and, as such, these sources are ideal to present comparisons between the two locations. From the mid-twentieth century onwards, studies of trade directories, such as those by Jane E. Norton, G. Shaw and A. Tipper show the beneficial use of these sources for urban and social historians, particularly in relation with the mapping of urban environments.⁴³ The trade directories in this chapter have been taken from a sample of years; 1781, 1800, 1829 and 1860/1863, which represent key moments of change in the topographies in both towns at a sequence which corresponds with a generation between each case study. The results are organised in three tables for each location across each year. One table depicts the ten streets with the highest concentrations of elite residents in Liverpool and Manchester. These tables show what percentage of each category of elite residents lived on these streets, not what percentage of all households they

⁴² Picton, *Memorials of Liverpool*, Volume Two, p.97

⁴³ See: Jane E. Norton, *Guide to the National and Provincial Directories of England and Wales, Excluding London, Published Before 1856*, (London: The Royal Historical Society, 1950); G. Shaw & A. Tipper, *British Directories: a bibliography and guide to directories published in England and Wales 1850-1950 and Scotland 1773-1950*, (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1988)

made up on the street, as this would go beyond the remits of this study and the growing size of streets between each case study would skew the results between data sets. Subsequent tables show the top five streets which had the highest population of each category individually per case study, e.g. which streets in Manchester in 1781 had the most concentrated number of merchants living there.

The trade directories themselves are a valuable resource and their introduction in provincial towns from the mid-eighteenth century was linked to their growing status as key trading and manufacturing centres among domestic and foreign markets.⁴⁴ Several localised trade directories have been used within this chapter. John Gore's trade directory for Liverpool was first published in 1766 and it was published frequently thereafter, following a sequence of biannual publications until the 1870s, when it was published annually. Gore's directories have been used in all four case studies for Liverpool as it was a regular and generally accurate publication. In contrast, Manchester lacked a consistent prolific publication and as a result several locally published directories have been drawn upon here. This includes Elizabeth Raffald's directory for 1781, Gerard Bancks's for 1800, James Pigot's for 1829 and Isaac Slater's for 1863.

Some methodological issues arise from this. Raffald's landmark directory of Manchester, first published in 1772, spawned two further editions.⁴⁵ However, her compilation of the directories has faced criticism from modern scholars, especially as her first directory listed only 1,500 individuals out of a population of a round 30,000 people.⁴⁶ This was likely a result of little market competition from other publishers which would have resulted in a uniformity of style or design; as P. J. Corfield and Serena Kelly have noted, the early directories were designed to simply supplement the enquiries of the visitor or resident.⁴⁷ Moreover, as C. Roy Lewis has shown, there was a general distrust and fear of being recorded in early directories of the eighteenth century, an obstacle Charles Pye discovered when attempting to record

⁴⁴ Norton, *Guide to the National and Provincial Directories of England and Wales*, p.5

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.5; Shaw & Tipper, *British Directories*, pp.6-7; Penelope J. Corfield, 'Business leaders and town gentry in early industrial Britain: specialist occupations and shared urbanism', *Urban History*, Vol. 39, No. 1, (2012), pp.36-37; Geoff Timmins, 'Roots of Industrial Revolution', in Alan Kidd and Terry Wyke (eds.), *Manchester: Making the Modern City*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016), Chapter One, p.55

⁴⁶ P. J. Corfield & Serena Kelly, 'Giving directions to the town: the early town directories', *Urban History Yearbook*, Vol. 11, (May 1984), p.22

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* p.24

residents in Birmingham in 1797.⁴⁸ Therefore, with an emphasis on privacy and distrust in the late-eighteenth century directories may have resulted in the absence of private residential addresses, particularly when compared to business addresses. Nonetheless, the mixture of directories used for Manchester somewhat overcomes this issue. The later directories were published locally by prominent and well-known local residents who could have inspired trust and compliance among those they wished to record in the directories. The Bancks family were stationers living and working in the centre of the town.⁴⁹ James Pigot published directories of Manchester for over thirty years, and he was succeeded in the business by his apprentice, Isaac Slater who had likewise built a reputable standing, eventually publishing directories detailing northern England, Scotland and Ireland.⁵⁰ G. Shaw and A. Tipper reflected on the levels of data collection used by Pigot and Slater, which was extremely thorough and well-organised.⁵¹

By the mid-nineteenth century, the competition from larger firms such as Kelly had superseded outmoded versions produced by smaller competitors and as a result, directories became more standardised; door numbers, house names and street names were a consistent feature. Some directories expanded to include maps and town plans reflecting the nature of the local economy and the desire to visit these places. The directories themselves included histories of the area and eventually spawned tourist guides, which as Jane Longmore noted, presented publishers with a chance to present their local identity and provincial confidence on a national scale.⁵² The later nineteenth century directories therefore were transformed to meet the needs of the urban environment. This included details of local police, churches and omnibuses as well as trade and residential directories and the comprehensive guides offered an immersive experience of urban life to the contemporary user, and they are invaluable to historical research.

⁴⁸ C. Roy Lewis, 'Trade Directories – A Data Source in Urban Analysis', *The National Library of Wales Journal*, Vol. XIX, No. 2, (Winter 1975), p.183

⁴⁹ Unknown, *The Monthly Magazine, or British Register*, Vol. XVIII, Part Two for 1804, (London: Richard Phillips, 1804) p.436; *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 27 December 1845, p.6

⁵⁰ John Pendred, 'Appendix H: General Directories', in Graham Pollard (ed.), *The Earliest Directory of the Book Trade* (London: The Biographical Society, 1955), pp.76-84

⁵¹ Shaw & Tipper, *British Directories*, p.9

⁵² Longmore, 'Civic Liverpool: 1680-1800', p.153

The individual residential locations as recorded in the trade directories have been plotted on eight historical maps which were contemporaneous to the publication of the directories. Two of the maps from the mid-nineteenth century are H. Hilliar's 'Hilliar's Guide for Strangers and Visitors through Liverpool' (1854) and Isaac Slater's 'A Plan of Manchester and Salford with Vicinities' (1855).⁵³ The two maps depict Manchester and Salford, which for the purposes of this study have been amalgamated, and Liverpool in their prime and they have been selected here as their colour-coded presentation clearly defines different districts and suburbs surrounding the central core. The central cores of Manchester and Liverpool were defined by their commercial and economic activities. These examples are typical of other mid-century maps and this clearly definable and widely recognised central district in both towns has been used in this study as the 'centre' from which other areas and suburbs radiate outwards.⁵⁴ The plotting of data on the maps acts as a visual aid which clearly shows the growth and expansion of Manchester and Liverpool across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The maps also highlight the popularity of certain streets. When used in conjunction with the data from the trade directories they depict the fluidity of certain residential locations and the social mobility of the residents, who often comprised of a mixture of backgrounds.

Defining Social Status: The Liverpool Gentleman, The Manchester Man

The categories of the elite communities in this chapter are based upon their socio-economic status as recorded in the trade directories: merchant, manufacturer, broker and gentleman. For each case study time period, the domestic addresses of both merchants and gentlemen were compared for both Manchester and Liverpool, and surrounding areas, as these two 'occupations' or 'statuses' were consistently recorded in trade directories. Manufacturers and brokers were added as comparative third elements for Manchester and Liverpool respectively

⁵³ Harvard University: Harvard Map Collection, G5754_L6E635_1854_H5_1956437818: H. Hilliar, 'Hilliar's Guide for Strangers and Visitors through Liverpool' (1854); University of Manchester Special Collections: GB127.Local Studies Street Map Collection/1855 Slater coloured: Isaac Slater, 'A Plan of Manchester and Salford with Vicinities' (1855)

⁵⁴ The central core for Liverpool comprised of: Great George's Ward, Rodney Street Ward, Abercromby Ward, St Anne Street Ward and Vauxhall Ward. For Manchester the central core comprised of: Collegiate Church, St. Pauls, Exchange, Minshull, St. James, At. Ann's, St. Mary's and Old Quay. See also: Liverpool Record Office: 912.1863, B. R. Davies, 1863: Street plan of Liverpool (coloured) and University of Manchester Special Collections: GB127.Local Studies Street Map Collection/1836 Pigot: James Pigot, 'A plan of Manchester and Salford with Vicinities', (1836)

as these occupations also made up the 'industrial elite' and their representation in this chapter creates a balanced and comparable study.⁵⁵

The classification of status and rank in the eighteenth century is somewhat problematic, especially when using the terminology of the era.⁵⁶ In their retrospective case studies of Manchester and Lancashire in the eighteenth century, Jon Stobart and Craig Horner both used detailed classification systems which delved into personal lives and wealth to define status, such as probate records, charity subscription lists and Grammar School records.⁵⁷ The classification system used in this chapter is more simplistic and based upon the text of the trade directories themselves. It has been used here to create the various sub-groups to show their socio-economic status. The objectives of the introduction make it clear the process is to record these groups as an entirety and map their locations, without breaking down each sub-category based on individual wealth and means as such a project following the fluctuating social mobility of individual men would be too vast and beyond the remits of this thesis, though subsequent chapters of this thesis contain more focused case studies of a number of individuals and families.

In Manchester, the roles of merchant and manufacturer were somewhat blurred and there was a strong interdependence between the two, which led to the creation of partnerships between both occupations which resulted in expanded networks based on kinship and friendship as much as business.⁵⁸ In the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century trade directories, the roles of merchant and manufacturer were often intertwined; many men not only traded in the raw material but also produced the finished goods. Clearly, the directory editor's personal interpretations of these identities would influence the disparities which came to light. For example, in Gerard Bancks's Manchester and Salford Directory of 1800, Cornelius Harrison of 6 Piccadilly was recorded as '*merchant & manufacturer*'; whereas Samuel Greg of 35 King Street was recorded in two individual entries; one as a merchant and

⁵⁵ As a port town, brokers were a common occupation in Liverpool as they acted the 'middle-ground' who dealt with sales of raw cotton between the merchant and the manufacturer.

⁵⁶ Craig Horner has analysed the origins and meanings of rank, status and identity among the eighteenth-century population of Manchester. See: Horner, '*Proper Persons to Deal with*', pp.4-22, <<https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?did=1&uin=uk.bl.ethos.367696>> [Last Accessed 17 December 2021]

⁵⁷ See: Jon Stobart, *The urban system in the regional economy of North West England, 1700-1760*, Unpublished Doctoral thesis (PhD), University of Oxford (1992), pp.87-97; Horner, '*Proper Persons to Deal with*'

⁵⁸ John Scott, *The Upper Classes: Property and Privilege in Britain*, (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd,1982), pp.69-70

one as a manufacturer.⁵⁹ Gareth Shaw and C. Roy Lewis’s research has shown that human error during the collection of data was largely responsible for the ‘double-counting’ of individuals.⁶⁰ For the sake of continuity, the results within this chapter have only counted individuals once, with the first-mentioned occupation being recorded and in most examples this was their role as a merchant.

A similar issue arises with the title of ‘gentleman’, which could be self-styled or bestowed by the publisher. As such the number of individuals recorded as gentlemen varied, depending on their own supposed successes or failures, and also dependent on the publisher of the trade directory, which accounts for the variable figures for Manchester in Table 1.2. Further analysis has revealed that some households were mixed, and contained individuals with different classifications of status, in which case the individuals were recorded separately here to show the distinction between the roles and also to highlight the fluidity of class and status in their period. For example, in Gore’s Liverpool Directory of 1829, Richard Butler, a gentleman and Nathaniel Duckenfield Bold, a merchant both lived at number 78 Rodney Street.⁶¹ In the same directory recorded at number 65 Mount Pleasant were two members of the Ramsden family; George was recorded as a merchant, but William was recorded as a gentleman.⁶²

Table 1.1: Occupations in Liverpool directories 1781-1860

	1781	1800	1829	1860
<i>Liverpool</i>				
Gentleman	112	200	519	564
Merchant	353	580	568	644
Broker	23	65	67	56
Totals	488	853	1154	1264

Sources: *Gore’s Liverpool Directory for the year 1781*, (Liverpool, 1781); *Gore’s Liverpool Directory, 1800* (Liverpool, 1800); *Gore’s Liverpool Directory and its Environs, 1829* (Liverpool, 1829); *Gore’s Directory for Liverpool and its Environs, 1860* (Liverpool, 1860)

⁵⁹ G. Bancks, *Bancks’s Manchester and Salford Directory 1800: Alphabetical List of the Merchants, Manufacturers and Principal Inhabitants: With the Numbers as affixed to their Houses*, (Manchester: G. Bancks, 1800) pp.18-20

⁶⁰ Gareth Shaw, ‘Directories as sources in urban history: a review of British and Canadian material’, *Urban History Yearbook*, Vol. 11, (May 1984), p.40; Lewis, ‘Trade Directories – A Data Source in Urban Analysis’, p.182

⁶¹ *Gore’s Directory of Liverpool and its Environs, 1829* (Liverpool, 1829)

⁶² *Ibid.*

Table 1.2: Occupations in Manchester Directories 1781-1863

	1781	1800	1829	1863
<i>Manchester</i>				
Gentleman	23	85	43	59
Merchant	47	160	130	633
Manufacturer	216	240	222	376
Total	286	485	395	1068

Sources: Elizabeth Raffald, *The Manchester Directory for the year 1781*, (Manchester: J. Harrop, 1781) ; G. Bancks, *Bancks's Manchester and Salford Directory 1800: Alphabetical List of the Merchants, Manufacturers and Principal Inhabitants: With the Numbers as affixed to their Houses*, (Manchester: G. Bancks, 1800) ; J. Pigot & Son, *General Directory of Manchester, Salford, &c. for 1829; containing an alphabetical list of the merchants, manufacturers, traders and inhabitants in general: with a list of the country manufacturers*, (Fountain Street, Manchester: J. Pigot & Sons, 1829) ; I. Slater, *Slater's General and Classified Directory and Street Register of Manchester and Salford with their vicinities; particulars of the various conveyances by railway, road, and water*, (Manchester: Isaac Slater, 1863)

Comparing the directories revealed a disparity in the number of gentlemen recorded in each town. As the figures in Table 1.1 show, in Liverpool there was a steady rise in the number of 'gentlemen' across the time period and a particular increase in the numbers recorded can be seen across the first decades of the nineteenth century. The gentlemen most frequently recorded in directories for Manchester, however, were largely made up of local gentry and wealthy families with connections to legal or religious professions; thereby holding a reverence to status as defined in earlier centuries and not one derived from self-made wealth, accounting for their lesser presence in directories.⁶³ Anthony Howe suggested this was due to a level of respect which existed between the urban hierarchy and the local aristocracy because ultimately the urban elites still held considerable monetary and social power themselves.⁶⁴ This variation could also be due to the different publishers of the trade directories, as previously mentioned, there was little conformity of collection methods. The slight increase of the numbers of gentlemen in both towns between the directories of 1829 and 1860/1863 would suggest that the Representations of the People Act of 1832, which

⁶³ An in-depth analysis of economic, political and religious society in Manchester can be found in Craig Horner (ed.), *Early Modern Manchester*, (Lancaster: Carnegie Publishing LTD, 2008)

⁶⁴ Anthony Howe, *The Cotton Masters 1830-1860*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p.268

expanded the enfranchised population of England to include over 650,000 men, had little impact on how these individuals self-identified.⁶⁵

The largest occupational category for Manchester was the manufacturer, in Liverpool it was the merchant. This reflects the economies of the two towns and the origins of elite wealth and employment in both locations. This subtle but crucial difference in status was certainly reflected within society in both towns in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. The popular phrase 'the Liverpool gentleman, the Manchester man' dates back to the early-nineteenth century.⁶⁶ It was commonly known as a 'people's proverb', and it was clearly reflective of the burgeoning competition between the two locations as northern powerhouses.⁶⁷ It also served as a source of contention as one public discussion of the phrase from 1860 reveals, especially poignant as Manchester was attempting to exert itself as a city of culture and arts in this period and it had recently hosted the Arts Treasure Exhibition in 1857:

I don't know why it should be, but in this country we know that the cotton bale turns its nose at calico at 10d a yard. (Laughter.) That is to say the man in Liverpool who is a cotton broker or merchant thinks himself infinitely superior to the man who sells the same stuff in the shape of calico at 10d a yard.⁶⁸

The process of self-identification among the industrial elites in this period is not surprising. Historiographical analyses of similar communities elsewhere in Britain support the findings that the term 'gentleman' was becoming increasingly flexible by the eighteenth century and that it could be easily adopted.⁶⁹ Many of those who styled themselves as gentlemen in this

⁶⁵ John A. Phillips and Charles Wetherell, 'The Great Reform Act of 1832 and the Political Modernization of England', *The American Historical Review*, Vol.100, No.2, (April 1995) pp. 412-414

⁶⁶ *Chester Chronicle*, 30 August 1833, p.3 This is the earliest example I have found of this saying in print, which suggests it was certainly widely used by the 1830s. Though Samuel Dyer's, *Dialect of the West Riding of Yorkshire: A Short History of Leeds and Other Towns*, (Brighouse: John Hartley, 1891), p.74 suggests there was a similar phrase in Latin describing Belgian locations and social characteristics.

⁶⁷ *Manchester Times*, 11 January 1854, p.4

⁶⁸ *Leigh Chronicle*, 9 June 1860, p.3; See also: Elizabeth A. Pergam, *The Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857: Entrepreneurs, Connoisseurs and the Public*, (London: Routledge, 2011)

⁶⁹ Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London, 1660-1730*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), pp.5-6; Penelope J. Corfield, 'The Rivals: Landed and Other Gentlemen' in Negley Harte and Roland Quinault (eds.), *Land and Society in Britain, 1700-1914: Essays in Honour of F. M. L. Thompson*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p.5

period, such as those in Liverpool, were largely made up of men in professional occupations who equated wealth with power and status, quite different from the heraldic origins of the gentleman in the sixteenth century.⁷⁰ Urbanisation allowed for the confabulation of the old gentry and the new gentlemen in the intimate settings of neighbouring townhouses. Therefore, the rise in the number of gentlemen in provincial towns such as Manchester and Liverpool were also seen in other port town such as Newcastle in the same period.⁷¹ Lawrence Robinson noting an increased use of the term 'gent' in County Durham in the late-eighteenth century compared with earlier records.⁷² Ultimately, this chapter does not seek to analyse whether gentlemen in Manchester or Liverpool were from the gentry or professional classes, instead it aims to see whether this sub-category held any influence over where people chose to live in each town.

What follows in the next section of this chapter is a detailed analysis of the concentrated streets where the elite residents of Manchester and Liverpool chose to live across the period 1780s-1860s.

Section II: Residential Patterns in Liverpool and Manchester 1781-1863

Residential Patterns in Liverpool and Manchester - 1781

The data from Gore's and Raffald's directories for 1781 reveals that residential patterns of the elites in both towns largely followed the same gridwork of streets laid out earlier in the century, as discussed in the aforementioned section. At this time both towns remained relatively small with regards to their urban sprawl, and it was commented upon that it was possible to walk across Liverpool in 40 minutes in the 1780s.⁷³ The streets recorded in Table 1.3 and plotted on Maps 1.1 and 1.2 highlight the desirability of central residential streets

⁷⁰ By 1814 there well over 60,000 gentlemen recorded in Britain and at very least 20% were not primarily landowners, see: Corfield, 'The Rivals', p.25; Penelope J. Corfield, *Power and the Profession in Britain 1700-1850*, (London: Routledge, 1995), pp.8-10

⁷¹ Lawrence Robinson, *The Merchant Community of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1660-1750*, Doctoral thesis (PhD), Durham University, (2019), pp.66-67, Available at EthOS < <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/13021/>> [Last Accessed 17 December 2021]

⁷² *Ibid.* p.67

⁷³ Longmore, 'Civic Liverpool: 1680-1800', p.155

based around the exchanges. These streets were also close together and this proximity is reflected in the top two streets in both towns. Duke Street ran directly south-east of Hanover Street and likewise, King Street ran east from Deansgate. The relatively low intra-urban movement during the latter decades of the eighteenth century suggests that Jane Longmore’s theory of ‘local and circular’ mobility, which was the desire to remain close to commerce and business, was still prevalent among the mercantile groups in Liverpool and it can also be applied to Manchester in the same period.⁷⁴

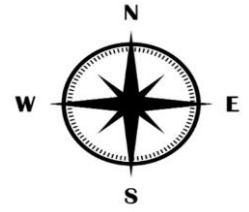
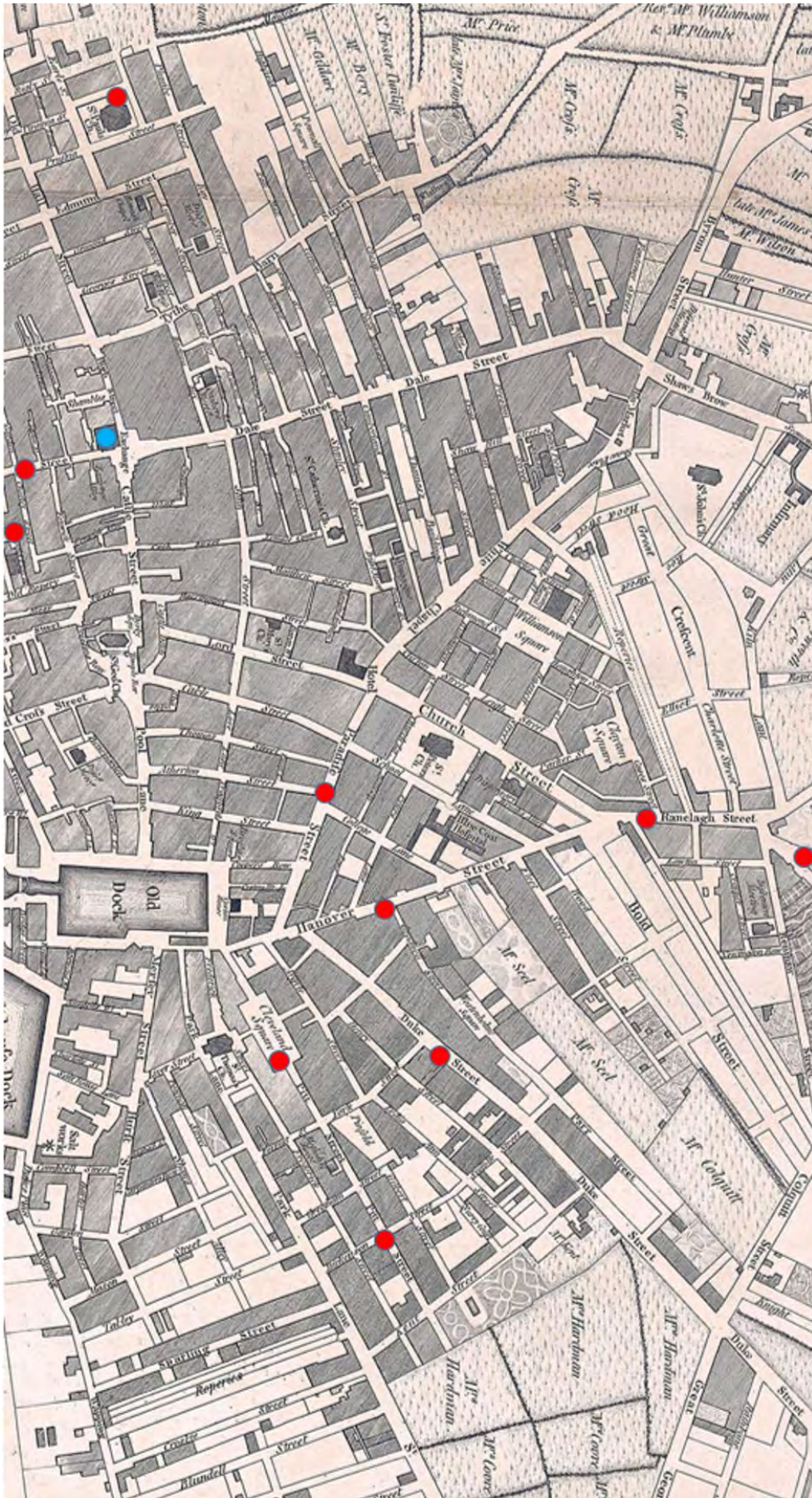
Table 1.3: The ten most concentrated streets with elite residents in Liverpool and Manchester, 1781

Liverpool				Manchester			
			Total Number of individuals: 488				Total Number of individuals: 286
1.	Duke Street	8.4%	41	1.	King Street	11.1%	33
2.	Hanover Street	4.0%	20	2.	Deansgate	8.7%	25
3.	Drury Lane	2.8%	14	3.	Cannon Street	6.9%	20
4.	Pitt Street	2.8%	14	4.	Market Street Lane	4.9%	14
5.	Paradise Street	2.2%	13	5.	Quay Street	2.7%	8
6.	Water Street	2.2%	13	6.	Princess Street	2.4%	7
7.	St. Paul’s Square	2.2%	11	7.	Chapel Street, Salford	2.4%	7
8.	Mount Pleasant	2.0%	10	8.	Norfolk Street	1.3%	4
9.	Ranelagh Street	1.8%	9	9.	Piccadilly	1.3%	4
10.	Cleveland Square	1.4%	7	10.	St. Ann’s Square	1.3%	4

Source: *Gore’s Liverpool Directory for the year 1781*; *Elizabeth Raffald, The Manchester Directory for the year 1781*

Note: The total number of individuals are the total numbers of merchants, gentlemen and manufacturers/brokers recorded in each directory. Therefore, the percentages in the third column are taken from this overall total. E.g., 41/488 elite individuals lived on Duke Street and therefore, this street was home to 8.4% of all elite residents.

⁷⁴ Longmore, ‘Residential Patterns of the Liverpool Elite c1660-1800’, p.175

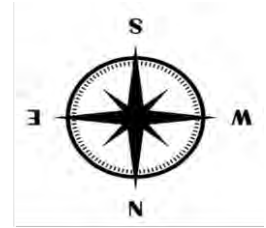


Map 1.1: Depicting the ten most populated residential streets among Merchants, Gentlemen and Brokers in Liverpool, 1781.

Key:
 Blue: Exchange
 Red: Elite Residential Streets

(Scale: 1 mile = 12 cm)

(Source: A Plan of the Town and Township of Liverpool from an Actual Survey Taken in the Year 1785 by Chas. Eyes, 1785 <http://centraldocks.co.uk/evert_on_liverpool_1785/> [Last Accessed 16 October 2020])



Map 1.2: Depicting the ten most populated residential streets among Merchants, Gentlemen and Manufacturers in Manchester, 1781.

Key:

Blue – Exchange

Red- Elite residential Streets

(Scale: 1 mile = 9cm)

(Source: University of Manchester Special Collections: R45670: A topographical plan of Manchester and Salford, with the adjacent parts: shewing also the different allotments of land proposed to be built on, as communicated to the surveyor by the respective proprietors, 1793, C. Laurent)

There was already some variation in residential patterns in both towns and this was likely reflective of the earlier development project. The majority of the streets listed in Table 1.3 and depicted on Map 1.2 for Manchester were concentrated around the site of the exchange, even though the building had fallen into disrepair by this time, and it was eventually demolished in 1792.⁷⁵ The merchants moved their business transactions to the coffee houses in Market Place, adjoining the exchange and as such, the historic medieval core of the town was still prominent in the late-eighteenth century. Streets which had been laid out in the early-eighteenth century were still close to this location. For example, King Street, located to the south of the exchange was developed in a piecemeal fashion between the 1730s and the 1770s and it was located approximately 524 feet from the exchange. The centre of Market Street Lane was 1053 feet from the exchange and the centre of Deansgate was 1581 feet away.

In contrast, Map 1.1 clearly shows that the prominent residential streets in Liverpool were at a much greater distance from the exchange. Hanover Street was 3694 feet from the Liverpool Exchange and Duke Street was approximately 4222 feet away. Therefore, the distance between Duke Street and the Liverpool exchange was approximately eight times the distance of King Street from the Manchester exchange. Duke Street itself was laid out in the 1720s but it remained largely undeveloped until the 1770s, when this south-eastern area of the town became more desirable among mercantile families.⁷⁶ The data in Table 1.3 confirms this, as the 41 individuals listed there were all merchants, with no gentlemen or brokers recorded there. The rapid occupation of this area in the latter years of the eighteenth century, after decades of stagnation was a foreshadowing of the outwards expansion of the town in subsequent years.

Tables 1.4 and 1.5 depict the streets which contained the largest number of each elite socio-economic group, split by category and offer comparison between different occupations and statuses. The principal concentrations of gentlemen, merchants and brokers show little crossover, and therefore suggest there appears to have been distinct social groupings. Square based developments, popular with the gentlemen of Liverpool, were used to enforce social

⁷⁵ Joseph Aston, *The Manchester Guide, A brief historical description of the towns of Manchester & Salford, the Public Buildings and the Charitable and Literary Institutions*, (Manchester: Joseph Aston, 1804) p.43

⁷⁶ Longmore, 'Residential Patterns of the Liverpool Elite c1660-1800', p.187

segregation in the same way Leonard Schwartz and Peter Borsay argued they were being used in London in the same period.⁷⁷ There was clearly a mirroring between elite residential patterns in the city and provincial town. In contrast, Paradise Street, as a central thoroughfare, was an exception and it was popular with the two commercial groups, the merchants and brokers.

Table 1.4: Streets containing the largest number of elite groups: Liverpool, 1781

1781	Merchant	Gentleman	Broker
1.	Duke Street	St. Paul's Square	Castle Street
2.	Hanover Street	Edmund Street	Paradise Street
3.	Paradise Street	Ranelagh Street	Prussia Street
4.	Pitt Street	Clayton Square	Stanley Street
5.	Drury Lane	Cleveland Square	Thomas Street

Source: *Gore's Liverpool Directory for the year 1781*

Table 1.5: Streets containing the largest number of elite groups: Manchester, 1781

1781	Merchant	Gentleman	Manufacturer
1.	Cannon Street	Quay Street	King Street
2.	Deansgate	Deansgate	Deansgate
3.	King Street	King Street	Cannon Street
4.	Market Street	Market Street	Market Street
5.	Oldham Street	Hunts Bank	Brazennose Street

Source: *Elizabeth Raffald, The Manchester Directory for the year 1781*

In Manchester, there was a clear overlap in the residential concentrations of the three groups, as seen in Table 1.5. Therefore, these groups were seemingly more blurred in social terms, for example all three were present on King Street, Market Street and Deansgate. Cannon Street had a high population of merchant and manufacturers given its proximity to warehouses on neighbouring streets. The street was pastoral land until the 1760s and land surrounding it was subsequently developed by three partners in a calico business, Robert

⁷⁷L. D. Schwarz, 'Social Class and Social Geography: The Middle Classes in London at the End of the Eighteenth Century', in Borsay (ed.) *The Eighteenth-Century Town*, Chapter eleven, pp.322-329; Peter Borsay, 'The English Urban Renaissance: The Development of Provincial Urban Culture, c.1680-1760, Borsay (ed.) *The Eighteenth-Century Town*, Chapter eleven, Chapter five, p.178

Peel, Thomas Tipping and James Halliwell, who gave the streets of warehouses their own names.⁷⁸ This development of business premises rather than residential streets in this central core is evidence of the formation of a central business district as seen in Burgess's and Hoyt's models. It reveals that the town centre was taking on an increasingly commercial role, which would continue to define its development over the following decades.

In the 1781 directories, urban properties were the most popular and 89.5% of elite residents in Manchester lived on streets in and around the town centre and for Liverpool the figure was slightly higher at 97.3% accounting for the larger area of the town's central district compared to Manchester. Townships which bordered Manchester were popular residential locations, for example 9% of the elite residents recorded in Raffald's directory lived in the town of Salford which was less than two miles from the centre of Manchester. In Liverpool, those recorded in outlying districts made up a tiny percentage of residential addresses in 1781; 1.2% of residents lived in Everton and less than one percent lived at Toxteth, Edge Hill and Kirkdale respectively. Again, this was reflective of the size and scale of Liverpool's central core, where it was possible to live on streets on the fringes of town and enjoy the amenities of both urban and rural life.

The dispersion of these socio-economic groups among residential streets represented two different residential patterns in both towns. In Manchester there was evidence of intermixing among the elite residents themselves and also with lower classes such as shopkeepers who resided and operated businesses from the same streets. Liverpool was somewhat different with certain streets being reflective of distinct occupants and individuals. The town had more defined residential areas than Manchester which were moving away from the site of the historic, medieval core. Both towns were surrounded by open countryside and the edges of urban life were marked by Piccadilly in Manchester and Mount Pleasant in Liverpool. However, the presence of a small number of the elite residents who lived in townships beyond the urban core and the new developments of streets on the fringes of the town show the urban population was beginning to gravitate towards less-central locations. This will become more apparent in the residential patterns discussed in the next section.

⁷⁸ The original street formation between the northern side of Market Street to Withy Grove is now covered by the Arndale Centre. This includes Cannon Street, Peel Street and Tipping Street.; Thomas Swindells, *Manchester Streets and Manchester Men: Third Series*, (Didsbury: E. J. Morten, 1907), pp.96-97

Residential Patterns in Liverpool and Manchester – 1800

The 1801 census presented broader and comparable population figures for Manchester and Liverpool. The population of Liverpool at the start of the nineteenth century stood at 77,653 persons and Manchester's population was recorded at 70,409.⁷⁹ The sharp rise in the populations of both towns can be attributed to the result of in-migration due to the increased industrial and commercial developments in the latter decades of the eighteenth century.⁸⁰

The population of Manchester trebled in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the town and industry expanded into the surrounding countryside to meet the demands of the rapid industrialisation of the cotton industry. Manchester's first cotton mill was built in 1782 by Richard Arkwright with his partners Simpson and Whittenbury on Miller Street in Shudehill. Within two decades, Manchester had 26 mills and two of the largest were built in the same district, Ancoats, in the late 1790s by rival firms; Adam and George Murray, and James McConnel and John Kennedy.⁸¹ The industrialisation of the town had a significant impact on the local topography as the mills and associated workers' housing were often situated adjoining near natural or artificial waterways. As such the rise of heavy industry in Manchester created distinctly industrialised, working-class areas of the town, much like the area immediately surrounding the docks in Liverpool. As identified by Christopher Chalkin and Colin G. Pooley for other regions, these not only served as visible boundaries between commercial or industrial areas and residential areas, but they also segregated the residents of the town based on wealth and status.⁸² In particular the expansion of elite residential

⁷⁹ Colin G. Pooley, 'Liverpool: Living in Liverpool: The Modern City' in John Belchem (ed.) *Liverpool 800: Culture, Character & History*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006), Chapter 3, pp.171-175 ; W. Moss, *The Liverpool Guide; Including a Sketch of the Environs; with a Map of the Town; and Directions for Sea Bathing*, (Liverpool: J. McCreery, 1801), p.153; Michael Newell, 'The Social Archaeology of Industrialisation: The Example of Manchester During the 17th and 18 Centuries', in Eleanor Conlin Casella and James Symonds (eds.), *Industrial Archaeology: Future Directions*, (New York: Springer Science + Business Media, Inc., 2005), Chapter Nine, p.187

⁸⁰ Edwin Cannan has shown the population of Liverpool continued to grow at a faster rate than that of Manchester in the period 1801-1871. See: Edwin Cannan, 'The Growth of Manchester and Liverpool, 1801-1891', *The Economic Journal*, Vol.4, No. 13, (March 1894), pp.111-114

⁸¹ Stephen Mosley, *The Chimney of the World: A History of Smoke Pollution in Victorian and Edwardian Manchester*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2001), p.17

⁸² Christopher Chalkin, *The Provincial Towns of Georgian England: A Study of the Building Process 1740-1820* (London: Edward Arnold Ltd, 1974), pp.70-71; Colin G. Pooley, 'Residential Differentiation in Victorian Cities: A Reassessment', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Vol. 9, No. 2, (1984), pp.131-144

districts in the early-nineteenth century actively avoided these areas with the exception of a minute number of industrialists who lived adjoining their mills.

These demarcated social areas in Liverpool were analysed by Paul Laxton and Colin G. Pooley through their respective studies of the 1801 census and Makin Simmonds' street-by-street census of the town from 1790.⁸³ The census of 1801 differentiated the standards of housing into front houses, back houses, and cellar dwellings. Laxton and Pooley discovered in some areas, housing was mixed between single-occupancy and shared-occupancy housing.⁸⁴ Their research also highlighted discernibly elite districts near the town hall and exchange, the south-eastern districts on the edge of the town, and the higher ground around Everton which contained relatively few occupied cellars. This is confirmed in the data collated below and it was to be expected in these residential areas, particularly those developments controlled by the Corporation which aimed to prevent this practice.⁸⁵ Although enumerator books do not survive for the 1801 census of Manchester, rate-payers' books from the same period show that older streets in Manchester, particularly those laid out in the mid-to-late eighteenth century, continued to be of mixed status or were in mixed status areas, as was revealed through the 1781 directories. For example, respectable townhouses on St. John Street and Lever Street were built with courtyard-housing at the rear, which suggests that some residential patterns continued into the new century and the residents of these streets were comfortable with their mixed status surroundings.

⁸³ Pooley, 'Liverpool: Living in Liverpool: The Modern City, p.177; 1801 Census of Liverpool <<https://search.findmypast.co.uk/search-world-records/1801-lancashire-liverpool-census>> [Last Accessed 21 June 2021]

⁸⁴ P. Laxton, 'Liverpool in 1801: A Manuscript Return for the First National Census of Population', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, No. 130, (1981), p,90

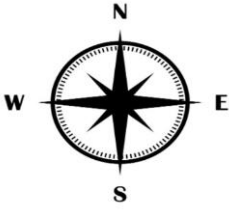
⁸⁵ Laxton, 'Liverpool in 1801', pp.88-89

Table 1.6: The ten most concentrated streets with elite residents in Liverpool and Manchester, 1800

Liverpool				Manchester			
			Total number of individuals: 845				Total number of individuals: 485
1.	Duke Street	6.0%	51	1.	Ardwick	6.8%	27
2.	Bold Street	4.2%	36	2.	King Street	4.9%	24
3.	St. Anne Street	2.8%	24	3.	Piccadilly	4.1%	20
4.	Mount Pleasant	2.6%	22	4.	Falkner Street	3.5%	17
5.	St. James Street	2.0%	17	5.	Oldham Street	3.2%	16
6.	Clayton Square	1.7%	15	6.	Levers Row	2.8%	14
7.	Hunter Street	1.6%	14	7.	Salford Crescent	2.4%	12
8.	Richmond Row	1.6%	14	8.	Fountain Street	2.2%	11
9.	Colquitt Street	0.8%	7	9.	Mosley Street	2.2%	11
10.	Ranelagh Street	0.8%	7	10.	Bloom Street	1.8%	9

Source: *Gore's Liverpool Directory*; *G. Bancks, Bancks's Manchester and Salford Directory 1800*

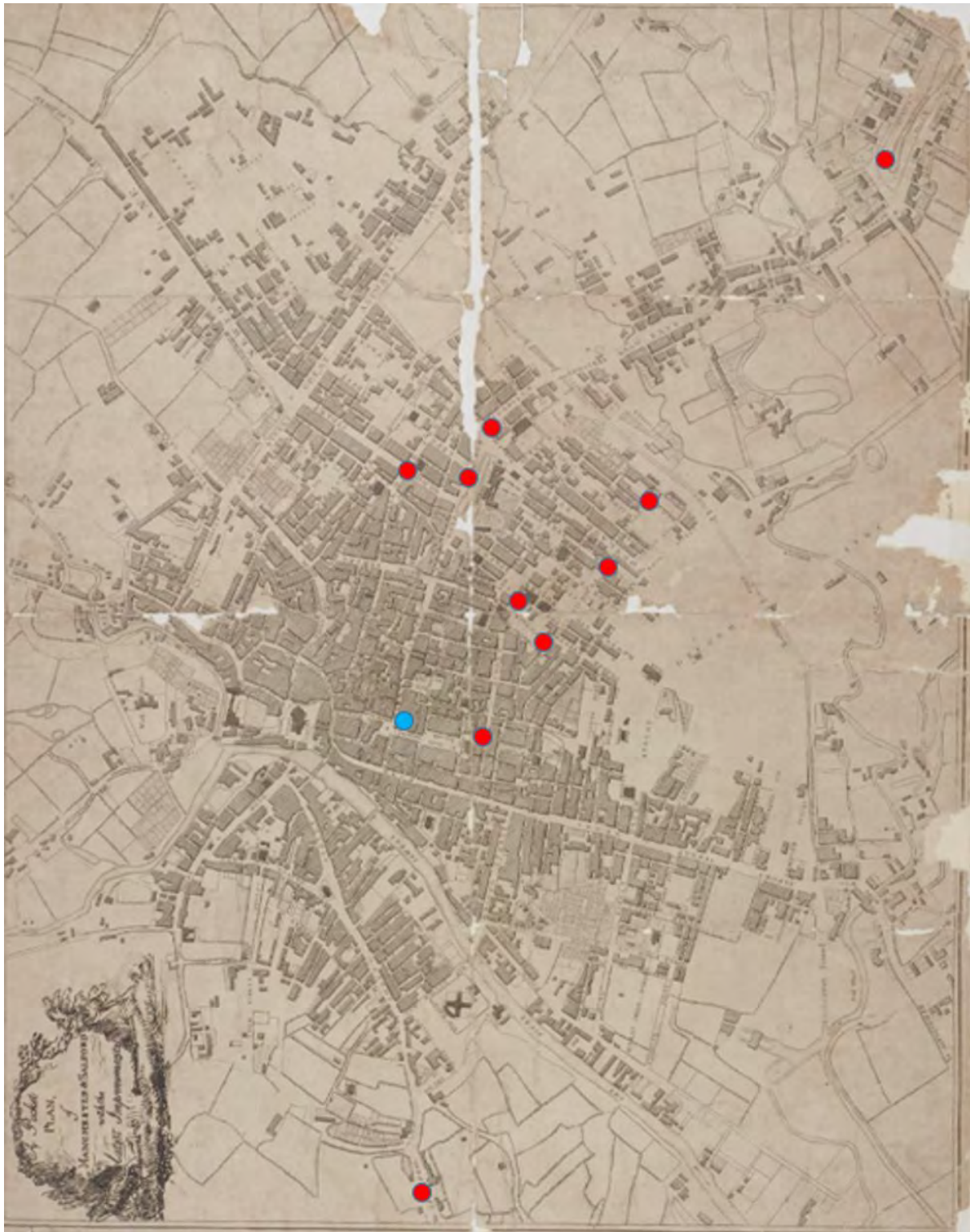
Note: Highlighted streets are those which appeared in the previous data set of the top ten streets of 1781. Here it is possible to see which streets have retained their status despite the general turnover in other popular streets.



Map 1.3: Depicting the ten most populated residential streets among Merchants, Gentlemen and Brokers in Liverpool, 1800.

(Scale: 1 mile = 9 cm)

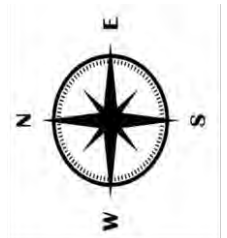
(Source: RCIN 701712: Royal Collection Trust: A Map of Liverpool and Environs, 1806, Gregory, <<https://www.rct.uk/collection/search#/1/collection/701712/a-plan-of-liverpool-with-the-environs>> [Last Accessed 27 June 2021])



Map 1.4: Depicting the ten most populated residential streets among Merchants, Gentlemen and Manufacturers in Manchester, 1800.

(Scale: 1 mile = 9cm)

(Source: University of Manchester Special Collections: GB127.Local Studies Street Map Collection: A Pocket Plan of Manchester and Salford, 1800)



The data in Table 1.6, and on Maps 1.3 and 1.4, show the extent to which towns had expanded over the latter decades of the eighteenth century. At this time Liverpool occupied an area of around 1.5 square miles; the distance from north to south was approximately 1.1 miles and east to west was around 1.8 miles. Manchester covered a slightly smaller area, only around 1.1 square miles in total with the distance between north to south around 1.6 miles and east to west around 1.1 miles. Despite its smaller size and scale, by 1801 the town had expanded into open countryside to the south, east and west. The majority of the new streets which appear in Table 1.6 were laid out adjoining their older counterparts and they followed the sites of historic lanes, which infers that these streets were laid out for convenience rather than conforming to strict urban plans. For example, Market Street Lane ran seamlessly into Levers Row, which in turn ran into Piccadilly; the latter two streets being more fashionable in 1800 as they were further removed from the commercial core. Liverpool had likewise expanded to the north, east and south and like Manchester, streets ran freely into each other and those located furthest away from the port were more fashionable by 1800, a trend which becomes evident with comparison to the 1781 directories.

Analysis of the streets for each socio-economic group across Tables 1.7 and 1.8 demonstrates that spatial distinction was still more evident in Liverpool than in Manchester, where there was more cross over of elite groups across the same streets. Although, in Liverpool, Duke Street was equally popular among all three groups. These tables also highlight the rise of rural residential locations and as such mark the beginnings of the push towards suburbia. The most represented residential location in Manchester was Ardwick, one mile from the town centre. All the other streets on Table 1.8 were on the fringes of the town, except for King Street which continued to hold its status as a prominent residential location. To some extent residential patterns in Liverpool were similar and there was a prevalence of streets on the edge of town or beyond. In 1800 Mount Pleasant bordered open fields and Richmond Row and St. Anne Street were in the village of Everton, with Hunter Street acting as a boundary between two places as can be seen in Map 1.3. The differing roles of Ardwick and Everton become more evident from observations proffered by social commentators. John Aikin inferred that Ardwick and Everton took on different roles as residential locations, despite their same approximate distance from each town centre. In the 1795 Aikin described Ardwick as being on the extremity of Manchester, not joined as such, but still connected to the town via a road

extending from Piccadilly.⁸⁶ In contrast, Aikin described ‘Everton now entirely joined to Liverpool by buildings, forms, as it were, a new town’, which suggests the countryside around Liverpool was becoming increasingly urbanised, whereas in Manchester in 1800 it retained a semi-rural appearance.⁸⁷ The overall data reveal that elite residential locations at the start of the nineteenth century pushed the rural boundaries of Manchester and Liverpool.

Table 1.7: Streets containing the largest number of elite groups: Liverpool, 1800

1800	Merchant	Gentleman	Broker
1.	Duke Street	Duke Street	Duke Street
2.	Bold Street	St. Anne Street	Hunter Street
3.	Rodney Street	Mount Pleasant	Lime Street
4.	St. James Street	Richmond Row	Mount Pleasant
5.	St. Anne Street	St. Paul’s Square	Paradise Street

Source: *Gore’s Liverpool Directory, 1800*

Table 1.8: Streets containing the largest number of elite groups: Manchester, 1800

1800	Merchant	Gentleman	Manufacturer
1.	King Street	Ardwick	King Street
2.	Ardwick	Piccadilly	Ardwick
3.	Piccadilly	Quay Street	Oldham Street
4.	Levers Row	Mosley Street	Cooper Street
5.	Salford Crescent	Water Street	Piccadilly

Source: *G. Bancks, Bancks’s Manchester and Salford Directory 1800*

Degrees of separation: Physical boundaries between the home and workplace in 1800

Bancks’s *Manchester and Salford Directory 1800* and *Gore’s Liverpool Directory 1800* are unique compared to the other directories consulted in this thesis as residential and business addresses were recorded alongside each other for various merchants and manufacturers. The inclusion of this information shows there was a demand among readership of these directories to know both addresses and suggests that this information would be of use to the

⁸⁶ Aikin, *A Description of the Country from Thirty to Forty Miles*, pp.205-206

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* p.359

audience. This information has been analysed in this section to highlight how close the mercantile communities of Manchester and Liverpool lived to their workplaces.

Due to the constraints of the urban environment in the eighteenth century, many merchants and manufacturers adopted a practical approach to their domestic residences and their places of business, such as warehouses, counting houses, offices or even mills and industrial works. For the most part this represented careful business management as having these places of business located adjoining or adjacent to the home allowed the merchant-manufacturer tighter control over the security of his stock and it echoes lingering pre-industrial domestic systems of production.

The desire to live close by places of work or business was identified by Margaret Dupree as being commonplace among the patriarchal figures of first-generation family businesses. The situation reflected the origins of these industries as family-run businesses which often developed from humble origins hence the desire of some men to remain physically close to their business to control day-to-day operations.⁸⁸ This close proximity allowed them to maintain their long-practised daily routines within the business, although the lack of separation could lead to tensions between older and younger generations within the family business, as it did with the Gregs at Quarry Bank Mill in the 1820s.⁸⁹ Political or personal ideologies have also been offered as evidence for the locating of domestic and business premises. Robert and Jane Goulden lived at Seedley Cottage in an affluent suburb of Salford in the mid-nineteenth century. The cottage was a short distance from the cotton printing and bleach works where Robert was a partner in the business and manager of the works.⁹⁰ Rachel Holmes suggested the industrial works was established in this area, almost as an act of defiance by the radical liberal Goulden, as it was surrounded by the affluent homes of the conservative elite, who 'disapproved of having as their neighbour the former master cotton spinner and bleacher turned self-made man and his opinionated wife.'⁹¹ However, both the

⁸⁸ Marguerite Dupree, "Firm, Family and Community: Managerial and Household Strategies in Staffordshire Potteries in the Mid-Nineteenth Century" in *From Family Firms to Corporate Capitalism: Essays in Business and Industrial History in Honour of Peter Mathias* ed. Kristine Bruland and Patrick O'Brien, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp.53–55

⁸⁹ Mary B. Rose, *The Gregs of Quarry Bank: The Rise and Decline of a Family Firm 1750–1914* (Cambridge: The Press Syndicate, 1986) pp.49–50

⁹⁰ June Purvis, *Emmeline Pankhurst: A Biography*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), p.10

⁹¹ Rachel Holmes, *Sylvia Pankhurst: Natural Born Rebel*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2020), Chapter One, p. unknown

print works and cottage, as well as neighbouring houses were already established decades before Goulden took over the business.⁹² Therefore, whilst the suggestions of Holmes ties in with the narrative of the Goulden and Pankhurst families, it is likely the original owner built the industrial works so close to the house because of the cost of land and the practicalities it offered, and the Gouldens would not have questioned this arrangement as during this period it was a common practice in the Manchester area.

Table 1.9: Distance between merchants’ domestic residences and places of work, Manchester and Liverpool, 1800

Distance between domestic residence and place of work	MANCHESTER Number of Merchants (Total figure: 61)	MANCHESTER Percentage	LIVERPOOL Number of Merchants (Total figure: 250)	LIVERPOOL Percentage
0 – 0.9 miles	44	72.1%	175	70.0%
1 – 1.9 miles	12	19.6%	46	18.4%
2 – 2.9 miles	1	1.6%	17	6.8%
>3 miles	4	6.5%	12	4.8%

Source: *Bancks’s Manchester and Salford Directory 1800; Gore’s Liverpool Directory, 1800*

The data in Table 1.9 proves that the majority of merchants and manufacturers in both locations lived within a short, walkable distance from their house to their place of business. Of the 44 merchants in Manchester who lived under a mile away from their places of business, 18 (43.1%) of these lived less than 0.1 mile (530 feet away) which highlights the extremely close proximity between the house and workplace and this high percentage suggests this was a common arrangement at the time, and that unlike later in the nineteenth century, physical distance from the place of work did not necessarily act as a symbol of wealth. In three examples, the same address was given for both place of residence and place of business, which indicates that the warehouse, or counting house, was attached to the house or operated from space within the house itself, as seen in London and other large metropolises

⁹² Ordnance Survey Map, Lancashire CIV (Manchester; Salford.) Surveyed: 1845, Published: 1848, National Libraries of Scotland, <<https://maps.nls.uk/os/6inch-england-and-wales/>> [Last Accessed 8 June 2021]

at the time.⁹³ Whilst the table would suggest that there was an element of distance between the addresses in every example, this was not necessarily the case. Further in-depth research has shown that in nine examples house and business premises were located on the same plot, often adjoining the house itself but as they fronted onto parallel streets, two addresses were recorded. For example, Samuel Greg's warehouse on Chancery Lane was located behind his house on King Street, as was James Harrison's house and warehouse on Piccadilly and Back Piccadilly and James Hibbert's on St. John Street and Artillery Street.

In Liverpool only 24% of the 175 merchants who lived less than a mile away from their workplace, lived less than 0.1 mile away. This was due to the prominence of dockside warehouses which enabled an element of separation between the place of business and the home. Around 18% of all merchants recorded in the directory had business premises at the various docks surrounding the waterfront. However, this relatively low figure reveals that many merchants were hesitant to operate within the confines of a shared warehouse. The two-decade stagnation between the designing and the construction of the Goree Warehouses at St. George's Dock was testament of this. In 1802, just nine years after the buildings were completed, they were destroyed by a fire causing damage to property worth £323,000.⁹⁴ Therefore, merchants in Liverpool faced the decision whether to risk their stock in a shared warehouse, or to live adjoining their warehouses.

In Liverpool 13 merchants who lived less than 0.1 mile away from their business premises listed the same address or neighbouring addresses for their residences and business. For example, Samuel Banner lived at 7 King Street and used both number 7 and number 6 King Street as his business premises, and Michael Richardson lived at 15 Upper Knight Street and operated his premises from 14 Upper Knight Street. 18 merchants lived on the same plot, their houses adjoining or attached to their place of work and eight lived on streets which adjoined their business premises on other streets. This conformity of domestic arrangement was noted by John Picton decades after it had fell out of fashion; 'The merchant or broker lived in the town and was of it. If the head of the firm resided in Bold Street, his office was in Wood Street immediately behind. If in Duke Street, his counting-house and warehouse would

⁹³ David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London merchants and the integration of the British Atlantic community, 1735-1785*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp.89-90

⁹⁴ Picton, *Memorials of Liverpool*, p.84

be in Parr Street or Henry Street [...] Almost every merchant had his counting-house at his back door. Henry Street was lined with offices belonging to the merchants who resided in the houses in front.⁹⁵

Acquiring the House and Warehouse

The property market in Manchester and Liverpool in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries catered for the industrial elite who wished to live close to their work premises. In addition, contemporary newspaper advertisements further allude to the importance of combined domestic and business spheres.⁹⁶ Local newspapers in Manchester and Liverpool, such as the *Manchester Mercury* and the *Liverpool Mercury* regularly featured advertisements for the 'house and warehouse' and the association of the two words together is testament of the desire for this type of property.

Both newspapers used similar terminology when describing the properties which were available to let or in some examples, to purchase. The adjectives gave a somewhat vague description of the suitability or the size of the property; 'good', 'convenient', 'large', 'commodious', 'capital', 'genteel' and 'newly-erected' were favoured terms relating specifically to houses advertised alongside the warehouse. Advertisements also frequently stated the current use of the building or occupier helped readers to identify with the property and to assess its suitability. Whilst Hannah Barker and Jane Hamlett have conducted extensive research into these advertisements aimed at tradesmen, there has been no analysis of the adverts aimed at merchants and manufacturers.⁹⁷ However, provincial newspapers in both towns frequently did this. For example, the *Manchester Mercury* stated; 'The Warehouse adjoins the House [...] and is most desirably situated for a Manufacturer in any line of business.'⁹⁸ A warehouse adjoining a house in Fetter Lane, Manchester was described in both its current and potential future state; 'The Warehouse has hitherto been occupied as a Spinning Factory, there is sufficient Room for 26 Jennies, with a Stove, Horse Walk, and

⁹⁵ Picton, *Memorials of Liverpool*, pp.270-276

⁹⁶ There were also a number of newspaper advertisements within these newspapers for lodging rooms to let. These advertisements were directly aimed at middle-class men, presumably those who resided permanently outside the town or those who travelled around the country for business, as well as those aimed a broader middle-class audience who travelled into the town for social events, such as the races, assembly room balls and the assizes court.

⁹⁷ Hannah Barker and Jane Hamlett, 'Home, Business and Household', in Hannah Barker, *Family and Business during the Industrial Revolution*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), Chapter Five, p.267

⁹⁸ *Manchester Mercury*, 5 August 1794, p.2

Stabling for two or more Horses, the Warehouse may be converted at a small Expense into a very complete Calendar House.⁹⁹ Advertisements indicate that business considerations took precedence over and above those relating to domestic convenience. Descriptive texts highlighted the benefits of the warehouse before moving on to the house. Advertisers simultaneously reflected consumer needs whilst also persuading them of what those needs were.¹⁰⁰ This again demonstrates the common arrangement of domestic and business premises in this period, although the merchant and manufacturer had some degree of distinction between the two spheres unlike the tradesmen discussed by Barker and Hamlett who largely lived *above* their businesses.

By the 1810s, advertisements for a 'house and warehouse' had declined in both locations – a result of changing domestic practices and in Liverpool, it was a long-lasting effect of the aforementioned Bonded Warehouse Act of 1805. The decline of these kinds of advertisements in the press did not necessarily infer that merchants were choosing to completely abandon their townhouses. Some advertisements still promoted the warehouse as a feature whilst also offering ways in which it could be modernised to reflect contemporary modes of domesticity. In 1815, the townhouse of the Staniforth family, built by Charles Goore in 1771, appeared in the *Liverpool Mercury* to be let. The advertisement was entitled '*Desirable Premises in Ranelagh Street*' and it noted the convenient location of the house with regards to amenities of the urban town such as principal streets, the Post Office, concert rooms and theatres and the Botanical Gardens.¹⁰¹ Various descriptions of the entertaining and service rooms, the staircases and bedrooms followed, as did a description of the counting house which stated; 'The Counting House, which at present is attached to the House, but which may be separated without expence [sic]'.¹⁰² The suggestion here that the merchant may easily separate the attached counting house from the main property is reflective of this generational change in domestic and business habits of the mercantile community. However, the fact the counting house was still retained and described as a feature of the house, alongside the two 'fire-proof repositories' on the ground floor and first floors of the main house would suggest that despite foundations of these changes there was still a strong desire

⁹⁹ *Manchester Mercury*, 21 October 1788, p.1

¹⁰⁰ *Manchester Mercury*, 10 October 1786, p.3; *Manchester Mercury*, 17 February 1789, p.1; *Manchester Mercury*, 29 September 1795, p.1

¹⁰¹ *Liverpool Mercury*, 12 May 1815, p.5

¹⁰² *Ibid.* p.5

to remain close to business and to protect valuable goods within the home, as seen in earlier decades.¹⁰³

Regardless of whether or not the merchant lived in a house attached to his warehouse or lodged in rooms close to his place of business, the impact of the business sphere upon the masculine-orientated domestic sphere appears to have been minimal, particularly in Liverpool, although later chapters will discuss the implications of this on the wider household. According to Joseph Picton, the merchant, including those involved in the brutality of the slave trade, was able to completely distinguish himself from his business when within the comfort of his home, irrespective of its location to his workplace; 'The man stealing process, the burning of villages, the trains of manacled fugitives, the horrors of the barracoon, and the middle passage, never obtruded themselves into the thoughts of the polite circles of Duke Street.'¹⁰⁴

The situation of the domestic property and the warehouse, counting house or office in Liverpool and Manchester at the dawn of the nineteenth century reveals a symbiotic relationship between the home and the workplace. Merchants in both Liverpool and Manchester were attracted to domestic properties which were conveniently located around the business premises. This allowed them to retain an element of control over their businesses from the comfort of their domestic sphere.

Residential Patterns in Liverpool and Manchester – 1829

The data from the 1829 directories for Liverpool and Manchester as depicted in Table 1.10 and in Maps 1.5 and 1.6 show the continuing expansion of the two towns and fluid boundaries created by residential developments which linked the town, suburb and countryside. These were first commented upon in the latter decades of the eighteenth century and in the early nineteenth century.¹⁰⁵ The reoccurrence of highlighted streets from the previous data set in

¹⁰³ *Liverpool Mercury*, 12 May 1815, p.5

¹⁰⁴ Picton, *Memorials of Liverpool*, pp.275-276

¹⁰⁵ As a result of using two different directories, the figures for 1829 vary greatly between Liverpool where Gore's Directory was used and Manchester, where Pigot's directory was much smaller. Nonetheless, both directories still offer key insights into the structures of the two towns in this period.

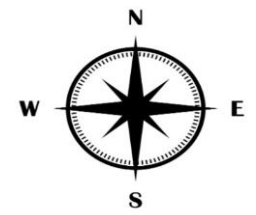
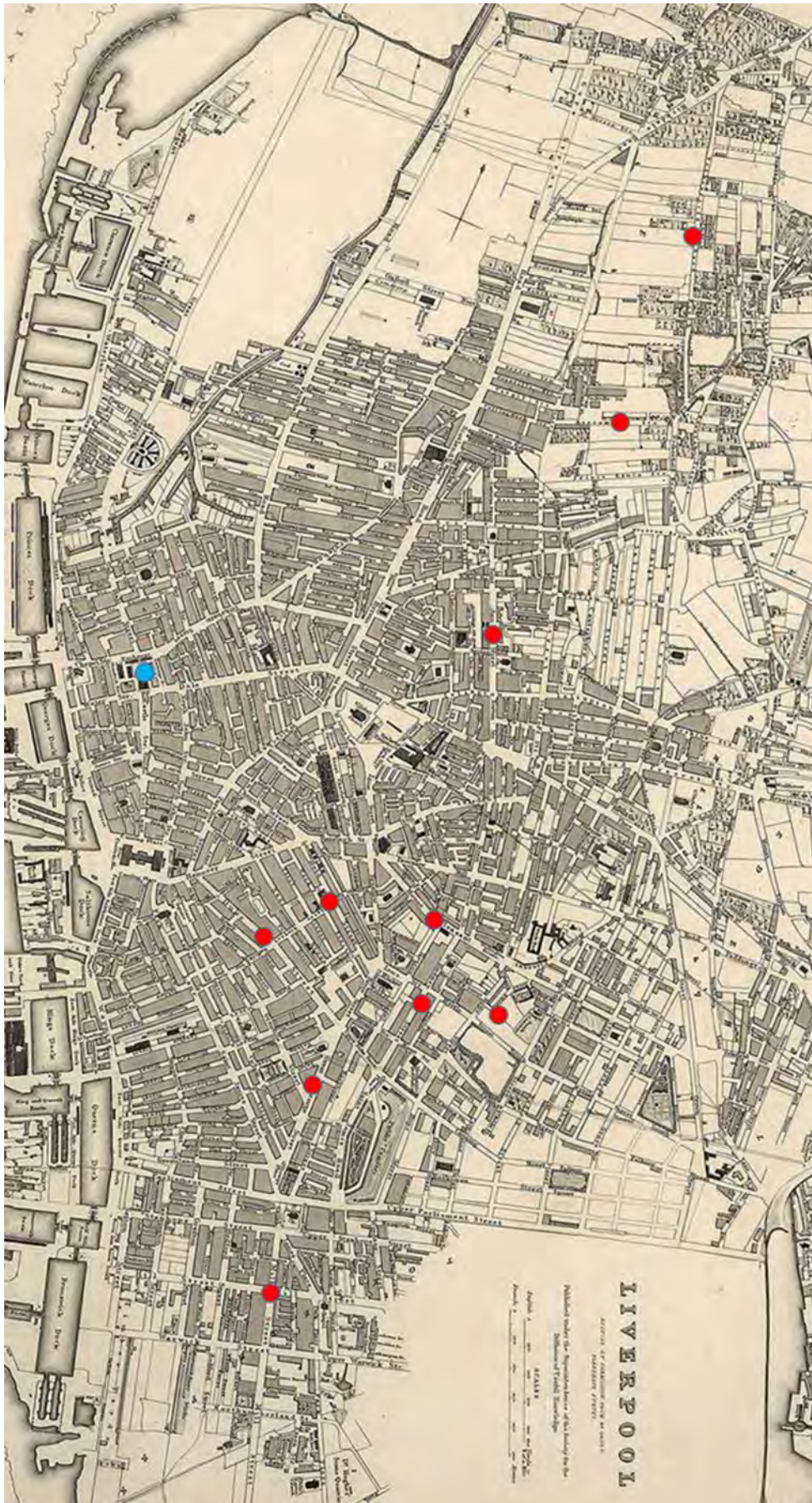
1800 shows that streets on the fringes of the town and rural locations remained popular across the 1810s and 1820s.

Table 1.10: The ten most concentrated streets with elite residents in Liverpool and Manchester, 1829

Liverpool				Manchester			
			Total number of individuals: 1154				Total number of individuals: 395
1.	Rodney Street	2.3%	27	1.	Oxford Road	8.1%	32
2.	Mill Street	2.2%	26	2.	Ardwick Green	4.0%	16
3.	Duke Street	1.9%	23	3.	Mosley Street	4.0%	16
4.	Great George Street	1.7%	20	4.	Plymouth Grove	4.0%	16
5.	Mount Pleasant	1.5%	18	5.	Salford Crescent	3.2%	12
6.	St. Anne Street	1.3%	16	6.	Brook Street	2.2%	9
7.	Netherfield Road North	1.2%	14	7.	Grosvenor Street	2.2%	9
8.	Bold Street	1.1%	13	8.	Leaf Square, Pendleton	2.0%	8
9.	Abercromby Square	1.0%	12	9.	Falkner Street	1.7%	7
10.	Roscommon Street	0.9%	11	10.	Nelson Street	1.7%	7

Source: *Gore's Liverpool Directory and its Environs, 1829*; *J. Pigot & Son, General Directory of Manchester, Salford, &c. for 1829*

Note: Highlighted streets are those which appeared in the previous data set from 1801. This table shows that the elites were pushing towards the open countryside around the town. Those streets which remained popular from the 1800 directory were still located on the edge of the town, highlighting the decline of urban townhouses.



Map 1.5: Depicting the ten most populated residential streets among Merchants, Gentlemen and Brokers in Liverpool, 1829.

(Scale: 1 mile = 7cm)

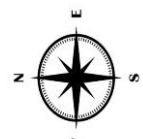
(Source: Liverpool Record Office: 912.1836, Liverpool: 1836: reduced by consent from Gage's plan and engraved by T. Starling; published under superintendence of the Society for the diffusion of useful knowledge.)



Map 1.6: Depicting the ten most populated residential streets among Merchants, Gentlemen and Manufacturers in Manchester, 1829.

(Scale: 1 mile = 7cm)

(Source: University of Manchester Special Collections: GB127.Local Studies Street Map Collection: A New Plan of Manchester and Salford and their Vicinities, 1829 J. Pigot & Co.



The percentages of those listed on each of the streets in Table 1.10 have decreased since the 1800 directory in part due to the increase in residential developments in the early-nineteenth century which offered more choice of where to live and resulted in the elite residents being less concentrated in key streets. By 1829 41.4% of elite residents in Liverpool were still living in the central district around the town centre. The boundaries of the town were much larger than in previous decades as continued expansion push the extremities of the town in the south and east. Nonetheless, the figures in central streets had declined by over half since 1781, which is significant as it illustrates the general push towards suburbanisation in the years before 1829. The data on Table 1.11 and Map 1.5 shows that streets laid out on the fringes of the town were the most heavily populated by the elite residents. The streets themselves represented the various styles of piecemeal development at the time. Great George Street led into Mill Street, which was in Toxteth on lands owned by the Earl of Sefton. Although the 1st Earl of Sefton’s sale of lands in Toxteth in the 1770s had culminated in the failed Harrington Estate, his son William Philip Molyneux, the 2nd Earl of Sefton, made exclusive sales of land in the mid-1820s, which created these popular speculative developments south of the town and 7.5% of elite residents recorded in the 1829 directory lived in Toxteth.¹⁰⁶

Table 1.11: Streets containing the largest number of elite groups: Liverpool, 1829

1829	Merchant	Gentleman	Broker
1.	Rodney Street	Mill Street	St. Anne Street
2.	Duke Street	Rodney Street	Cazneau Street
3.	Mill Street	Great George Street	Falkner Street
4.	Great George Street	Mount Pleasant	Leeds Street
5.	Mount Pleasant	Scotland Road	Netherfield Road North

Source: *Liverpool Directory and its Environs, 1829*

Rodney Street was one of the most fashionable streets in Liverpool according to Tables 1.10 and 1.11. It was constructed in a piecemeal fashion from the 1780s and by 1829, 19 merchants, seven gentlemen and one cotton dealer resided there. Streets in Everton were still popular, such as St. Anne Street, Roscommon Street and Netherfield Road North and 10.9% of all the elite residents recorded in the 1829 directory resided there. Developments

¹⁰⁶ Picton, *Memorials of Liverpool*, Volume Two, p.465

on the edges of the town allowed developers to experiment with their styles of housing and in Liverpool there was a revival of residential squares not seen in Manchester. Abercromby Square was planned in 1801 and unlike Clayton Square and Williamson Square which had open, gravel-based centres, which meant they could be used for gatherings and markets, Abercromby Square was instead constructed around a formal, central garden. The garden was solely for the residents of the square, and it could only be accessed for the fee of one guinea a year, thus ensuring its longevity and exclusivity.¹⁰⁷

The small but growing community on the Wirral peninsula reflected the interests of the wealthy who could afford to remove themselves from the centre of urban life, with the River Mersey acting as a physical barrier. Of the 24 elite residents recorded on the Wirral in 1829, 17 were gentlemen, who perhaps did not need as firm ties to the port and businesses as the mercantile community. This residential pattern was also reflected on the mainland around Liverpool. There were 25 residents recorded in Wavertree to the south of the town and 33 residents in the townships of Aigburth, Kirkdale and Walton to the north of Everton, showing that suburbanisation had taken place by the 1820s. By 1829 there were even communities on the extremities of these suburbs, 16 addresses in Linacre and Litherland, some 5 miles to the north of the town centre and four addresses in Woolton and Allerton, between 5.5 miles and 6.5 miles south of the town centre. It is notable here that one of the first omnibus services established in Liverpool in 1831 by James Watson and Company offered travel between the centre of town with Aigburth in the north and Harrington in the south showing how far the suburbs had spread and the demand for travel between them and Liverpool.¹⁰⁸ The contribution made by transport towards the growth of the suburbs is discussed in detail in the latter sections of this chapter.

The decline of urban streets is revealed from the comparisons of Table 1.6 in 1800 to Table 1.10 in 1829. Duke Street remained a prominent location for elite residences, and it had retained its status for six decades. However, none of the streets listed in Manchester's 1781 directory in Table 1.3 remained popular among successive generations of elite residents, and less than half of those listed in Table 1.6 remained popular three decades later. Most notably central streets, such as King Street had declined rapidly in the first decades of the nineteenth

¹⁰⁷ Sharples, *Liverpool*, pp.215-217

¹⁰⁸ *Liverpool Mercury*, 9 September 1831, p.1

century in favour of streets located in the suburbs. To the south east, Ardwick remained a popular suburban location and 11.8% of the elites recorded in the 1829 directory resided there, placing it on a similar standing with Everton. Pendleton, an outlying district of Salford to the west of Manchester was almost as popular and it was home to 10.1% of all elite residents. The rise of suburban Salford highlights the decline of the area around the immediate border between Salford and Manchester, and it is suggestive of the increased separation between the house and work premises. The 1829 directory also marked the rise of northern suburban districts, such as the areas around Cheetham Hill where 3.7% of residents were recorded.

Table 1.12: Streets containing the largest number of elite groups: Manchester, 1829

1829	Merchant	Gentleman	Manufacturer
1.	Mosley Street	Ardwick Green	Oxford Road
2.	Ardwick Green	George Street	Grosvenor Street
3.	Oxford Road	Mosley Street	Brook Street
4.	Plymouth Grove	Plymouth Grove	Plymouth Grove
5.	Salford Crescent	Nelson Street	Ardwick Green

Source: *J. Pigot & Son, General Directory of Manchester, Salford, &c. for 1829*

However, it was the townships south of Manchester which were most heavily populated by elite residents as shown in Map 1.6. Around 32.4% of elite residents lived in Chorlton-upon-Medlock, directly south of Manchester, and other southernly districts were also on the rise as residential locations; these included Greenheys where 2.7% of all elite residents were located, Longsight (2.0%) and Hulme (1.7%). The rapid expansion of the suburbs around Manchester and Liverpool during this time was due to the sales of manorial estates. Chorlton-upon-Medlock was known as ‘Chorlton Row’ until the early-nineteenth century and the township was regarded as being largely insignificant due to its lack of industry and as such contained only forty-six houses and 228 inhabitants in 1774.¹⁰⁹ In 1793 the manorial estate of Chorlton Hall and its land was sold by the bankrupt Roger Ayton to four local merchants and manufacturers, Samuel and Peter Marsland, William Cooper and George Duckworth. The men planned an ambitious residential development around Oxford Road, which had connected St. Peter’s Square at the edge of Manchester to the outlying villages such as Rusholme since 1790, to appeal to the rising middle classes. The streets of Chorlton-upon-

¹⁰⁹ Derek Brumhead and Terry Wyke, *A Walk Round All Saints*, (Manchester: Manchester Polytechnic, 1987) p.2

Medlock retained a semi-rural appearance as late as the 1840s and Elizabeth Gaskell recorded being able to see hay being made and cows milked from the windows of her house on Upper Rumford Street.¹¹⁰ The dissection of the estates of the landed local gentry in the south of the town became a catalyst for future projects on similar estates in Manchester. For example, the Reynolds-Moreton family of Strangeways Hall developed parcels of their lands north of the town between 1816 -1823 in a similar fashion to that seen at Chorlton Hall and these developments were intended to appeal to the middle-classes leaving their townhouses.¹¹¹

Residential Patterns in Liverpool and Manchester – 1860/1863

The data from Gore's 1860 directory of Liverpool and Slater's 1863 directory of Manchester affirm the prominent position of suburban residences among the elites of both towns. In Liverpool 80% of the streets recorded in Table 1.13 were located in suburbs on the southern fringes of the town centre. Upper Parliament Street had been laid out around 1807, serving as a boundary between Liverpool, Toxteth and West Derby and by the mid-1830s, the former roperies and open fields adjoining the street had been laid out with a gridwork of streets, including Falkner Square, Bedford Street, Canning Street, Huskisson Street and Falkner Street.¹¹² The area was not initially developed in the early-nineteenth century, to the extent that the local train station, Crown Street Station, closed to passenger traffic in 1836 after just six years of operation, as there was not enough demand.¹¹³ However, across the 1840s the construction of terraced houses, mirroring eighteenth-century townhouses, rejuvenated the area. By 1860 it was the most desirable residential location, and it was located only around 1.7 miles from the Liverpool Exchange, so there were still close links with the town as shown on Map 1.7. The decades between 1829 and 1863 also witnessed the rapid urbanisation of the suburbs north of Manchester around Broughton and Cheetham and further expansion of the suburbs to the south of the city as illustrated by Map 1.8.¹¹⁴ The absence of elite classes

¹¹⁰ Letter from Elizabeth Gaskell to Eliza Fox, 29 May 1849, in, J. A. V. Chapple and Arthur Pollard, *The Letters of Mrs. Gaskell*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1966), p.81

¹¹¹ John Rylands Library, University of Manchester Special Collections: D3406/E9: Ducie Muniments, Rent Role of Strangeways Estate commencing January 1st 1786

¹¹² Liverpool Record Office: 912.1836, Liverpool: 1836: reduced by consent from Gage's plan and engraved by T. Starling; published under superintendence of the Society for the diffusion of useful knowledge.

¹¹³ John R. Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2007), p.198

¹¹⁴ Manchester was granted city status on 29 March 1853. Liverpool did not become city until 1880.

within the urban centre was commented on by Leon Faucher, a French economist, in 1844. He noted the town centre 'is only inhabited by shopkeepers and operatives; the merchants and manufacturers have detached villas, situated in the midst of gardens and parks in the country.'¹¹⁵ As with Liverpool, these suburban residences were more desirable and convenient due to the introduction of regular public transport services such as the omnibus and train and this is seen in both newspaper advertisements and cartographical records which depict trains stations in close proximity to residential estates.

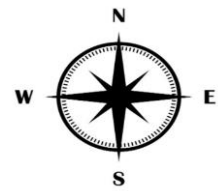
Table 1.13: The ten most concentrated streets with elite residents in Liverpool and Manchester, 1860/1863

Liverpool				Manchester			
			Total number of individuals: 1264				Total number of individuals: 1068
1.	Upper Parliament Street	2.3%	58	1.	Bury New Road	5.9%	64
2.	Prince's Park	2.2%	31	2.	Victoria Park	5.5%	59
3.	Grove Street	1.9%	28	3.	Plymouth Grove	3.5%	38
4.	Falkner Square	1.7%	25	4.	Broughton Lower Road	3.1%	34
5.	Edge Lane	1.5%	24	5.	Stretford Road	2.8%	31
6.	Huskisson Street	1.3%	24	6.	Oxford Road	2.2%	24
7.	Bedford Street South	1.2%	21	7.	Eccles Old Road	2.1%	23
8.	Upper Canning Street	1.1%	20	8.	Great Clowes Street	2.1%	23
9.	Falkner Street	1.0%	20	9.	Bury Old Road	1.5%	17
10.	Rodney Street	0.9%	19	10.	Eccles New Road	1.5%	14

Source: *Gore's Directory for Liverpool and its Environs, 1860: I. Slater, Slater's General and Classified Directory and Street Register of Manchester and Salford 1863*

Note: Highlighted streets are those which appeared in the previous data set from 1829. This table clearly shows that by the mid-nineteenth century the elite population had pushed into the suburban districts well beyond the fringes of the towns.

¹¹⁵ M. L. Faucher, *Manchester in 1844: Its Present Condition and Future Prospects*, (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1969), p.26



Map 1.7: Depicting the ten most populated residential streets among Merchants, Gentlemen and Brokers in Liverpool 1860 and the location of various chapels.

Key:
 Yellow: Unitarian Chapel
 Dark Blue: Synagogue
 Grey: Greek Church

(Scale: 1 mile = 5cm)

(Source:
 G5754_L6E635_1854_H5_19564
 37818: Harvard University:
 Harvard Map Collection: H.
 Hilliar, 'Hilliar's Guide for
 Strangers and Visitors through
 Liverpool' (1854));
 <<https://curiosity.lib.harvard.edu/scanned-maps/catalog/44-990115118430203941>> [Last
 Accessed 27 June 2021]

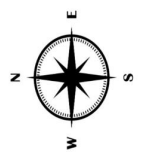


Map 1.8: Depicting the ten most populated residential streets among Merchants, Gentlemen and Manufacturers in Manchester 1863 and the location of various chapels.

- Key:
- Yellow: Unitarian Chapel
 - Dark Blue: Synagogue
 - Grey: Greek Church

(Scale: 1 mile = 5cm)

(Source: University of Manchester Special Collections: GB127.Local Studies Street Map Collection: Manchester and Salford, 1865 by Cassell, Petter & Galpin, La Belle Sauvage Yard, Ludgate Hill. E. C.)



As shown on Map 1.8, the popular suburban streets among Manchester’s elite residents included Bury New Road, Victoria Park and Plymouth Grove which were all approximately around 2-2.5 miles from the city centre, so slightly further away from the Manchester Exchange than the population of Liverpool were away from theirs. Such careful controls over residential planning is indicative of the part played, not only by the Liverpool Corporation, but also private entrepreneurial influence in the purposefully designed residential districts. Other streets depicted in Table 1.13 varied in distance; Stretford Road to the south of Manchester and Great Clowes Street to the north were around 1.5 miles from the exchange, whereas Eccles Old Road and Eccles New Road were both 3.0 miles to the west of Manchester. The distance between Manchester and these two streets located in the Salford suburb of Seedley reflect the scale of growth of Salford as an industrial town in its own right. By the 1860s previous residential streets in Salford, such as the Crescent and parts of Pendleton had been consumed by mills, industrial works, and working-class housing, mirroring residential patterns in Manchester and conforming with Burgess’s and Hoyt’s models of urban geographies.

Table 1.14: Streets containing the largest number of elite groups: Liverpool, 1860

1860	Merchant	Gentleman	Broker
1.	Upper Parliament Street	Bootle Lane	Bedford Street South
2.	Prince’s Park	Upper Parliament Street	Edge Lane
3.	Falkner Square	Crown Street	Irvine Street
4.	Canning Street	Falkner Street	Shaw Street
5.	Huskisson Street	Grove Street	Bedford Street North

Source: *Gore’s Directory for Liverpool and its Environs, 1860*

The list of streets in Tables 1.14 and 1.15 highlight the differences of residential patterns among the elite residents themselves. These figures prove that social segregation had become a prominent part of residential patterns of the mid-nineteenth century in both locations, as there was little crossover between the backgrounds of residents on the streets. Whilst suburbanisation played a part in this, especially the rise of private gated communities discussed in the latter sections of this chapter, it is clear that practicalities and links to the town remained influential factors for elite residential locations. In Liverpool, the residences of merchants and gentlemen were based around Upper Parliament Street and its periphery.

Some brokers also resided in this area as indicated by the presence of Bedford Street North and Bedford Street South in Table 1.13. The majority of brokers continued to remain in Everton and Islington. They were likely less inclined to move to fashionable districts to the south of the town, which were more expensive properties to inhabit, but they were of equal distance from the exchange as their existing houses.

Table 1.15: Streets containing the largest number of elite groups: Manchester, 1863

1863	Merchant	Gentleman	Manufacturer
1.	Bury New Road	Plymouth Grove	Broughton Lower Road
2.	Victoria Park	Oxford Road	Bury New Road
3.	Stretford Road	Victoria Park	Eccles Old Road
4.	Plymouth Grove	Eccles Old Road	Eccles New Road
5.	Broughton Lower Road	Seedley Terrace, Pendleton	Bury Old Road

Source: I. Slater, *Slater's General and Classified Directory and Street Register of Manchester and Salford*

This was also evident in Manchester and Table 1.14 shows that manufacturers favoured residential locations to the north and west of the city whereas gentlemen were concentrated to the south and to the west and merchants to the north and the south. Although these locations were not mutually exclusive to each socio-economic group, and clearly inhabitants from each group were still represented on certain streets, it is possible to see how the topography of Manchester and its suburbs influenced the choice of residential location. Suburban residences to the north of the city around Broughton and Cheetham were favoured for their high vantage points which gave good prospects and cleaner air, and these were close to industrial districts such as Ancoats.¹¹⁶ The south of the city had a flat, uninteresting landscape but, as H. B. Rodgers noted, it was 'more secure against industrial penetration' as there were no coal beds located there and the streams were too small to power machinery and this would somewhat explain the absence of manufacturers, particularly those who wished to live close to their businesses.¹¹⁷ As such the intersection of the River Medlock across Oxford Road acted as a physical boundary between the city and suburb. Clustered around the southern edge of the river were numerous industrial buildings which disposed of their by-products into the Medlock, polluting it to the extent it was described as being 'as black as

¹¹⁶ Rodgers, 'The suburban growth of Victorian Manchester', p.5

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* p.5

ink.¹¹⁸ Heavy industry also brought with it a large workforce and the streets in this part of Chorlton-upon-Medlock consisted mainly of working-class housing; including the infamous slum of 'Little Ireland' depicted in the works of Friedrich Engels and James Kay-Shuttleworth. Beyond this, the continuous line of Oxford Road towards Didsbury enabled the creation of ribbon developments around this central road; clearly access to the city was prized by residents south of the city over the scenic views north of the city.

Section III: Explanations for the Changing Patterns in Residential Developments, 1780-1860

The data in the previous section has demonstrated urban developments of Manchester and Liverpool progressed at slightly different rates during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and it also shows that there was a similarity in residential patterns of the elite, as they moved from urban to suburban and rural locations in the eighty-year period. This following section will look more closely at the residential patterns of the early decades of the nineteenth century as this was a crucial time in the national suburbanisation movement to see how these residential movement developed and how suburbanisation unfolded in the region.

Close scrutiny of trade directory data reveals that these patterns were based upon the expansion of both towns into the surrounding countryside; firstly, as streets on the fringes of the town and eventually as suburbs. This following section will analyse the various different factors which could push or pull people towards a location. This includes transport, the declining urban environment and sanitation, safety, and the role of religious and ethnic communities, which could lead to inclusivity and exclusivity. In both towns these desires and requirements drove the movement of the urban population towards the countryside, which was evident in the 1800 and 1829 directories and by the 1860/1863 directories it had become the standardised, normative choice of residential location for the industrial elite.

The Impact of Transport

The expansion of towns and cities in the early-nineteenth century was facilitated by a revolution in public transport. The evolving nature of the town and the changing role of the

¹¹⁸ *Westmorland Gazette*, 16 August 1862, p.3

surrounding countryside from being rural to semi-rural and eventually becoming suburban is shown by the introduction of the first omnibus service in Manchester in January 1824, which preceded the first service in London by five years.¹¹⁹ The Manchester omnibus was started by John Greenwood, a toll-gate collector on Eccles Old Road and Bolton Road in Pendleton, who noticed the amount of traffic to the west of the town, from early-elite residential developments, and he sought to capitalise on this. His early services ran morning, noon and evening. Greenwood later expanded the businesses and with Mr Turner, a service was established connecting Cheetham Hill, to the north of Manchester with the town centre. By 1830, Christopher Batty operated a service to the south of the town, between Greenheys and the exchange with the journey costing 6d.¹²⁰ The first omnibus services established in Liverpool came slightly after Manchester in 1831, when James Watson and Company offered travel between the centre of town with Aigburth in the north and Harrington in the south.¹²¹ This is demonstrative of the slightly earlier widespread development of suburbs in Manchester, than in Liverpool but in both locations there was sufficient demand for a service, again reinforcing the fact that suburbanisation had taken place in the 1820s and earlier decades.¹²²

The rise of the omnibus in the 1820s and 1830s is actively shown in the distances of numerous residences from the town centre in the 1829 directories. These distances were heightened in the 1860 and 1863 directories due to the expansion of the railways. The opening of the world's first inter-city railway in September 1830 created a revolutionary new transportation link between Liverpool and Manchester. The promotion of a railway line connecting the two towns came from Joseph Sandars, a Liverpool merchant and John Kennedy, a Manchester manufacturer in the 1820s and both men realised the economic advantage and convenience of the connection between the two towns.¹²³ John Scott suggested investment in the railways

¹¹⁹ Manchester Corporation, Transport Department, *A Hundred Years of Road Passenger Transport in Manchester*, (Manchester: Henry Blacklock & Co. Ltd., 1935), p.9

¹²⁰ *Ibid.* p.10

¹²¹ *Liverpool Mercury*, 9 September 1831, p.1

¹²² For a more comprehensive examination of Manchester's transportation system in the nineteenth century, see: Derek Brumhead & Terry Wyke (eds.), *Moving Manchester: Aspects of the History of Transport in the city and region since 1700*, (Manchester: Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, 2004); Peter Maw, *Transport and the Industrial City: Manchester and the Canal Age*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), and also: Christian Wolmar, *Fire and Steam: A New History of the Railways in Britain*, (London: Atlantic Books, 2007)

¹²³ J. Everett, *Panorama of Manchester, and Railway Companion*, (Manchester: J. Everett, 1834), p.189

was so prolific in the nineteenth century because it offered an alternative investment to counterbalance to the decline in the profitability of textile manufacturing as the century progressed.¹²⁴

Whilst the goods railway had obvious advantages for merchants and manufacturers, and landowners and others who invested in stocks and shares, it was met with the disapproval of landowners who had already commenced developing their land. There was a sense of uncertainty regarding the railways and a general distrust of the companies encroaching on their land, with particular concern placed on the positions of the stations within the town centres, which would affect the value of property. As early as 1825 Ann Atherton and Eleanora Byrom, two landowners in Manchester who had already commenced laying out streets around Quay Street, complained:

It is obvious that the inconvenience and danger which will of necessity arise from the passing locomotive engines, in addition to the great and offensive nuisance attending to the use of them, and more particularly where many of the engines are collected together at the depot, will not only cause great alarm to the inhabitants, but will also materially injure, if not wholly destroy their comforts, and actually compel them to desert their residences. The building of houses of the description of those already erected must necessarily be stopped; and if other inferior houses are built, they must alter the whole character of the neighbourhood, and materially injure the value of those already erected.¹²⁵

Nonetheless, the terminus of the Liverpool-Manchester railway was erected on Liverpool Street in 1830, adjoining the Atherton/Byrom estate. Initially the novelty and convenience of the station meant there was little negative impact on surrounding residential streets which retained their wealthy inhabitants.

However, the railways did have a significant impact on the urban topographies of both locations, especially in the decades after 1830. Liverpool had avoided mass clearance projects for the introduction of a railway line by the creation of tunnels. Even so, St. Mathias the

¹²⁴ Scott, *The Upper Classes*, p.69

¹²⁵ Kellett, *Impact of Railways*, pp.154-155

Apostle Church was demolished in the 1840s when the site was consumed by the Liverpool-Bury Railway Company.¹²⁶ The growing popularity of the railway resulted in the expansion of lines and new stations. In Liverpool there was Lime Street (1836), Waterloo (1848), Liverpool Exchange (1850) and in Manchester; Store Street (1842), Victoria (1844) and Oxford Road (1849). This brought with it a change in industrial and residential locations. As land became more valuable in the 1850s, less factories were built in the central urban core as documented by Peter Maw, Terry Wyke and Alan Kidd.¹²⁷ In residential patterns there was less enthusiasm to live near the busy sites of railway stations, as predicted by Atherton and Byrom decades earlier.¹²⁸ Moreover, the presence of a railway station and the associated goods yards, warehouses and housing for workers could mark the decline of a previously affluent suburb. By the mid-nineteenth century, Ardwick had ceased to be classified as rural countryside and the area was in decline following the introduction of a train line connecting Ardwick Station to Store Street Station in 1842, which greatly altered the appearance of the area and streets of terraced housing were laid out around the central green.¹²⁹ As a result only 2.4% of merchants, manufacturers and gentlemen recorded in the 1863 directory lived there and the area which had been popular for a century for its remoteness had become an extension of the city.

Moreover, the convenience of railway lines permitted the wealthier classes in both Liverpool and Manchester to reside further away from the urban centre given the improved transport links. The growth of new communities around these network links outside of Manchester were evident in the 1863 directory at Trafford (6.6% of all elite residents) and at Whalley Range (5.2% of elite residents) which were around 2.5 miles south-west of the city. In the latter decades of the nineteenth century elite communities developed in Altrincham 8.6 miles outside of Manchester and Wilmslow some 12 miles to the south, although the growth of these towns were still clustered around the London railway line, highlighting its importance

¹²⁶ Picton, *Memorials of Liverpool*, p.440; p.47

¹²⁷ Peter Maw, Terry Wyke and Alan Kidd, 'Canals, Rivers and the Industrial City: Manchester's Industrial Waterfront, 1790-1850', *The Economic History Review*, Vol.65, No.4, (2012), pp.1519-15120

¹²⁸ Store Street Station was renamed London Road Station in 1847 and as Manchester Piccadilly in 1960.

¹²⁹ University of Manchester Special Collections: GB127.Local Studies Street Map Collection, 1860 Map of Manchester and its Environs, J. Rapkin

in influencing suburban developments.¹³⁰ Likewise the population of the suburbs of Chorlton, Didsbury and Withington increased by more than half during the decade after the construction of the Midland Line through the area in 1880.¹³¹

Developments on the Wirral peninsula had grown exponentially between 1829 and 1860 due to the railway, and the population of Birkenhead tripled in the decade following the opening of the Chester-Birkenhead Railway in 1840.¹³² The ease of travel across the Mersey was also reflected in the socio-economic communities which developed there. Pre-railway in 1829 it was gentlemen who mostly represented elite residents there but in 1860 merchants accounted for 65.6% of elite residents recorded there. This contradicts Colin G. Pooley's assessment that there was less mobility in high-status areas in mid-nineteenth century Liverpool.¹³³ The growth of the peninsula shows upwardly mobile residents, who appear to have emulated the pattern set by their social superiors by removing themselves completely away from the town centre and thus creating distinctively upper-middle class, wealthy residential areas. The private communities of Grassendale Park and Cressington Park were constructed alongside the Cheshire Railway line. In 1861 Otterspool Station opened in rural Aigburth, for the service of the wealthy community there. The closest villas were only around 1968 feet to the east of the lines, although in contrast were scenic views over the Mersey Estuary to the west and these private developments offered residences the conveniences and comforts of both urban and rural living.

The declining urban environment

The expansion of Manchester and Liverpool into the surrounding countryside in the early-nineteenth century was also due to a series of urban improvement schemes, designed to foster a sense of civic pride and this ultimately altered the function of the central cores of each town, which pushed the elite population outwards. Occurring alongside this were

¹³⁰ Rodgers, 'The suburban growth of Victorian Manchester', p.9; Day trips for the Manchester elites to these southern locations, such as Alderley Edge, were popular from the laying out of the Manchester-Birmingham line between 1840-46, see: *Manchester Times*, 7 June 1851, p.5

¹³¹ *Ibid.* p.10

¹³² The Presses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, *Census of Great Britain, 1851: Population Tables, I. Numbers of the Inhabitant of the Years 1801, 1811, 1821, 1831, 1841 & 1851, Volume II*, (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1851), p.31

¹³³ Pooley, 'Residential Mobility in the Victorian City', pp.271-272

simultaneous developments to improve amenities in the suburbs which acted to pull these residents beyond the fringes of the town.

Manchester's initial street improvements focused on improving the historic centre of the town. An Act of Parliament granted in 1776 focused on street widening schemes around Old Millgate, Cateaton Street and St. Mary's Gate, and the entrance to St. Ann's Square was opened up from the Market place which in turn created Exchange Street.¹³⁴ The Police Commissioners, the body in governance of the town, enacted further improvements around the site of the exchange in 1792 and the exchange itself was rebuilt between 1806-08, reflecting a new self-confidence in the town.¹³⁵ Liverpool also developed its infrastructure through a series of Improvement Acts between 1771-1832, although it was far more ambitious than Manchester's small-scale improvements, and the decades-long projects eventually cost £645,891.¹³⁶ Such was the scale of the developments that it was noted that the air in the town was 'impregnated with the aromatic effluvia of tar and pitch.'¹³⁷ The development of Castle Street in 1786 was particularly prominent. Surviving medieval buildings were purchased and demolished as the street was widened and straightened, creating an expansive vista and more importantly, a commercial core at the centre of the town. The clearly defined role of this new space pushed residential developments further away from this and the dock area. Moreover, the income from the port allowed for the Liverpool Corporation to have a systematic control over many residential developments, with rules which restricted the use of steam engines and businesses in residential neighbourhoods and prevented the subletting of cellars as separate dwellings helped to create the 'truly handsome' and 'pleasant and respectable' neighbourhoods as described by Aikin.¹³⁸

In both towns private enterprise was also responsible for a number of housing developments. In Manchester, private investments led to the development of the eastern and south-eastern parts of the town. The gridiron of streets laid out there in the late-eighteenth century was

¹³⁴ Aston, *The Manchester Guide*, pp.42-43

¹³⁵ Thomas Swindells, *Manchester Streets and Manchester Men: First Series*, (Manchester: J. E. Cornish Ltd, 1906), p.155

¹³⁶ Longmore, 'Civic Liverpool: 1680-1800', p.157

¹³⁷ Moss, *The Liverpool Guide*, p.136

¹³⁸ Aikin, *A Description of the Country from Thirty to Forty Miles*, p.359; p.376; Longmore, 'Civic Liverpool: 1680-1800', p.158

evidence of Manchester attempting to move away from its medieval street pattern, perhaps emulating the ways in which other provincial towns had laid out their streets.¹³⁹

These streets were not solely residential; their scale and size attracted several public and private institutions alongside townhouses. Rather than act as a deterrent, these instead fostered a sense of community among the residents and in some examples, such as the Assembly Rooms and the Portico Library on Mosley Street, these subscription-only venues catered to the elitism of some streets. Other public institutions such as the Infirmary, which was opened in 1755 and the adjoining lunatic asylum opened in 1765 and a public bath and washhouse established in 1790 did not deter wealthy residents. Piccadilly and Levers Row were constructed opposite these institutions at the eastern end of Market Street Lane, and they were well-represented as prominent residential streets among all three elite communities in Table 1.8. Joseph Aston's 1804 guide to Manchester was eager to reflect the merits of the area: 'Perhaps the most pleasant situation absolutely in the town. This arises from its proximity to the Infirmary, which has kept the front free from buildings, and from the gardens belonging to that charity, which enliven the prospect from the windows of the houses.'¹⁴⁰ However, Anna Walker noted in her diary; 'We got to Lever's Row [sic], opposite the Infirmary, to dinner, where our lodgings are small and Indifferent, but the best Manchester affords' which suggests Aston's depiction of the street and its surroundings were somewhat embellished.¹⁴¹

Urban redevelopment continued into the nineteenth century and again reinforced the creation of central business districts at the heart of Manchester and Liverpool. An 1821 Act of Parliament allowed for the widening of Market Street Lane in Manchester which at its narrowest part was only wide enough for one cart to pass in the roadway and the footpath was just two feet wide.¹⁴² The improvements to Market Street Lane involved the compulsory

¹³⁹ University of Manchester Special Collections: GB127.Local Studies Street Map Collection: A New Plan of Manchester and Salford and their Vicinities, 1829 J. Pigot & Co; Liverpool Record Office: 912.1836, Liverpool: 1836: reduced by consent from Gage's plan and engraved by T. Starling; published under superintendence of the Society for the diffusion of useful knowledge.)

¹⁴⁰ Aston, *The Manchester Guide*, p.271

¹⁴¹ Wigan Archives and Leigh Local Studies: EHC1/M769, The Walker Diaries Vol. 1&2, 30 March 1789; James R. Moore has researched a failed attempted to develop Piccadilly in the 1830s, see: James R. Moore, 'Urban Space and Civic Identity in Manchester 1780-1914', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Vol. 153, (2004), pp.87-123

¹⁴² Thomas Swindells, *Manchester Streets and Manchester Men: Second Series*, (Didsbury: E. J. Morten, 1907), p.247

purchase of businesses and the demolition of medieval buildings. Unlike Liverpool, where a similar scheme was enacted on Castle Street some four decades earlier, Manchester had no corporation, and the process was both slow and costly. It was initially conducted by the Market Street Commissioners and after seven years, it was acquired by the Gas Commissioners. It eventually took over a decade to complete and cost £232,925 much to the frustration of residents.¹⁴³

The widening of Market Street Lane ultimately impacted on neighbouring residential streets as many businesses were relocated there during the lengthy building works. In turn, this displaced the elite residential population from these central streets such as King Street, Norfolk Street and Deansgate, exacerbating their decline as places for elite residents, which had started at the turn of the century. King Street, which had formerly been one of the most prominent residential streets, declined as a residential street almost entirely in the 1820s. In 1822, a large mansion on the corner of King Street and Cross Street, which had been the home of Mr Croxton and later Dr White, was demolished and replaced with Manchester's first purpose-built town hall. Other residents of the street sold their properties around this time, such as Samuel Greg who sold his house in 1826 to the Bank of England and by the 1829 directory only two merchants were recorded on the street. Although the street lost its residential population, it retained its influential status because of the important civic, banking and commercial premises located there. This situation was mirrored on Bold Street in Liverpool in the 1830s, when the former popular residential street became a popular shopping street for middle-class women.

The commercialisation of other streets, which had once been on the periphery of Manchester, in the 1830s and 1840s demonstrated how the residents of the street could drive forth change. Some elite residents were compliant with the changes and eager to take advantage of the financial opportunities urban redevelopment presented, such as the increasing commercial value of land. In 1832, townhouses on Princess Street were sold or converted by their owners, such as the Slater family who retained their townhouse but converted it into their offices, thus saving on acquiring or building new premises.¹⁴⁴ Writing in 1832 to this brother Frederick, Richard Cobden, expressed his pride in the value of his Mosley Street

¹⁴³ Thomson, *History of Manchester*, p.307; *Manchester Times*, 24 January 1829, p.6

¹⁴⁴ Manchester Central Archives: GB127.M9/40/2/107, Poor Rate Assessments, 1832, p.315

townhouse which he had put up for sale. His letter reveals how some the younger generation of the industrial elite felt about their connections to their homes, particularly their townhouse. This communicates a more distinct separation between domesticity and the business premises which arose in the early-nineteenth century. Samuel Greg, for example, retained his townhouse for a decade after he moved to the countryside in 1815; in contrast Cobden was excited that he had pre-empted the decline of Mosley Street as a residential street:

I have given such a start to Mosley Street, that all the world will be at my heels soon. My next door neighbour, Brooks, of the firm Cunliffe and Brooks, bankers, has sold his house to be converted into a warehouse. The owner of the house on the other side has given his tenant notice for the same purpose. The house immediately opposite to me has been announced for sale, and my architect is commissioned by George Hole, the calico printer, to bid 6,000 guineas for it, but they want 8,000 for what they paid 4,500 only five years ago. The architect assures me if I were to put up my house to-morrow, I might have 6000 guineas for it. So as I gave but 3000, and all the world is talking of the bargain here, and there being but one opinion or criterion of man's ability – the making of money - I am already thought a clever fellow.¹⁴⁵

In one sense the elites were also emulating a process of middle-class residential patterns seen in other metropolises, which Peter Borsay has traced to the late-seventeenth century and early-eighteenth century with examples drawn from the mercantile communities in Leeds and Newcastle.¹⁴⁶ The movement of the elite populations at the start of the nineteenth century can be attributed to the slightly slower urban growth and development of both Liverpool and Manchester when compared to Leeds, London and Newcastle.¹⁴⁷

In-depth research from the 1800 directories of Manchester and Liverpool shows that there was a prominent rise in rurally-located homes, i.e., places located beyond the fringes of the

¹⁴⁵ John Morley, *The Life of Richard Cobden, Volume I*, (London: Chapman and Hall Limited, 1881), p.22

¹⁴⁶ Peter Borsay (ed.) *The Eighteenth-Century Town: A Reader in English Urban History 1688-1820*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2013), p.19

¹⁴⁷ See: L. D. Schwarz, 'Social Class and Social Geography: The Middle Classes in London at the End of the Eighteenth Century', in, Borsay (ed.) *The Eighteenth-Century Town*, Chapter 11, Section III, pp.328-330

towns and thus dispels existing estimations that suburbanisation only occurred in this region in the 1830s and it proves that it was a residential pattern of a range of elite residents, whereas existing literature has only attributed it to the members of the Liverpool Corporation.¹⁴⁸ Residential locations among the elites recorded within the central districts of the town were lower in 1800 compared to the 1781 directories. In 1800 only 75.3% of people were recorded in Liverpool's central district and 66.3% in Manchester and thus it is argued that widespread suburbanisation started at the dawn of the nineteenth century. The numbers of elite residents in the districts around the towns were growing; 5.2% of the Liverpool elite lived in Everton and 1.8% lived in Wavertree; in Manchester; 13.4% of the elite lived in Salford, 6.1% in Ardwick, 3.7% in Hulme. There were also examples from both directories of individuals who lived in the countryside well-beyond the town centres, but their presence in the trade directories suggests they had some involvement in urban life. Two elite residents were recorded in Bootle, some 3 miles from Liverpool town centre and five individuals were recorded in West Derby some 4 miles away. In Manchester, individuals were recorded in Prestwich, 3.5 miles away; Pendlebury, 4 miles away, Fallowfield 5.6 miles away and Urmston, 7 miles away.

Health, Sanitation and Rural Developments

The rapid industrialisation of Manchester and the effects of this on the environment, on health and on sanitation were significant factors which pushed the elites towards the countryside. This was somewhat less pronounced in Liverpool as it had a different topography and economy to Manchester. Liverpool rose on a gradient towards the north-east and as a port town it had a relatively healthy situation compared to Manchester, which was inland, flat and sheltered by hills, meaning the polluted atmosphere hung over the town.¹⁴⁹ In 1789 Anna Walker described Manchester as 'a Dull, Smoky, Dirty Town in a Flat, from whence the Black Soot rises in the clouds to Overspread the surrounding Country.'¹⁵⁰ Nonetheless, the

¹⁴⁸ Rodgers, *Suburban Growth of..*, p.4; Longmore, 'Residential Patterns of the Liverpool Elite c1660-1800', pp.175-192

¹⁴⁹ William Moss's 1801 guide of Liverpool which devoted 20 pages to discussions on Liverpool's air, soil, water, situation and inhabitants and a further 17 pages to sea bathing. Moss, *The Liverpool Guide*, pp.133-153; pp.175-193

¹⁵⁰ Wigan Archives and Leigh Local Studies: EHC1/M769, The Walker Diaries Vol. 1&2, 30 March 1789

countryside around Manchester offered a healthy alternative place to create a home. Ardwick became an elite residential location in the 1740s and after rapid industrialisation in the late-eighteenth century, there was an increase in residential development there, thus explaining its prominence in the 1800 and 1829 directories. Ardwick Green and its large lake was at the centre of the village. The rural situation was used as an endorsement in advertisements for property, for example in March 1765 one house and garden could be rented along with ‘a meadow and Pasture Field.’¹⁵¹ The growing popularity of the area was reflected in the various enlargements of St. Thomas’s Church, which was constructed in Ardwick Green in 1744, enlarged in 1777 and again in 1831, reflecting the increase in the size of the congregation.¹⁵²

Salford Crescent, a mile to the west of Manchester, also reflected the same movements of elite residents to the surrounding countryside and it was also a prominent location in both the 1800 and 1829 directories. Aston placed particular emphasis on the natural scenery in his description of the two locations in 1804:

[Ardwick Green] is one of the best built, and most pleasant suburbs in the kingdom, to which its elegant houses – its expanded green - and the lake in its centre, all contribute. The other situation is the SALFORD-CRESCENT, which stands upon a spot almost unrivalled for a beautiful, and commanding prospect, which form the nature of the situation can never be interrupted by the buildings; and by the inhabitants of the charming elevation, will always be sure of rich country scenery, in view of their front windows [...] The fertile valley – the meandering of the river Irwell [...] the rural cots, the pleasant villas – the rising hills, and the distant mountains, form a landscape which never fails to create an admiration...¹⁵³

Several merchants and manufacturers chose to live in these outlying locations for the health benefits of their family members. Aston commented upon this in his *Manchester Guide* of 1804, noting ‘the present prevalent disposition of so many persons, whose business is carried on in the town, to reside a little-way from it, where the breath of heaven can more freely

¹⁵¹ *Manchester Mercury*, 12 March 1765, p.4

¹⁵² Clare Hartwell, *Manchester*, (London: Penguin Group Ltd, 2001) p.293

¹⁵³ Aston, *The Manchester Guide*, pp.274-275

blow upon them.¹⁵⁴ Titus Hibbert (1717-1796) moved from St. Ann's Square to Ardwick Green in December 1785 on the account of the ill-health of his daughter Hannah, who died the following year aged 23.¹⁵⁵ Hannah Greg (1766-1828), wife of the merchant and manufacturer Samuel Greg, lived on King Street. In July 1798 she wrote about the effects of the urban environment upon her mental health:

I am enclosed in a busy, noisy town amidst employments so pressing and unmitigated that my nerves & my strength had nearly sunk under them and a week ago I concluded I should have been obliged to go to Liverpool to recover my natural state [...] I look forward to living less in this town, which of late has become almost insupportable to me – as Mr. G seems to intend seriously building 3 or 4 rooms in the country this year- which will enable me to keep my family together about me, at least all summer.¹⁵⁶

The examples of Hibbert and the Gregs present a compromised situation in which business and domestic lives could be balanced more evenly by relocating to a house on the edge of town or by having both town and country properties. Aikin identified country residences as those being located a distance of one or two miles away from business premises and he noted that 'All the villages in the vicinity of Liverpool are filled with the country seats and places of retirement of the merchants and other inhabitants of Liverpool' which would infer that the removal to the countryside, or certainly the acquisition of multiple properties by the elites, was established and accepted by the mid-1790s.¹⁵⁷ The 1800 directories of Liverpool and Manchester only record a handful of examples of merchants or manufacturers who had two domestic addresses. In Liverpool Robert Johnson had a town residence at 12 Suffolk Street and a country residence at Elm Grove in Wavertree around 2.5 miles apart; likewise the Dickson family were recorded at Clayton Square and their other property was in Anfield, some 2.7 miles away.¹⁵⁸ In Manchester the only example given of town and country residences was George Webster, a cotton manufacturer who lived at 46 Fountain Street and also had

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.* p. 271

¹⁵⁵ Mrs. Hibbert Ware, *The Life and Correspondence of the late Samuel Hibbert Ware*, (Manchester: J. E. Cornish, 1882) pp.103-104

¹⁵⁶ University of Liverpool, Special Collections & Archives; Rathbone Papers, GB 141 RP.II.1.64: Letter from Hannah Greg to William Rathbone IV, 31 July 1798

¹⁵⁷ Aikin, *A Description of the Country from Thirty to Forty Miles*, p.205; p.331

¹⁵⁸ *Gore's Liverpool Directory, 1800*

property in Rusholme, 2.1miles away.¹⁵⁹ Further analysis of the trade directories reveals many more examples of potential country residences, which are not made explicit like the aforementioned examples. It is plausible to assume many more merchants, manufacturers and gentlemen had multiple residences, such as Samuel Greg, whose country residence was simply not recorded in the directories.

The relatively low numbers of elite residents in the districts beyond Liverpool and Manchester at the turn of the nineteenth century are reflective of some of the inconveniences created by living in a location removed from the amenities of the urban town. Poor transport links were one such difficulty, which made travel between town and country difficult. In their study of 26 Scottish Burghs in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Bob Harris and Charles McKean discovered that many initial acts of urban improvement, such as the removal of market crosses and town gates, were to accommodate advancements in transport.¹⁶⁰ In Manchester, Titus Hibbert recorded that a chaise from the Market Place in Manchester to Ardwick Green cost 2s./6d. and the fact he chose a chaise rather than a carriage reflected the poor state of the roads between Manchester and Ardwick.¹⁶¹ His accounts reveal he subscribed £2/2s. on 12 April 1787 and the same amount again on 30 April to improve the road between Manchester and Ardwick, which infers the improvements were left to the residents of Ardwick themselves as this was beyond the jurisdiction of the Police Commissioners.¹⁶² The act of private subscriptions for public improvements, renewals and refurbishments was commonplace in small towns in Britain and Scotland in this period, and it is again suggestive that improvement was seen as desire to be carried out by the population as a whole.¹⁶³ The distance could also leave the industrial elite at a disadvantage where business was concerned. In 1795 the merchant William Rathbone IV wrote; ‘I have been to town only once this week & neither seen a newspaper or heard any news these two day’, as his home, Greenbank was some 3.5 miles from Liverpool.¹⁶⁴ Perhaps most telling is that after his daughter’s death, Titus Hibbert left Ardwick and returned to Manchester, taking a house

¹⁵⁹ *Bancks’s Manchester and Salford Directory 1800*

¹⁶⁰ Bob Harris and Charles McKean, *The Scottish Town in the Age of the Enlightenment 1740-1820*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), p.109

¹⁶¹ Hibbert Ware, *The Life and Correspondence of the late Samuel Hibbert Ware*, p.39

¹⁶² Hibbert Ware, *The Life and Correspondence of the late Samuel Hibbert Ware*, pp.103-104

¹⁶³ Harris and McKean, *The Scottish Town*, p.509-552; Paul Slack, *The Invention of Improvement: Information and Material Progress in Seventeenth-Century England*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp.215-228

¹⁶⁴ UOL: Rathbone Papers, GB 141 RP.II.1.42B: Letter from William Rathbone IV to Hannah Greg, 20 April 1795

in King Street at the very centre of town and business. This was not unusual; like Hibbert, Nathaniel Meyer Rothschild had originally lived on Downing Street in Ardwick Green, but he also moved back to the centre of the town, which highlights the draw of urban life and the conflicting decisions some men of business faced at the start of the nineteenth century.¹⁶⁵

The early-nineteenth century suburb was also responsible for its own jurisdiction until the 1835 Municipal Corporations Act established municipal boroughs controlled by town councils which were elected by ratepayers. In some parts of England, the rise of local government led to intra-class conflicts as a result of the transferral of power from the aristocracy to the democratically elected middle classes.¹⁶⁶ However, this was not the situation in Manchester. As Simon Gunn's research has shown the residents of nineteenth-century Manchester were often explicit in their displays of civic pride and middle-class identity, likely a result of being excluded from local power structures and national recognition for so long.¹⁶⁷ In 1838, the municipal borough of Manchester was founded, incorporating the surrounding townships of: Ardwick, Beswick, Cheetham, Chorlton-upon-Medlock and Hulme, all of which were townships where the elites were residents.¹⁶⁸ Liverpool, which had been a borough since 1207, simply extended its boundaries in 1835, to include parts of Everton, Kirkdale, Toxteth and West Derby but the Act significantly reduced the mercantile oligarchy which had previously controlled the Corporation.¹⁶⁹ Whereas in Manchester it bolstered the mercantile voice, as so many of the elite residents who sat on the council came from this community.

In both towns, the Act gave a voice to the elite residents of suburban communities who could raise their concerns formally. Prior to 1835 each township operated under its own rules and regulations, for example Cheetham operated on a different system to Chorlton-upon-Medlock, Toxteth was different to Everton. The result of this can be seen in the residential locations in the 1829 directory, as townships with better facilities and amenities attracted more residents. The paving of streets and laying out of sewers was a voluntary process in

¹⁶⁵ Swindells, *Manchester Streets...First Series*, p.199

¹⁶⁶ Benno Engels, *The Poverty of Planning: Property, Class, And Urban Politics In Nineteenth-Century England*, (Maryland, USA: Lexington Books, 2021), p.13; Arthur Redford assisted by Ina Stafford Russell, *The History of Local Government in Manchester*, Vol. II, (London: Longmans, Green & Company, 1940)

¹⁶⁷ Simon Gunn, 'Class, identity and the urban: the middle class in England, c.1790-1950', *Urban History*, Vol. 31, No. 1, (May 2004), p.34

¹⁶⁸ Alan Kidd, *Manchester: A History*, Fourth Edition, (Lancaster: Carnegie Publishing Ltd, 2011) p.62

¹⁶⁹ Susan George, *Liverpool Park Estates: Their Legal Basis, Creation and Early Management*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), p.68

Manchester enacted by the street owner until the establishment of the Paving and Soughing Committee under the Police Act in Manchester of 1828. From 1830 these sanitary features became compulsory, as did other specifications, and although this created some regularity within the town, it did not affect the townships outside it.¹⁷⁰ The formation of the municipal borough may have created a uniformity of practices within the town and suburbs but the implementation of these schemes in surrounding townships was a slow process, sometimes taking over a decade.¹⁷¹ This inconsistency was also evident in Liverpool as late as the 1840s, for example the Corporation only supplied the town's residents with water for the period of one to two and a half hours a day.¹⁷² This was not a purely domestic inconvenience but as a result the sewerage system was affected and even in 1840 the roads and gutters were covered in '*that most disgraceful effluvium which salutes the olfactory nerves at every turn*' and it particularly hindered transport and business moving through the town.¹⁷³

In contrast suburban developments were initially improved by private enterprise and services which were controlled by private companies who ensured their products reached the population quicker and more efficiently than those controlled by the corporation in each town. The introduction of gas was more uniform in both towns. By June 1829 the centre of Manchester was lit by gas and by August that year plans were employed to provide Chorlton-upon-Medlock with gas.¹⁷⁴ The Liverpool Gas Light Company was founded in 1816 and by 1829 Everton was supplied with gas, which suggests both towns were equal in their expansion of services to outlying districts.¹⁷⁵ The introduction of these amenities and services in the 1820s again highlight suburban developments around both towns, which were bolstered in the period post-1835 by the formation of formal corporations.

¹⁷⁰ Thomson, *History of Manchester*, p. 323

¹⁷¹ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 1 March 1845, p.3

¹⁷² James H. Treble, 'Liverpool Working-Class Housing, 1801-1851', in Stanley D. Chapman (ed.), *The History of Working-Class Housing*, (Newton Abbott: David & Charles, 1971), Chapter Five, p.186

¹⁷³ *Liverpool Mercury*, 14 August 1840, p.6; Eric C. Midwinter, *Old Liverpool*, (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1971), pp.100-114

¹⁷⁴ Thomson, *History of Manchester*, p.322; *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 29 August 1829, p.2

¹⁷⁵ Robert Syers, *The History of Everton, Including Familiar Dissertations on the people and Descriptive Delineations of the Several and Separate Properties of the Township, with Map, Plates and Wood-Cuts*, (Liverpool: G&J Robinson, 1830), p.368

Controlling Safety

The expansion into the suburbs around Manchester and Liverpool highlighted several issues, one of which was the lack of an effective force against crime. In 1799 there were only 40 watchmen employed in Manchester by the Police Commission and this deficiency in relation to the size of the population continued into the nineteenth century.¹⁷⁶ In the 1820s local newspapers from both towns attempted to alleviate the fear caused by the sensational articles on robbery and highway assault by publishing articles noting that night-watchmen patrolled the streets of Ardwick every night of the week and that on the outskirts of Liverpool, the patrol started at 6 o'clock in the evening.¹⁷⁷ However, even after the formal establishment of a police force, residents in both towns still complained about the lack of policemen on the street at night. In Liverpool it was revealed the average patrol of an officer in 1839 was three miles and just one officer was responsible for the whole of Everton and parts of West Derby.¹⁷⁸ In Manchester, the night-watch police were equally stretched; in Chorlton-upon-Medlock there were 19 men for a population of 20,569; nine men in Hulme for a population of 9624; nine men in Ardwick for a population of 5524 and ten men in Cheetham Hill for a population of 4025.¹⁷⁹

The lack of protection had a direct consequence upon the development of residential streets in the suburbs. William Occleshaw, a lead pipe manufacturer, resided on Plymouth Grove and he was also responsible for the speculative development of the street. In 1837 he was robbed at gunpoint as he crossed the fields from Ardwick to his property.¹⁸⁰ The following year, another resident of the street, Mr Callender, a manufacturer, recalled he often found the night-watchmen asleep in the porch of his house and the lack of safety resulted in people refusing to move to the area:

¹⁷⁶ Thomson, *History of Manchester*, p.257; For a history of the late-nineteenth century police force in Manchester and Salford, see: David Daniels, *Watching and policing in Manchester and Salford 1880 – 1900*, Doctoral thesis (PhD), Manchester Metropolitan University, (2018) < <https://e-space.mmu.ac.uk/621132/> > [Last Accessed 16 September 2021]

¹⁷⁷ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 14 October 1826, p.2; *Liverpool Mercury*, 17 November 1820, p.6

¹⁷⁸ *Liverpool Mail*, 29 January 1839, p.2

¹⁷⁹ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 24 February 1838, p.3

¹⁸⁰ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 19 August 1837, p.3

There were three houses to let near him in Plymouth-grove, and he had done all he could amongst his friends to induce them to take them, but the general opinion was, especially amongst foreigners, that the property of the inhabitants was not safe, and consequently they would not take them.¹⁸¹

The nature of crimes were very similar in both locations and the majority of house burglaries resulted in criminals taking small, transportable items which could be easily sold on; such as the theft of six silver teaspoons, sugar tongs and a cream jug from a house in Clifford Street, Chorlton-upon-Medlock in 1829 or a large amount of clothing from the house of William Shaw in Everton in 1828.¹⁸² In some instances in Liverpool, when the house was completely empty awaiting new residents, the fixtures and fittings were stolen.¹⁸³ The consequences of such crimes could be punishable by death and between 1826-1829, 38 persons received death sentences in Liverpool for burglary.¹⁸⁴

Other crimes were more calculated in relation to the seclusion of the suburbs and elite residents were often the target. In 1838, Mrs Johnson and her female servant, who resided at Devonshire Place off Netherfield Road, were tied up by burglars who stole a watch, gold and silver.¹⁸⁵ In 1816 Mr and Mrs Yates were held a gun point during the robbery of a house in Toxteth Park and this prompted the residents of the park to 'form themselves into an association for the purpose of mutually-operating to preserve their respective property and the lives of themselves and their families.'¹⁸⁶ The residents also proposed an early form of a house alarm, suggesting each house should be fitted with a large bell to alert neighbours of a robbery. The situation was similar in Manchester and the residents of Gorton also formed groups to 'patrol the lanes at night, in order to protect their property'.¹⁸⁷ There was a particular concern about the effect of house-burglaries on the demographic of some suburban communities. Robberies at large villas in Linacre and Seaforth prompted the *Liverpool Mercury* to note that the occupants of these villas were mainly women and that 16

¹⁸¹ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 24 February 1838, p.3

¹⁸² *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 17 January 1829, p.2; *Liverpool Mercury*, 4 July 1828, p.6

¹⁸³ *Liverpool Mercury*, 1 April 1814, p.7

¹⁸⁴ *Liverpool Mercury*, 24 March 1837, p.2

¹⁸⁵ *Liverpool Mail*, 6 August 1839, p.3

¹⁸⁶ *Liverpool Mercury*, 23 August 1816, p.6

¹⁸⁷ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 28 October 1826, p.2

households contained no men at all, necessitating the extra presence of a police force in the area, yet also inadvertently advertising the area to prospective criminals.¹⁸⁸ Newspapers in both towns printed several notices notifying servants to be vigilant, to lock doors and windows and to make them aware of doorstep schemes by conmen, which suggests the monumental weight of the safety of the property and the entire household was the primary concern of domestic staff.¹⁸⁹

The development of private, gated-communities in the 1830s were a result of anxieties created by such crimes and they presented the elite residents of Manchester and Liverpool with enclosed protection within a neighbourhood where all residents occupied similar positions in society. If residential streets in the suburbs enabled social mobility, then the opposite could be said of the park development. It was in essence a community within itself with all the conveniences afforded by urban dwellings, such as proper drainage and a gas supply but in a countryside setting. In mid-1830s two private companies attempted to create a park community in Manchester, the first of its kind in the country. The Victoria Park tontine was announced first, in April 1836. A group of eight private investors, a mixture of landowners and merchants, formed the Victoria Park Company which obtained an Act of Parliament to establish their legal status for their business venture.¹⁹⁰ The Company purchased 146 acres of land from the Birch Estate in Rusholme and offered £100 shares to investors for a lifetime interest.¹⁹¹ Speculative property development was advertised by the Company as 'a very safe and profitable investment.'¹⁹²

Two months later, there was an announcement for a similar development in Rusholme, called Brighton Grove, located only half a mile from Victoria Park. This too was planned to be a gated community with a network of streets enclosed from non-residents and protected by walls and gatekeepers housed in lodges. The Brighton Grove development offered 800 shares at £50 each in response to a deficiency created by the Victoria Park development.¹⁹³ Ultimately

¹⁸⁸ *Liverpool Mercury*, 25 May 1838, p.6

¹⁸⁹ See: *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 28 October 1826, p.2; *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 17 January 1829, p.2; *Manchester Mercury*, 10 March 1829, p.4; *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 21 January 1832, p.2; *Liverpool Mercury*, 26 January 1838, p.6

¹⁹⁰ Maurice Spiers, *Victoria Park Manchester*, (Manchester: The Chetham Society, 1976), p.8

¹⁹¹ Spiers, *Victoria Park* p.13

¹⁹² *Manchester Times*, 16 April 1836, p.2

¹⁹³ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 4 June 1836, p.1

Brighton Grove failed to develop and only two houses were built. However, both gated-communities reveal similar patterns for residential developments in the early-nineteenth century.

Advertisements for both Victoria Park and Brighton Grove and their respective prospectuses were published frequently across the Manchester newspapers. Both were pre-emptive of the changing attitudes towards urban living in Manchester, as the Brighton Grove prospectus noted; 'who would have expected a few years ago that every respectable inhabitant in Mosley Street would have been compelled to quit their dwellings, and that these houses should be so quickly converted into marts, for trade?'¹⁹⁴ Victoria Park offered residential development 'in a most fashionable and improving situation, extending from the Didsbury to the Stockport Road, and about two miles from the Manchester Exchange. The land has naturally a park-like appearance and possess advantages for the intended purpose perhaps not equalled by any other.'¹⁹⁵ The development offered a natural landscape but within a direct connection into the town. In another combination of rural and urban ideals, the Company also proposed to build a church 'either in the park, or immediately on its verge', reinforcing the enclosed community of the Park, which would be entirely self-sufficient but also mirroring eighteenth-century church-focused urban developments in Manchester such as St. John Street, St. Ann's Square and Stevenson Square.¹⁹⁶

The rivalry between the two residential developments was evident in the prospectuses. Brighton Grove published an illustration of how the proposed development would look and the scheme offered the services of two architects Thomas Atkinson and Alfred Bower Clayton compared to Richard Lane, the sole architect of Victoria Park. At the centrepiece of Brighton Grove was a lake 'supplied by a constant stream from the Gorton Water Works, by which the two grand ornaments to a country residence, wood and water will here be found, and be made to confer not only beauty but healthfulness to the situation' which again drew inspiration from other popular residential locations at the time, such as the lake at the centre of Ardwick Green or the artificial pond at Piccadilly.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁴ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 4 June 1836, p.1

¹⁹⁵ *Manchester Times*, 16 April 1836, p.2

¹⁹⁶ *Manchester Times*, 16 April 1836, p.2

¹⁹⁷ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 4 June 1836, p.1

Ultimately Victoria Park was the successful development, even though the Company itself failed in 1838. It was subsequently taken over by the Victoria Park Trust, which was a committee annually elected by the residents of the Park, and eventually the area was under the dual responsibility of the Trust and the municipal borough.¹⁹⁸ As depicted in Table 1.15 the Park was popular among merchants and gentlemen and over 5% of all the elite residential addresses contained within the 1863 directory were recorded in Victoria Park. As Maurice Spiers' research has shown, there was an initial boom in housebuilding in the Park, 35 houses were built between 1837-1845 and another 40 houses between 1846-1865.¹⁹⁹ The popularity of the park was ultimately due to the privacy and sense of elitism it offered. By the 1850s the Park covered one-fifth of the area of Rusholme. It had gas lighting and paved streets, non-residents had to pay a toll to enter, and the residents of the Park even employed their own police constable, all of which served as tangible reminders of the class divide and enforced the sense of a closed community.²⁰⁰

Liverpool also attempted to develop park-focused communities during this period, although Prince's Park, the closest contemporary development to Victoria Park, had a completely different structure. Richard Vaughan Yates purchased 44 acres of land for £50,000 in 1840 with the intention of creating a cultivated, public park in Toxteth.²⁰¹ The park itself was created in 1842 by Joseph Paxton and Edward Milner. Unlike Victoria Park, which had no formal centrepiece, the houses at Prince's Park were built around the edge of the park itself and shares could be purchased at £25.²⁰² As with the Victoria Park development, a church was planned to entice prospective buyers. The church at Prince's Park, dedicated to St. Paul was built in 1848, unlike the proposed church at Victoria Park which was started in the 1840s but never completed due to the failure of the Company. Prince's Park was advertised in local newspapers. The *Liverpool Mercury* promoted the desirability of the Park as a residential location in December 1842 by emphasising the country-like appearance of the development which was still within the proximity of the town:

¹⁹⁸ Spiers, *Victoria Park*, pp.15-18

¹⁹⁹ Spiers, *Victoria Park*, p.12

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.* p.23

²⁰¹ George, *Liverpool Park Estates*, p.8

²⁰² *Ibid.* p.71

It already presents beautiful sites for villas and other retired dwellings, (fortunate indeed will they be who shall possess them,) surrounded by noble scenery, and free from nuisances; and yet, within a short distance of the town, to all the inhabitants of which it will, when completed, afford delightful walks and drives, truly welcome as a retreat from the business and the din and the dust of the streets.²⁰³

Prince's Park was also praised for its situation, which gave views across the Lancashire and Cheshire coastlines, of the mountains of North Wales and views of the River Mersey. London-based comparisons in the local press stress the autonomy of Liverpool but suggest the capital was the long-standing centre of fashions. It was noted the park was smaller than Regent's Park, but it possessed a 'greater variety of surface' and the views 'which no view in Regent's Park can be compared.'²⁰⁴

The relationship between the parkland and the houses was the main difference between the Liverpool and Manchester residential developments. Prince's Park was open to the public and therefore it was part of the wider community, whereas Victoria Park was very much a private space. However, there were attempts to regulate the use of Prince's Park to appease the residents who lived there and to appeal to other potential residents, as the income from their shares were needed to make the Park a viable success. The public were restricted by rules and regulations concerning the walks and drives in the park and it was noted that no building could be erected on the parkland itself, unless it was a public building of a certain size and function such as an observatory, museum, or library, thereby prohibiting businesses and industry from the area.²⁰⁵

The data from the 1860 Liverpool directory show that Prince's Park was almost as popular among Liverpool's elite community as Victoria Park was amongst Manchester's. Over 3% of residential addresses recorded in the 1860 directory for elite residents were recorded there. Among those residents, 77.5% were merchants which shows, as with Manchester, the dominance of the mercantile community in the area and their role as the driving force of suburban developments.

²⁰³ *Liverpool Mercury*, 23 December 1842, p.6

²⁰⁴ *Gore's Liverpool General Advertiser*, 26 October 1843, p.1

²⁰⁵ *Gore's Liverpool General Advertiser*, 26 October 1843, p.1

In the decades following the formation of Victoria Park and Prince's Park, further suburban park-based residential developments were developed, although not to the same scale as their earlier counterparts. Fullwood, Grassendale and Cressington Parks, all located in Aigburth, south of Prince's Park operated on a similar system to Manchester's Victoria Park, in the sense they were enclosed from the main street behind gateposts and lodge houses. Similar developments were created on the Wirral; Carlett Park, Rock Park and Clifton Park. In Manchester, Ellesmere Park in Eccles, Broadoak Park in Monton and Fielden Park and Beaver Park, both located in Didsbury emulated Victoria Park but on a smaller scale and under the jurisdiction of local municipal boroughs. In both locations these later park communities were created some distance from the urban centres of Liverpool and Manchester in accordance with the expansive land needed for development and the advancement of public transport which made these greater distances more practical. These distinctive communities, some physically separated from the rest of society and others very much part of a wider network, show the affluence and the strength of the mercantile community in both Liverpool and Manchester in the mid-nineteenth century. The continuation of this trend in residential development into the late-nineteenth century, which goes beyond the remit of the analysis of directories here, highlights how successful this model was. The mercantile communities of both locations not only controlled these park-focused developments, but they also were the dominant residential group. As such they clearly defined themselves as a mercantile aristocracy by the mid-nineteenth century; they were indeed in business, but they were very much set apart from the lower-middle classes and this was shown through their combination of community and residential location.

The Creation of Cultural and Religious Communities

The trade directories reveal that the elite residents of Manchester and Liverpool had three desires for their residential locations which were all based around communities. These were the centring of houses around amenities such as assembly rooms and public institutions, the desire to create distinct communities based on class and status, such as gated parks, but also, as will now be explored, a community based around common bonds such as religious beliefs. These three themes were all evident and offer a justification for the movement of elite residents around Manchester and Liverpool between 1781-1863.

The mercantile communities of Manchester and Liverpool have traditionally reflected the diversity of society and the nineteenth century was a period of increasing religious tolerance. The establishment of religious buildings in both Liverpool and Manchester for the most part reflected the residential patterns of the elite residents regardless of urban or suburban location as the community preceded the construction of the place of worship.

The Unitarian communities in Liverpool and Manchester were well-represented among the mercantile and industrial classes and in both places were linked through a diverse network built around business, friendship and marriage. In both towns, the Unitarian communities were active in social circles and in Manchester liberal and free-thinking societies such as the Literary and Philosophical Society, the Mechanics Institute and the Antiquarian Society were all founded by Unitarian individuals, as was the newspaper the *Manchester Guardian*.²⁰⁶ The principals of Unitarianism, such as kinship and philanthropy, created a strong non-conformist network in the North West, which preceded that of London, as James Martineau wrote to a friend in 1839; 'the true Non-con. Spirit maintains itself in greater vigour than in London, and connects itself naturally with the qualities which raise men to influence in such towns as Manchester and Liverpool.'²⁰⁷ Though commonly accepted in society there were still social prejudices as Elizabeth Gaskell, author and wife of Unitarian Minister William Gaskell recorded in 1860; 'the enlightened & liberal young men [...] with whom we associate occasionally, are all held back by the more bigoted fathers of the last generation from too much intimacy with Unitarians.'²⁰⁸

Nonetheless, the Unitarian community in Manchester and Liverpool continued to grow. The results of the 1851 Religious Census recorded that the number of 'Protestant Dissenters' in Lancashire stood at 225,585 individuals, which marginally outnumbered the number of Church of England worshippers in the county at 222,810.²⁰⁹ The residences of these

²⁰⁶ John Seed, 'Theologies of Power: Unitarianism and the social relations of religious discourse' in R.J. Morris (ed.) *Class, Power and Social Structure in British Nineteenth Century Towns*, (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1986), Chapter 3, p.110

²⁰⁷ Letter from James Martineau to Edgar Taylor, 19 January 1839, in James Drummond, *The Life and Letter of James Martineau, Vol. I*, (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1902), pp.108-109

²⁰⁸ Letter from Elizabeth Gaskell to Charles Eliot Norton, 19 January 1860, in, Chapple and Pollard, *The Letters of Mrs. Gaskell*, p.598

²⁰⁹ Horace Mann, *Census of Great Britain, 1851; Religious Worship in England and Wales, Abridged from the Official Report made by Horace Mann to George Graham*, (London: George Routledge and Co., 1851), Table N, p.142

individuals can be determined from the construction of Unitarian Chapels. The Cross Street Chapel in Manchester was founded as a dissenters' meeting house in 1694 and remained a prominent central place of worship. However, the Mosley Street Chapel, which was erected in 1789 to service the growing community around the western end of the town, did not survive the removal of the community from the street and it was demolished in 1836. It was replaced by a new Unitarian Chapel in Upper Brook Street in 1839, reflecting the move of the community south to the suburbs of Chorlton-upon-Medlock and Ardwick as can be seen on Map 1.8.²¹⁰ The situation was replicated amongst Liverpool's Unitarian community, the Unitarian Chapel in Paradise Street was founded in 1791 and replaced in 1849 by a chapel erected on Hope Street in the wealthy area to the south-east of the town alongside Upper Parliament Street and Canning Street, effectively mirroring patterns of residential migration to the suburbs as shown on Map 1.7.²¹¹

The symbiotic relationship between the place of worship and the residential addresses of the congregation was also visible among the Jewish communities in both towns. The Jewish community in Liverpool was established in the mid-eighteenth century and they worshipped in rooms on Upper Frederick Street which were replaced in 1807 by a purpose-built synagogue on Seel Street.²¹² This building had been replaced as the community focal point by a synagogue built in 1860 on Hope Place, which ran off Hope Street to the south of the town. The Prince's Road Synagogue in Toxteth was built in 1874, again reflecting the push of wealthy residential developments south of the town.

Manchester's Jewish community likewise held their place of worship in rooms in the centre of the town in the eighteenth century. In the 1780s these were located off Long Millgate and in 1807, they removed themselves to Halliwell Street, also near Long Millgate. The Jewish community congregated in close-knit circles around Strangeways to the north of the town. It was not until the community split in 1857 that the first purpose-built synagogue in Manchester, the Manchester Reform Synagogue, was constructed in 1858 on Bury New Road in Broughton. Again, this mirrored the development of the suburbs around the north of Manchester in the mid-nineteenth century among elite residents, although a large number of

²¹⁰ Hartwell, *Manchester*, p.307

²¹¹ Picton, *Memorials of Liverpool*, p.254

²¹² *Ibid.* p.175; p.282

working-class Jewish people resided around Strangeways and were generally isolated and unassimilated.

However, there was also a large Jewish community present in south Manchester consisting of assimilated and wealthy Jewish merchants, some of whom had pews in Unitarian chapels given the religious universalism that was practised as part of the Unitarian doctrine.²¹³ Bill Williams' research has shown how the Jewish community in Manchester tended to cluster around prominent figures and families.²¹⁴ Therefore, the residential addresses of these influential people often dictated movement of the community, but they were also still generally reflective of wider residential patterns in Manchester across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For example, the Behrens family were textile merchants and they lived on Mosley Street in the 1820s and 1830s before moving south to Nelson Street and eventually settling further south again in Victoria Park.

Manchester's foreign exports expanded rapidly after the 1801 peace Treaty of Lunéville, and the Jewish population of Manchester slowly grew after this, from around 250-300 persons in 1825 to around 300-400 persons in 1834.²¹⁵ There was also a growing German community in Manchester, many of whom were also Jewish but others were Protestant and Catholic. By 1837, there were 101 export firms in Manchester, of which 75 were German-owned.²¹⁶ By 1851 the German-born community in the city numbered 1000 persons and like their Unitarian and Jewish counterparts, the community tended to inter-marry.²¹⁷ A German community was established south of Manchester at Greenheys from 1838, when John Kaye began laying out streets there. By 1870, one-third of all the families recorded at Victoria Park were of German origin.²¹⁸ Therefore, the assimilation by these communities into wider society and certainly their wealth allowed them to reside with the other mercantile elites. They were also mixing socially through a number clubs and some German social clubs were open to non-German members allowing for the free flowing of ideas across cultural boundaries.²¹⁹ The location of

²¹³ Bill Williams, *The Making of Manchester Jewry 1740-1875*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976), p.93

²¹⁴ *Ibid.* p.73

²¹⁵ *Ibid.* p.18; p.71

²¹⁶ *Ibid.* p.80

²¹⁷ Jonathan Westway, 'The German Community in Manchester, Middle-Class Culture and the Development of Mountaineering in Britain, c.1850-1914, *The English Historical Review* Vo. 124, No.508, (June 2009), p..575

²¹⁸ Spiers, *Victoria Park*, p.8

²¹⁹ Westway, 'The German Community in Manchester', p.572

these clubs were also testament to the residential location of their members, the Albert Club, named after the Prince Consort, was founded in Manchester by its German community around 1845 and the first clubhouse was on Clifford Street in Chorlton-upon-Medlock, before it moved to Dover House on Oxford Road in 1859, placing it at the heart of the community.²²⁰ However, the large presence of German-born individuals within such a small-range of streets and similar residential areas would also suggest the community tended to congregate and remain close to those with familiar customs and practices.

A third mercantile community was drawn from Greek and Cypriot nationals living within Liverpool and Manchester. Again, the residential locations of these communities can be determined by the construction of Greek Orthodox Churches. In Liverpool, St. Nicholas was built on the junction of Berkley Street and Princes Road in Toxteth in 1870 and it was testament to the diversity of the wealthy mercantile community there, as Picton noted 'the Greeks in Liverpool form not a very numerous, but a very enterprising and prosperous mercantile body.'²²¹ In Manchester, calls were made for a purpose-built Greek church as early as 1844, with initial suggestions the church would be located on Cheetham Hill Road.²²² The Greek Orthodox Church of the Annunciation was opened in the same area north of the city on Bury New Road in 1861 and like Toxteth, it reflected the wealth and acceptance of the communities in Broughton as shown in Map 1.7 and Map 1.8. The presence of Greek merchants in the area around the church was reflected in the 1863 directory. They clearly chose to live close together. The only four addresses recorded on Northumberland Street were home to A. M. Copchil, A. D. Blagomeno, Gregory Fotiadi and G. P. Zadas. This pattern was replicated across other terraces and villas of other streets too; Nicholas Eutichici and Alexander Ehasco were the only two residents of Belgrave Terrace on Bury New Road, just as Mount Broughton Terrace on the same road was occupied by; Marco Olivo, Theodore Souvazigin, Charles Constantinidi, Frederick Tohler, P. Theologo. The building of churches and religious buildings by the mercantile elites themselves was reflective of the power shift across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as this had previously been a symbol of power and

²²⁰ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 1 February 1845, p.8; Thomas McGrath, *Long Lost Histories: Dover House, Oxford Road, Manchester* (8 August 2018) <<https://ifthosewallscouldtalk.wordpress.com/2018/08/08/long-lost-histories-dover-house-oxford-road-manchester/>> [Last Accessed 22 July 2019]

²²¹ Picton, *Memorials of Liverpool*, p.486

²²² *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 14 September 1844, p.8

social control held by the local gentry. Indeed, by the mid-nineteenth century, Anthony Howe has suggested that maintenance of churches in general was dependent on contributions of the 'textile elites' thus proving they held both political, social, and spiritual power in their respective locations.²²³

Conclusion

Within just a single lifespan (1780-1860), the urban topographies of Manchester and Liverpool were altered in almost every aspect. The size and influence of both towns grew as did the roles of trade and industries and the governance of the population. The analysis of eight trade directories from 1781, 1800, 1829 and 1860/1863 has revealed the extent of these social, economic and political changes upon the residents of the towns, and how they affected the residential patterns of elite communities.

This chapter has highlighted the differing residential patterns seen in Manchester and Liverpool across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Initially, residential patterns in each late-eighteenth century town closely mirrored earlier developments and the elite residents, in this case, merchants, manufacturers, brokers and gentlemen continued to reside within close proximity to their businesses and places of industry and investment. The 1800 trade directories reveal the relationship between the house and workplace among the industrial elites of Manchester and Liverpool and provide a key insight into the relationship between these different spaces. Moreover, this chapter has also shown how different domestic ideals and arrangement of domestic space which led to the decrease of this practice in the years almost immediately afterwards.

The analysis of trade directories has redefined our understanding of the process of suburbanisation in the North West region. The data sets have shown how elite residents of Manchester and Liverpool were firmly settled in their suburban communities by the 1820s and this was further demonstrated by the introduction of amenities such as gas, transport, and a police service in these locations. Moreover, this residential pattern can be traced to the

²²³ Howe, *The Cotton Masters*, p.283; See also: Hartwell, *Manchester*; Sharples, *Liverpool*

late-eighteenth century in both locations, and this challenges existing historiographies which have previously dated suburbanisation to a much later period in the nineteenth century.

This chapter has also gone beyond the usual modelling of urban geographies to explain the complex motivations for the movement of elite residents in this period. The creation of central commercial districts in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries were driven by urban improvements and civic status-building, although these displaced the elite residents from the town centre. In Liverpool this process occurred much earlier and as such, elite residents were pushed towards residential development on fringes of the town slightly before Manchester's population. As the rural townships were absorbed under centralised control in the 1830s in both Manchester and Liverpool, these areas could quickly change from rural, to semi-rural, to suburban within decades and as such they could rise or fall as popular residential location based upon their proximity to the town, trade and industry and the lower classes. In Liverpool this manifested itself as clearly defined wealthy residential areas created under strict rules and regulations on the fringes of the town. In Manchester it meant the removal of this socio-economic group from the city centre completely.

The role of community was important in the development and formulation of residential patterns in the town and the examples of residential streets discussed in this chapter were reflective of the community as both an inclusive and exclusive factor in residential patterns. In certain instances, communities could drive the prominence of certain residential locations and this was particularly evident among religious and ethnic minorities in both Manchester and Liverpool. However, as these were among the elite residents of the town, it highlights the importance of a shared background which is usually only applied to the working-classes.

Residential addresses could be used to reinforce divisions. Although there was evidence of mixed status streets in both towns in the eighteenth century, the in-depth analysis has shown that certain streets were regarded as high status and other groups of elite residents were absent from these. The elite was not a homogeneous group, and whilst there may have been movement between merchant/manufacturer and gentleman, these do not appear to have been interchangeable labels. The extent to which this caused emulation of the 'gentlemen' class by the merchants, manufacturers and brokers is questionable. In the early-nineteenth century gentlemen certainly paved the way to popularising certain outlying districts which were difficult to travel to, such as the Wirral Peninsula and the rise of public transport from

the 1820s onwards made these locations much more accessible and, as such, less exclusive. On the other hand, the private, gated-community was reflective of a residential location which sought to enforce and maintain exclusivity and prevent social mobility. The gated-community was a unique feature of suburbia and one which was developed in Manchester and the importance of this in urban geographies and social histories cannot be overlooked. Yet the residents of Victoria Park were predominantly merchants and as such they pushed and maintained the high status of this area, not the gentlemen or gentry. Whilst they may not have directly emulated the residential patterns of the elite, the next chapter will look more closely at the different architectural styles of housing belonging to the industrial elite in the urban, suburban, and rural environments. The houses themselves convey more about status, aspiration, and taste.

Chapter Two:
Building Status and Controlling Status:
Merchants Houses in Liverpool and Manchester, c.1780-1860

Introduction

Whilst the previous chapter analysed the changing residential patterns of a wide range of elite residents in Manchester and Liverpool, this chapter focuses on the houses of a smaller group of merchants and manufacturers. Domestic architecture underwent several reinventions and styles across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and this chapter draws upon carefully selected case studies of individual houses to showcase these physical changes and continuities in detail. These smaller case studies also communicate broader themes which speak of the symbolism of the house for the wider industrial elites in the period. The house is used here as a microcosm of the industrial elites' world and within this chapter the notion of status and aspiration, and challenges to such, are explored through the domestic property.

The industrial elites have been broadly defined in twentieth-century scholarship as belonging to either middle class or the upper class and as such, this leaves a deficit in knowledge and understanding of the customs and practices of the industrial elite as their own community, especially regarding their houses.¹ The symbiotic relationship between the domestic property and status has been covered in extensive publications regarding the country houses of the aristocracy and landed elite through the works of Mark Girouard, Richard Wilson and Charles Mackley, Dana Arnold, and Jill Franklin.² More recently this approach has been widened to include the homes of gentlemen, in particular their role as elite-housebuilders. The aspirations of this class when designing their houses has been at the forefront of studies, and in his research on gentlemen-builders of the eighteenth century, Stephen Hague has argued that emulation of social superiors was not always the motivation when constructing the

¹ See: John Smail, *The Origins of Middle-class Culture: Halifax, Yorkshire, 1660-1780*, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1994); Richard G. Wilson, *Gentlemen Merchants: The Merchant Community in Leeds 1700-1830*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971)

² Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978); Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley, *Creating Paradise: The Building of the English Country House, 1660-1880*, (London: Continuum International, 2000); Dana Arnold, *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society*, (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2003); Jill Franklin, *The Gentleman's Country House and its Plan, 1835-1914*, (London: Routledge, 1981)

house.³ Likewise these themes have also been discussed by David Hancock regarding London's mercantile community in the eighteenth century and this chapter will assess the extent to which the industrial elites of the North West followed these behaviours.⁴

This chapter uses a similar approach to analyse the houses of the merchant housebuilder in the North West region. It offers comparisons between extant and demolished houses with a range of architectural treatises from the period 1757 to 1860 to chart the prevailing architectural fashions across this period.⁵ There are numerous publications, such as those by Clare Hartwell, J. J. Parkinson-Bailey and Joseph Sharples, which reference domestic architecture in Manchester and Liverpool, yet these are constrained by an adherence to surviving properties and those of architectural merit, which are mostly grand civic or ecclesiastical buildings.⁶ As such the domestic property does not feature heavily or in any great detail in either publication and this is a loss to both architectural and social histories.

This chapter will continue the analysis discussed in the previous chapter regarding the relationship between the industrial elites and their houses and workplaces, and to what extent proximity between the latter two communicated about status. These themes have been drawn upon in wider literature and Jane Longmore's research has looked at this arrangement in eighteenth-century Liverpool.⁷ Likewise, David Hancock has written about the relationship between London merchants in the eighteenth century and their counting houses and the ways in which these spaces acted as extensions of the house for the wider household.⁸ Hancock has also revealed how business premises were occasionally used by the

³ Stephen Hague, *The Gentleman's House in the British-Atlantic World 1680-1780*, (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015)

⁴ David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London merchants and the integration of the British Atlantic community, 1735-1785*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

⁵ Robert Morris, *Select Architecture: Being regular Designs Of Plans And Elevations Well Suited to Both Town and Country* (London: Robert Sayer, 1757); William Pain, *The Practical House Carpenter, Or The Youth's Instructor: Containing A Great Variety Of Useful Designs In Carpentry And Architecture*, (London: Printed for the author, 1789); D. Laing, *Hints For Dwellings: Consisting of Original designs For Cottages, Farm-Houses, Villas &c. Plain and Ornamental; With Plans To Each* (London: J. Taylor, 1800); Robert Lugar, *Villa Architecture: A Collection of Views, With Plans, of Buildings Executed in England, Scotland &c.*, (London: J. Taylor, 1828); Robert Kerr, *The Gentleman's House; Or How to Plan English Residences, From the Parsonage to The Palace*, (London: John Murray, 1871)

⁶ Clare Hartwell, *Manchester*, (London: Penguin Books, 2001); John J. Parkinson-Bailey, *Manchester: An Architectural History*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000); Joseph Sharples, *Liverpool*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004)

⁷ Jane Longmore, 'Rural retreats: Liverpool slave traders and their country houses' in Madge Dresser and Andrew Hann (eds.), *Slavery and the British Country House*, (Swindon: English Heritage, 2013), pp.43-54

⁸ Hancock, *Citizens of the World*, p.90

merchant as his urban residence, with living accommodation and business premises in the same building, a necessity created by the congested and expensive urban city.⁹ In general this can be applied to Manchester and Liverpool as well. However, this chapter will explore why these eighteenth-century living arrangements did not continue into the nineteenth century and also how the interconnected relationship between the house and workplace could exist outside an urban setting. Based upon the findings of the previous chapter the houses can broadly split into three categories: urban houses, suburban houses and rural houses. As discussed by Wilson and Mackey, Girouard, Hague and others, this approach is not without its limitations as many houses cannot easily be identified as belonging to one category or the other.¹⁰ These variants were dependent on of the period, the situation of the property and the source of the description.

Finally, this chapter will assess other ways in which the industrial elite could build status without having to physically build a house. Although the majority of the population of Britain rented their homes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there is a void in existing literature about how these houses could still be used to convey a sense of status. Analysis of the tenant-occupied house within this chapter will explore the choice and the status that accompanied it, as well as challenges to this by some of the tenants.

Section I: Building Status: The Construction of the Merchant's House

A merchant or manufacturer who constructed his own house during the eighteenth or nineteenth century was able to demonstrate his successes in both his public and private lives and he was somewhat able to transcend the usual domestic conditions of his peers. This section will focus on detailed examples regarding the processes of construction to illustrate broader trends and patterns concerning housebuilding and status.

The processes of designing and constructing merchants' houses in Manchester and Liverpool varied greatly across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as the size, style, location and cost of the house were largely dependent on both the time period and thus the associated architectural fashions of that era, and the funds of the merchant builder. Investment into

⁹ Hancock, *Citizens of the World*, p.102

¹⁰ See: Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*; Hague, *The Gentleman's House*

property was used to justify the careful investment of lifelong financial interests, as Christopher Christie noted 'mundane commercial activity produced large fortunes and large houses.'¹¹ Moreover, the construction of a house was just one of the many ways which permitted some middle class emulation of the aristocracy and gentry, through both design of the house and lifestyle that came with it, especially if the merchant-builder was using his wealth to invest in land.

Unlike other physical acts associated with the elite such as almsgiving, accepting positions of leadership in town or church, or embracing or rejecting new methods of trade and manufacturing, house-building emphasised a tangible connection to the upper echelons of society as it communicated 'the way owners and occupants saw themselves and wished to be seen by others.'¹² As David Hancock and Stephen Hague have discussed in their respective appraisals of the British-Atlantic mercantile community, house-building was 'the most material expression of the associates' desire to become gentlemen' and thus it represented a clear path which the merchant could use to separate himself and his descendants socially from business.¹³

In some cases, wealth, titles and property did little to disguise a gentleman's origins in trade or shelter him from alienation by his new social circle. Nicholas Lawless, a woollen manufacturer in Dublin, accepted a barony in 1789. Lawless was described by a contemporary as having 'more of the stiffness of a French dancing master than of the easy disengaged air of a well-bred gentleman [...] The great object on which his heart is fixed, next to the accumulation of money is the attainment of a peerage.'¹⁴ William Corbett complained that rising fortunes of the industrial and commercial classes in the nineteenth century were destroying the feudal order of British society: 'The ancient nobility and gentry of the kingdom [...] have been thrust out of all public employments [...] a race of merchants and manufacturers and bankers and loan-jobbers have usurped their place.'¹⁵ Therefore, tangible

¹¹ Christopher Christie, *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p.18

¹² Hancock, *Citizens of the World*, p.319; Richard G. Wilson, *Gentleman Merchants: The Merchant Community in Leeds 1790-1830*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971), p.34; Peter Borsay, *English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660-1770*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p.232

¹³ Hancock, *Citizens of the World*, p.320; Hague, *The Gentleman's House*, pp.26-52

¹⁴ Christie, *The British Country House*, p.18 (More journal articles about social mobility)

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p.20

wealth and property did not necessarily equate to the innate qualities of the aristocracy and gentry.

Nonetheless, the construction of the house could still provide a source of security and satisfaction for the merchant-builder. The style, size and classification of the houses examined within this chapter are variable. Examples are drawn from various properties across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and as definitions change quite rapidly, especially during the period of urbanisation, it is necessary to outline how this thesis classifies these properties, and here contemporary classifications by the size of garden, such as those by John and Jane Loudon, highlight useful distinguishing features used in this thesis.¹⁶ Urban properties located in the centre or on the immediate fringes of the town are described here as townhouses. They generally had gardens up to half an acre in size, if at all.¹⁷ Suburban villas were larger residences with gardens on three or all sides between half an acre to two acres in size. The Loudons suggested typical uses for gardens of this size; a lawn, a shrubbery, a flower garden and a kitchen garden.¹⁸ This type of housing stock was familiar on the outer fringes of Manchester and Liverpool, such as at Victoria Park and Prince's Park, which were within a five miles radius of the city centres and thus easily reachable by private and public transport. In some instances, the great urban sprawl caught up with these properties but those within purposefully erected boundaries, such as the private parks retained their elite standing. Cottages are an ambiguous style of property in this period, and within this chapter they are referenced as 'houses in the country', large rural villas which conform to the exaggerated principles of that stylised movement and located many miles beyond the suburbs of the town, and characterised by the Loudons as having garden and land between two to ten acres in size.¹⁹ The final style of property discussed in this thesis is the country house, large detached houses located in the open countryside and surrounded by an estate of upwards of 10 acres. These country houses were often built-in emulation of, or influenced by, the properties of the aristocracy. They were much larger than the compact nature of rural villas

¹⁶ John Claudius Loudon, *The Villa Gardener: Comprising the Choice of a Suburban Villa Residence: The Laying Out, Planting and Culture of the Garden and Grounds and the Management of the Villa Farm, Including the Dairy and Poultry-Yard*, (London: Wm. S. Orr & Co., 1851), p.43

¹⁷ Loudon, *The Villa Gardener*, p.43

¹⁸ *Ibid.* p.43

¹⁹ A full description of cottage architecture is given across pp.126-7 of this thesis; see also: Daniel Maudlin, *The Idea of the Cottage in English Architecture, 1760-1860* (Oxon: Routledge, 2015); Loudon, *The Villa Gardener*, p.43

as they were several bays in width and extended outwards with attached wings and service pavilions. This definition includes timber-framed manorial halls of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as Speke Hall, as well as stone and brick-built country houses of the eighteenth century, such as Platt Hall.

In the mid-to-late eighteenth century, several of Liverpool's most prominent merchants constructed large country houses which celebrated their own successes and rivalled those of the minor gentry. Country houses, as demonstrated by Hancock in his assessment of London's mercantile community, illustrated architectural taste and they could be used to substantiate individual personalities, social roles and polite strategies.²⁰ These conclusions were confirmed by David Pope's assessment of the social aspirations of Liverpool's slave merchants in the late-eighteenth century. Pope defined their aspirations as being distinctly tangible: the acquisition of property, a successful marriage, and the advancement in society of children from the marriage.²¹ Pope surmised that profits from the slave trade enabled the majority of the merchants in his study to acquire a property and/or land, or at least to make a contribution to an investment, e.g. forming a cooperative to purchase an estate.²² His analysis of the residential locations of some 93 merchants in the 1777 directory compared with their addresses in the 1800 directory discovered that the majority of the merchants, 57 of the 93, resided in the Borough of Liverpool.²³ These figures confirm the findings from the analysis of similar data sets in the previous chapter that merchants in Liverpool were hesitant to stray too far from the commercial town centre and thus these wealthy men were not completely divorced from their former lives in trade and commerce. This was affirmed by Jane Longmore, who expanded on Pope's study of the slave merchant's country properties. Longmore's study made the distinction between occupancy and ownership, whereas Pope was only able to identify this for 14 larger, rural properties.²⁴

Longmore analysed a total of 24 'country houses' located within a six mile radius of Liverpool which were built or re-built by slave traders and her definition of the group expanded to

²⁰ Hancock, *Citizens of the World*, p.321

²¹ David Pope, 'The Wealth and Social Aspirations of Liverpool's Merchants in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century', in David Richardson, Suzanne Schwarz, Anthony Tibbles (eds.), *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007), Chapter 7, p.165

²² *Ibid.* p.172

²³ *Ibid.* p.172

²⁴ Longmore, 'Rural retreats', p.45

include those who were specialists in the slave trade, those who engaged in an extension of other activities related to slavery and those who traded in slaves as a side-line to their main commercial ventures, which highlight how prevalent it was in the port town.²⁵ Ten of the properties were built in the 1770s and although all are defined by Longmore as 'country houses' there was a distinct difference in their size and scale.²⁶ Allerton Hall, for example was rebuilt in a Palladian style by the Hardmans in 1736 at a cost of £7,700 and was much larger than Larkhill House, a mansion built in 1770 by Jonathan Blundell which was also included in the study.²⁷ Longmore suggested the properties may have acted as 'rural retreats' such as weekend or summer residences, in emulation of the domestic patterns of London merchants at the time and also those of the landowning elite who had commonly adopted the practice from the seventeenth century.²⁸ This also closely aligns with the research in the previous chapter which demonstrated that some elite residents at the turn of the nineteenth century had both urban and rural properties to maintain links with the town.

Existing literature has discussed the ways in which the merchant-builder demonstrated economic restraint during the construction process due to their economic backgrounds in business and trade inferring that there was some conflict between status, background and finances.²⁹ Hancock suggested the eighteenth-century merchant-builder was still largely conforming to existing class perceptions and he was 'submissive to an emerging order of respectability that reckoned restraint as its hallmark' and this chapter will demonstrate that this was a characteristic of mercantile communities in provincial regions, as well as in London, as discussed in Hancock's work.³⁰ Despite the fastidious account-keeping among the mercantile communities apparent in their business records, the survival of their personal financial transactions is variable, especially in the North West. The records relating to domestic expenditure are particularly incomplete and almost non-existent for some smaller mercantile families. To compensate for these disadvantages, a range of additional archival

²⁵ Longmore, 'Rural retreats', pp.44-45

²⁶ *Ibid.* pp.52-53

²⁷ *Ibid.* p.52

²⁸ J. T. Cliffe, *the World of the Country House in Seventeenth-Century England*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), pp.146-147

²⁹ See: Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, p.253; Hague, *The Gentleman's House*, p.45; Wilson, *Gentlemen Merchants*, pp.199-200

³⁰ Hancock, *Citizens of the World*, p.343

material has been scrutinised, such as newspaper advertisements, floorplans and personal writings, to examine the design and construction process and well as the cost of building.

Lawrence and Jeanne Stone identified three main difficulties in determining the final cost of construction for country houses built between 1540-1800 in Hertfordshire, Northamptonshire and Northumberland, which speaks more broadly to the themes of this chapter.³¹ These difficulties lay in working out the final cost of the house and its interior furnishings, the final cost including the laying out of the grounds and construction of service buildings, and determining the average cost of construction based upon the size of square footage of the property, as rising inflation costs disfigured accurate data.³²

The Stones attempted to provide solutions to their hypothetical problems by deriving unit costs from architectural treatises and guidebooks, such as Robert Kerr's *The Gentleman's House* (1865).³³ This approach has drawn criticism from Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley who suggested that these resources were only representative of the minimum estimations for house building as they were based on architects' advertisements and often showed the lowest and most unrealistic prices and they were not representative of the building process as a whole.³⁴ The estimations of costs presented by Kerr are perhaps the most precise, given the regulation of building processes by the mid-nineteenth century. Yet his costs were drawn from London-centric prices of square footage, materials and labour, which would push the figures higher than elsewhere in the country in the same period.³⁵ Wilson and Mackley's research into the construction of the country house also demonstrated how costs could spiral beyond the initial estimation provided by an architect.³⁶ Some architects, builders and contractors would prey upon the indecision of their clients, particularly those who were keen to equate the building of the house with the building of status. For the mercantile-builder, whose wealth was built on trade and mercurial markets rather than a steady income drawn from land, housebuilding could prove to be a financial disaster. Subsequent sections of this

³¹ Lawrence Stone and Jeanne C. Fawtier Stone, *An Open Elite? England, 1540-1880*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986)

³² Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, p.285

³³ Robert Kerr, *The Gentleman's House; Or How to Plan English Residences, From the Parsonage to The Palace*, (London: John Murray, 1871)

³⁴ Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, p.285

³⁵ Kerr, *The Gentleman's House*, p.392

³⁶ Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, pp.285-287

chapter will examine the extent to which the merchant-builder was able to control construction as this is an understudied area of social and architectural history for this regional community. This approach will strengthen previous understanding while adding an additional perspective in support of the existing historiography.

Building Status, Emulating Status: A New House

In 1744 the Manchester merchant John Lees (d.1799) married Deborah Worsley, the daughter and heiress of Charles Worsley of Platt Hall, Rusholme. This advantageous marriage fostered Lees' rise into the local gentry and eventually it enabled him to build his own country house.³⁷ In contrast, the Liverpool merchant and slave-owner John Gladstone (1764-1851) constructed his townhouse on Rodney Street in 1792 only after a series of successful financial investments. Unlike Lees his 'linear move' from trade to land was a slow process based on financial prosperity rather than inheritance. This process, seen elsewhere among men of the same class is referred to by Stephen Hague as a confirmation of status.³⁸ Nevertheless, within two decades of constructing his townhouse, Gladstone had also purchased and developed his own country estate as well and built a house at the centre of it.

Both Lees and Gladstone embarked on ambitious building projects during their lifetimes, and both were personally invested in the construction process, although they may have had different motivations for doing so. In 1760, just a year after he and his wife inherited the Platt Estate, Lees decided to replace the seventeenth-century Platt Hall. His successful mercantile career and marriage had already affirmed his status prior to inheriting the estate but his construction of a new Platt Hall was a tangible manifestation of this. Gladstone's construction of his townhouse on Rodney Street reflected a merchant who had only just begun to climb in rank due to his wealth and somewhat similarly to Lees, it was about consolidating his position amongst his peers. At the time of construction Gladstone had recently married Jane Hall and therefore his house was expected to function as a private domestic space as well as being

³⁷ By a royal licence in 1775, John Lees assumed the name and arms of Carill-Worsley and his wife Deborah appointed her stepson Thomas as the heir to the Platt Estate thus firmly entwining the former-merchant among the gentry. See: John Booker, *An Ancient History of the Chapel of Birch*, (Manchester: Cheetham Society, 1859), p.67

³⁸ Hague, *The Gentleman's House*, p.156

symbolic of his status and aspirations. The construction of his house in the country, Seaforth House, several years later revealed more about his changing status and, like Lees, his desire to move away from his mercantile background.

The different processes of constructing Platt Hall, Rodney Street and Seaforth House are also reflective of the changing social positions of Lees and Gladstone. On 16th April 1792 Gladstone contracted Lionel Speciall and Charles Glyne, joiners and house carpenters, to construct his Rodney Street townhouse (see Figure 2.1).³⁹ The details of the building contract between Gladstone, Speciall and Glyne reveal how Gladstone was influential in controlling not only the construction of his own house but also the development of Rodney Street itself and thus his own public image in Liverpool. This is especially significant as he had only arrived in the town a decade earlier and he was eager to situate himself among the existing mercantile elite.

Gladstone's plot of land had 345 yards of frontage on the western side of Rodney Street, between Knight Street and Leece Street. His acquisition of such a large parcel of land was evidence of his foresight concerning the desirability of Rodney Street as a residential location.⁴⁰ Gladstone was also somewhat able to control who his neighbours were, a luxury within any urban environment, as there was no construction south of his house until 1816, two years after he had left the street.⁴¹ In the early-nineteenth century, Gladstone did permit building to the north of his house but these adjoining properties were occupied by his extended family, such as his brother, Murray Gladstone, and Anne Robertson, the mother of his second wife, Anne Mackenzie Robertson.⁴² This was largely reflective of how Rodney Street was laid out and it was built-up in a piecemeal fashion over decades; consisting of 'incidental' terraces which were the result of speculatively built houses or pairs of houses.

³⁹ Throughout the document, Charles Glyne was referred to as 'Charles Glyone', but he signed the document 'Glyne', therefore his spelling of his surname has been used here.

⁴⁰ At the start of the nineteenth century Rodney Street was a highly desirable location for the industrial elite and in 1800 at least 25 residents listed their occupation as merchants.

⁴¹ Edna Rideout, 'Rodney Street, Liverpool', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Vol. 83, 1931, p.67

⁴² Murray Gladstones was the only sibling who retained the original spelling of the family name. John Gladstone and Anne MacKenzie Robertson married in 1800.



Figure 2.1: John Gladstone's townhouse, Rodney Street (T. McGrath, 2020)

Gladstone's house itself is believed to have been designed by the Liverpool-based architect, John Whiteside Casson.⁴³ Casson is referred to as a 'surveyor' in the building contract between Gladstone, Speciall and Glyne and the document suggests that his input beyond designing the house would have been minimal, as his role was to 'give directions from time to time as to the manner executing the whole work.'⁴⁴ Such arrangements for the construction of a house under the directions of a master craftsman or builder, rather than architect, were common in the eighteenth century.⁴⁵ Hague's assessment of gentlemen's houses in Gloucestershire concluded most were designed by builders or craftsmen with some attributed to provincial architects.⁴⁶ This did not necessarily detract from the quality of the house or its design and it reaffirmed the conservative attitude of the gentleman-builder who wished to show economic restraint.⁴⁷ The contract between Gladstone, Speciall and Glyne

⁴³ Joseph Sharples, *Liverpool*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), p.231

⁴⁴ Gladstone's Library: GG/2414: Agreement of John Gladstone with Lionel Speciall and Charles Glyone, 1792

⁴⁵ Hague, *The Gentleman's House*, p.42

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 43-44

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 43-44

reveals the detailed process of construction and Gladstone's involvement in such. The house itself, along with outbuildings, cost £1570 to build and decorate and therefore, it offers a rare insight into the cost of urban construction in the North West in the late-eighteenth century.

The fees were divided into four equal payments of £392/10s. which bound Speciall and Glyne to complete the work under a strict timescale, with the risk of financial penalties.⁴⁸ The house and outbuildings had to be completed and finished in just 16 months, by 1st August 1793, at the risk of a £200 penalty paid by Speciall and Glyne.⁴⁹ The instalments of money would only be made upon reaching certain building milestones. Such contractual agreements were not rare in this period, and it represented a calculated and practical approach by the merchant-builder; Gladstone would not sink a large amount of money into a risky project. The first payment of £392/10s. was immediate on the signing of the contract. The second payment was to be made when all the buildings were roofed, and the fence walls finished. The third payment was to be made on the 15th March 1793 and the fourth and final payment upon the completion of the house. Provisions were even made in the case any disputes between the parties arose and James Sutton and James Mills were appointed to act as intermediaries in any such case.

Gladstone's house was five-bays across three stories plus cellars. The house featured wine and beer cellars, a laundry, kitchen, scullery, powdering room and pantry on the ground floor. On the first floor were the principal entertaining rooms; a drawing room, dining room, library and breakfast parlour. There were five rooms on the chamber story and further rooms in the attic. The outbuildings included stables with a saddle room. Upon completion of the house by September 1793, Gladstone was so eager to move into the newly finished house, his mother raised concerns about the effects of the damp plaster on the health of his wife, Jane.⁵⁰

There is a striking similarity in the architecture of Gladstone's house and number 35 Rodney Street which is located on the eastern side of the street. This house was the first property to be built on the street between 1783-4, and after being briefly used as exhibition space by the Academy of Arts, it was occupied by a merchant, Pudsey Dawson.⁵¹ The similarity between

⁴⁸ GL: GG/2414: Agreement of John Gladstone with Lionel Speciall and Charles Glyone, 1792

⁴⁹ GL: GG/2414: Agreement of John Gladstone with Lionel Speciall and Charles Glyone, 1792

⁵⁰ S. G. Checkland, *The Gladstones: A Family Biography, 1764-1851*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), p.33

⁵¹ Rideout, 'Rodney Street, Liverpool', pp.64-65

the architectural details of the two houses - including size and scale and finishing details on the windows, doors and roof; including pediments, architraves and a blank oeil-de-boeuf - would infer that either Casson or Speciall and Glynne were responsible for designing or constructing a number of properties on this street, or that Gladstone drew inspiration from his neighbour's house. To an extent, certain similarities between the two properties would have been enforced through local and national building legislation at the time. Liverpool was the largest corporate promoter of building projects in England, and it exerted tight control of residential developments.⁵² It was also supported by national building legislation under the Building Acts of 1707, 1709, 1714 and 1774, which dictated the construction of and appearance of properties. These London-specific Building Acts were eventually implemented across the country during the eighteenth century, and this has often been used to suggest metropolitan designs were emulated by other towns.⁵³ An example of the levels of conformity among Liverpool's townhouses can be seen in that of cotton-merchant Charles K. Prioleau's house on Abercromby Square, constructed between 1862-3 but it followed an architectural style reminiscent of those houses built a century earlier. This was a result of the property being built on a leasehold from the Liverpool Corporation which dictated the general appearance of the property to fit in with existing houses on the square built three or four decades earlier.⁵⁴

John Lees' plans for Platt Hall underwent several major changes and plans by unknown and nationally renowned architects in attempts to reduce conformity to existing properties in Manchester. Two of the plans submitted by unnamed architects were for neo-classical five bay houses (Figure 2.2). These were likely rejected because they did not accurately reflect Lees' social position and they were too similar in size and style to existing merchants' and gentlemen's houses already in Manchester at the time, such as those depicted on the maps of Berry and Casson.⁵⁵ The depiction of large houses on cartographic records was not unusual and they were symbolic of the progression of eighteenth-century towns. The first map of this

⁵² Christopher Chalklin, *The Provincial Towns of Georgian England: A Study of the Building Process 1740-1820*, (London: Edward Arnold Ltd, 1974), p.100-101

⁵³ Peter Guillery, *The Small House in Eighteenth-Century London*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), p.48

⁵⁴ *Liverpool Daily Post*, 6 July 1869, p.2

⁵⁵ Manchester City Art Galleries: 1961.165 E/1, Plan attributed to English School of Architecture; 1961.165 F/1, Plan attributed to English School of Architecture; see also: Terry Wyke, Brian Robson, Martin Dodge, *Manchester: Mapping the City*, (Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd, 2018), pp.5-8

kind in Manchester was published in 1746 and it drew inspiration from John Cossins' *New and Exact Plan of the Town of Leedes* (1730).⁵⁶ The images of houses clearly acted as an incentive of what Lees was attempting to avoid and it is evidence of his attempts to distance himself from his former peers, through tangible structures of wealth.



Figure 1.2: A rejected design for Platt Hall (MCAg:1961.165/E/1)

⁵⁶ Engravings of houses illustrate the second edition of Russel Casson and John Berry's *A Plan of the Towns of Manchester and Salford* (1746) and a subsequent edition published by Berry in 1757. Strangeways Hall, shown on the map has not been analysed here as it was still occupied by the landed gentry at this time. See: Chetham's Library, Manchester: L.8.81 (1), Russel Casson and John Berry, *A Plan of the Towns of Manchester and Salford*, 1741–1757.

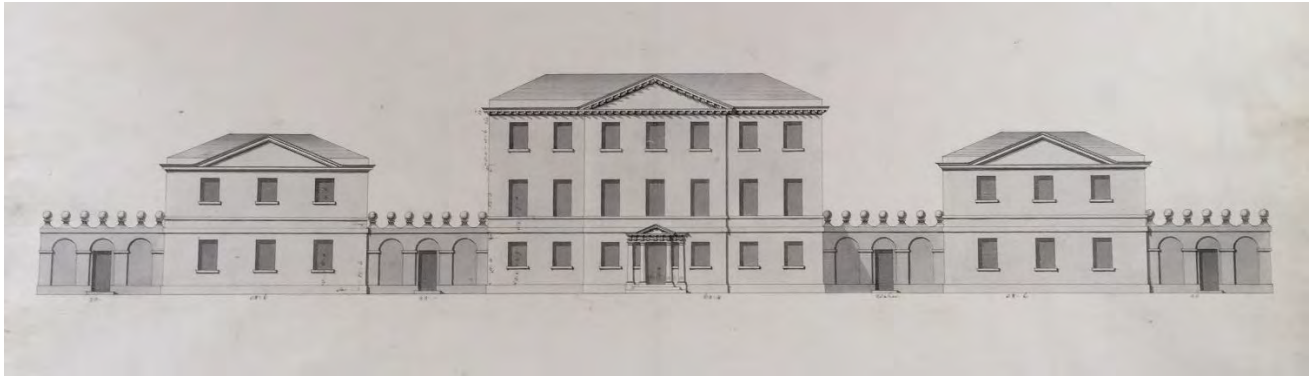


Figure 2.3: John Carr's plan for Platt Hall, c.1761 (MCAG:1961.163/C1)



Figure 2.4: Timothy Lightoler's approved plans for Platt Hall. He adapted John Carr's designs and added slightly more detail to the facade. (MCAG:1961.165/A)

Lees also rejected plans which had an inconvenient layout. One plan depicted a seven-bay house with a service wing and stables at the rear of the property around a courtyard and connected to the main house by a corridor.⁵⁷ It is clear that Lees did not like this layout as the three plans he considered by named architects all depicted service pavilions adjoining the main house. This layout extended the overall scale of the property which would have made it more impressive. The new Platt Hall also faced south, whereas the old, timber-framed Platt Hall faced east and overlooked Wilmslow Road, which, by the mid-eighteenth century had become a principal link to towns and districts south of Manchester. The new situation of Platt Hall thereby allowed both façades to be seen by travellers in both directions, without directly seeing into the house. The Hall itself sat in parkland, which was designed and improved in 1768 by William Emes, former head gardener at Kedleston Hall.⁵⁸ The careful

⁵⁷ MCAG: 1961.165 G/1, Plan attributed to English School of Architecture

⁵⁸ Manchester City Art Galleries, *Parks for the People: Manchester and its Parks 1846-1926*, (Manchester: Manchester City Art Galleries, 1987) pp.13-14

choice of Emes again reflects Lees' control over his house and estate and his attempts to solidify his position among the gentry. These themes will be explored in more detail in chapter three.

Lees rejected the plans of William Jupp in 1760 and then considered plans from John Carr of York in 1761 (Figure 2.3). Here Lees' consideration of named architects is significant when attempting to understand the importance that the new house held for him. Jupp was a promising architect and the younger brother of Richard Jupp, chief architect and Surveyor to the East India Company.⁵⁹ However, Carr was regarded as one of the country's finest architects at the time and he designed numerous prominent properties and public buildings in the North of England including Harewood House, Lytham Hall and he also completed Wentworth Woodhouse.⁶⁰ The choice of a renowned architect did not necessarily produce the desired house. Unsatisfied with elements of Carr's designs, Lees then commissioned Timothy Lightoler in 1762 to amend and alter the plans and the property was ultimately constructed under Lightoler's direction (Figure 2.4). Lightoler sympathetically softened and elaborated Carr's plain Palladian façade of the house so that it was more in-keeping with the rococo-inspired interior. He elongated the proportions of the main block, replacing Carr's plain Doric portico with a more elegant Ionic portico with a similar pediment on the window above. The pitch of the roofs on the service pavilions were also altered to be in-line with the house.

Both Carr's and Lightoler's plans for Platt Hall conformed to a form of Palladian architecture which was a prominent design for country houses in the mid-eighteenth century. Robert Morris's architectural treatise from 1757 depicted numerous houses following the same architectural conventions and with the same elements and features, so Lees was conforming to the fashions of the period.⁶¹ The lesser-known architect represented the better choice for Lees as he was able to retain the designs of Carr's house but remodelled in an aesthetically pleasing way by Lightoler. Morris estimated the cost of construction of a house similar in size and scale to Platt Hall, as well as in appearance as both included a colonnade between the

⁵⁹ Sidney Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography, Volume 30*, (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1892), pp.228-229

⁶⁰ Brian Wragg & Giles Worsley (ed.), *The Life and Works of John Carr of York*, (Wetherby: Oblong Creative Ltd, 2000)

⁶¹ Morris, *Select Architecture*

main house and the service pavilions and stables at £2953/16s.⁶² Platt Hall ultimately cost £10,000 to build, though comparisons with Morris's figures would suggest this was for both the construction of the house and the completion of the interior.⁶³

Both Carr and Lightoler planned a first-floor mezzanine or parlour floor at Platt Hall and both plans made provisions for a study, common parlour, drawing room, dining room and formal bed chamber.⁶⁴ In Carr's plan, the suite of rooms were all interconnecting with the dining room being flanked by the drawing room and bed chamber at the front of the house and thereby recreating, albeit at a more modest scale, a suite of interconnecting rooms as seen in the large country houses of landed aristocracy which Carr had already designed himself.⁶⁵ Lightoler completely altered these plans: only the dining room remained in-situ and it was interconnected with the common parlour and drawing room which created a more practical and convenient layout.⁶⁶ The bedchamber and study, as more intimate domestic spaces, were isolated at the rear of the property. This decision could have been a direction which came from John and Deborah Lees themselves, or it could have been solely inspired by Lightoler. Whatever the case, the Lees obviously exerted control over their house, even if this was relegated to approving the amendments to plans. As such, the interior at Platt Hall is representative of a convenient compromise between personal ideologies and public projections of self and status and the layout of this house is discussed in more detail in subsequent chapters.

John Gladstone's construction of a house in the country took on a very different format to Lees' experiences. In 1811 Gladstone commenced the construction of Seaforth House at Litherland, located around five miles north of the Liverpool Exchange and a quarter of a mile from the coast. By this time, he was more assured in his own position in society and in his ideas of how his house should look. By 1813, the house had been completed and the family began to divide their time between Rodney Street and their country property. The family

⁶² Illustration XI a seven-bay house of three storeys, see: Morris, *Select Architecture*, p.13

⁶³ William Royle, *History of Rusholme: With Gossipy Talk of Men and Things*, (Manchester: The William Morris Press Ltd, 1914) p.17

⁶⁴ MCAG: 1961.165 C/2, Plan attributed to John Carr

⁶⁵ See: Arnold, *The Georgian Country House*

⁶⁶ MCAG: M/CCAG 1961.165 A, Plan attributed to Timothy Lightoler

made Seaforth House, named after Gladstone's father-in-law, Francis Mackenzie, 1st Baron Seaforth, their permanent residence from 1814.

Leisure time was becoming increasingly important as a status symbol and leisure pursuits indoors were another outlet to show success and status. The successful could afford time for leisure and could afford the material aspects of indulging in recreational pursuits. Gladstone subsequently embarked on an intense number of projects remodelling and making additions to the property with leisure acting as a status symbol. One of his first projects was to commission Barton Haigh, a Liverpool-based architect to build a large veranda on the northern façade of the property, which overlooked the coast (see Figure 2.5). This work cost Gladstone £180.⁶⁷ Gladstone's desire to constantly improve the property continued over the subsequent years. In 1817 he began the construction of an additional wing which contained a billiard room, library and an extended picture gallery among other rooms.⁶⁸ The specification regarding the building works at Seaforth House does not appear to have been a legally binding document, in the same way Gladstone signed the agreement for the construction of his Rodney Street townhouse, but the document is no less detailed and Gladstone's interest in his property and his control over cost and materials was evident.



Figure 2.5: Seaforth House, c.1819 (John Preston Neale, Views of the seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen, in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, Volume Six, (London: Sherwood, Neely, and Jones and Co., 1820)

⁶⁷GL: GG/2416: Estimation by Barton Haigh for proposed veranda at Seaforth, 1814

⁶⁸GL: GG/2417/1: Specification for building work at Seaforth, 1817

The total cost of the building work at Seaforth in 1817 was £1600.⁶⁹ Gladstone still remained unsatisfied and the amount of building work at Seaforth House could be both a source of amusement and contention for the family. John's daughter, Anne, dryly suggested Seaforth House should be renamed 'Guttling Hall' in a letter to her brother, Tom in connection with the amount of money their father was spending on alterations.⁷⁰ The house he had originally built was a simple, symmetrical villa of three bays across two stories. This was a design typical of rural gentleman's houses which became fashionable in the eighteenth century, such as those depicted in William Paine's plans for a 'gentleman's house' which were of a similar size and scale.⁷¹ These 'compact box' houses, Hague noted, were popular among the landed elite and men of non-landed backgrounds as they were 'adaptable, convenient and economical'.⁷² Gladstone's alterations and additions of the house, such as the billiard room, were a response to the family's denotation of the house as their permanent residence and therefore, it became more important to them than it had been as an infrequently used second house. However, Gladstone was clearly attempting to turn the villa into a more substantial house and this was likely to reflect his political ambition, as Sydney Checkland suggested Gladstone's vast improvements to Seaforth House in 1817 were an attempt to impress George Canning, the Member of Parliament for Liverpool, who stayed there that year with the intention of bolstering his own move into politics.⁷³ Property, as Hancock argued, represented 'expensive, if conventional, marks of gentility'.⁷⁴ In 1820, Seaforth House was described in John Preston Neale's *Views of the seats of Noblemen and Gentleman, in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland* as 'not large, but is particularly commodious in the disposition of the apartments, with a pleasing exterior.'⁷⁵ Whilst the description of the architectural merits of Seaforth House may be lacking, the inclusion of Gladstone and his property in this publication clearly reflected his elevated status.

⁶⁹GL: GG/2417/7: Specification for building work at Seaforth, 1817; Relative Values of UK Currency <<https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/relativevalue.php>> [Last Accessed 9 February 2020]

⁷⁰ Checkland, *The Gladstones*, p.83

⁷¹ Pain, *The Practical House Carpenter*, pp.176-188

⁷² Hague, *The Gentleman's House*, pp.51-52

⁷³ *Ibid.* p.82

⁷⁴ Hancock, *Citizens of the World*, p. 375

⁷⁵ John Preston Neale, *Views of the seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen, in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland*, Volume Six, (London: Sherwood, Neely, and Jones and Co., 1820), p.108

Challenging Status: Domestic Properties and Business Premises

Gladstone's house at Seaforth was evidently part of the reinvention of his character, from merchant to gentleman. Emulation of an elite lifestyle, however, could extend beyond the imitation of architectural styles of elite housing. The merchant or manufacturer who was able to purchase a house with a large amount of land, could describe himself as a landowner and with this came a new hierarchical status. Hancock suggested merchants did not purchase land to make money, as initial returns on the investment were low, nor did they expect to live off the land as the aristocracy did but instead the land was economic security for their descendants.⁷⁶ However, how the land was used by the merchant and manufacturer was also telling of his status and for some, there was a reluctance to completely separate themselves from their origins in trade and business. As discussed in the previous chapter, there was a standardisation of arrangement between the domestic property and business premises during the eighteenth century in the urban town, with a noticeable decline in this custom in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. This section will examine how merchants and manufactures arranged their domestic space and their workspace and how they attempted to navigate social changes which could affect their status.



Figure 2.6: Thomas Parr's House on Colquitt Street, Liverpool. The counting house can be seen on the left of the main house, with the warehouse behind. (T. McGrath, 2020)

⁷⁶ Hancock, *Citizens of the World*, p.292

In 1799 Thomas Parr (1769-1847), a merchant and slave trader, constructed a five-bay townhouse on Colquitt Street in Liverpool (Figure 2.6). Attached to either side of the house in adjoining wings were his counting house and his carriage house, which both fronted the street, and these functional buildings were used to convey status. These wings, one of which is partially visible in Figure 2.6, were designed to conform with the architecture of the main house and Parr even purchased a plot of land opposite his house to be used as a pleasure garden.⁷⁷ Parr's physical dominance upon the topography of Colquitt Street communicated his status and his mercantile successes were reflected in the five-storey warehouse at the rear of his property. Parr's ability to purchase and develop multiple plots of land was also testament to his wealth given the high cost of urban land. The cost of Parr's house is unknown, but Hannah Barker's research on John Coleman, a baker-turned-merchant who purchased a plot of land on James Street in Liverpool in 1780 reveals more insights. Coleman intended to build 'a large house and warehouse, the house to occupy myself and the warehouse for my mercantile concerns' which was befitting of his new status.⁷⁸ Coleman estimated the house and warehouse cost him £3,600 to build, although as Barker suggests, this could have been an exaggeration recorded in his memoirs, as his insurance policy for 1780 recorded that the partially built house was only insured for £1,600.⁷⁹

The domestic arrangement of Samuel Greg (1758-1834) was less ambitious than Parr's house and warehouse, not from a lack of capital, but due to his satisfaction with the position of his domestic property. Greg had lived at 35 King Street in Manchester since the age of eight in 1766. Conveyance documents relating to the property suggest the house was built and occupied by his maternal uncles, Robert and Nathaniel Hyde from 1763 and the house was characteristic of one of the larger townhouses on King Street even though it was constrained by the existing houses due to the topography of the town.⁸⁰ At the rear of the house were service buildings and a four-storied warehouse and office, which were erected by the Hydes, who had no need for a pleasure garden as they had built a country house, Ardwick Hall, in the

⁷⁷ Picton, *Memorials of Liverpool*, p.142

⁷⁸ Barker, *Family and Business*, p.5

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* p.5

⁸⁰ Sir John Soane Collection: SM (2) 56/1/1A: David Mocatta, Site Plan of House in King Street, 1826; Manchester Record Office: GB127.M9/40/2/16, Lamp Tax, 1765

1770s and retained King Street as a townhouse.⁸¹ Samuel continued to reside and work in this arrangement as this was practical and familiar, and it continued after his marriage to Hannah Lightbody in 1789, which subsequently produced 12 children.

Whilst the domestic arrangement may have suited the men in the family, especially when they lived at King Street as bachelors, it did not prove conducive to family life, particularly the lack of outdoor leisure space. Within just weeks of his marriage, Samuel had introduced Hannah to the countryside around his mill at Quarry Bank, some 12 miles south of Manchester.⁸² The young couple and their growing family began to spend their occasional leisure time there and they resided at Oak Farm in the hamlet of Styal. Around 1798 the Gregs began construction of their own property, Quarry Bank House, adjacent to the cotton spinning mill (Figure 2.7).⁸³



Figure 2.7: A pencil sketch of Quarry Bank House by Robert Hyde Greg, 1812 (QBA:765, Greg Family Letter Book)

⁸¹ Ardwick Hall was just a mile from the centre of Manchester and initially Robert and Nathaniel Hyde considered selling their King Street property in the 1770s. An advertisement from the *Manchester Mercury* in 1775 states: 'To be SOLD, by private CONTRACT [...] A Large modern-built HOUSE, with the Warehouse, Coach-house, Stable and Appurtenances, being Freehold of Inheritance, situated at the Upper Part of King-Street, in Manchester aforesaid, in the Possession of Mr Nathan Hyde, at the yearly Rent of 78l.' *Manchester Mercury*, 15 August 1775, p.4

⁸² Quarry Bank Mill Archive: Hannah Greg, Diary, Volume Two; [N. D. 1790], (Item on loan from the Janes family)

⁸³ Mary B. Rose, *The Greg's of Quarry Bank: The Rise and Decline of a Family Firm 1750-1914*, (Cambridge: The Press Syndicate, 1986), pp.13-15

Quarry Bank House conformed to the rural-inspired architectural form popular from the mid-eighteenth century onwards and Andrew Ballantyne suggests that this architectural trend reached a peak during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as a form of romantic English nationalism in response to the Napoleonic Wars and the classicism popular in Europe at the time.⁸⁴ Whilst it is unlikely the Gregs were making a political statement with their home, they were making an aesthetic and moral choice. The architecture of the house was plain, simple, and unornamented both externally and internally suited to visions of style and it also reflected the Gregs' fondness for simple living and unostentatious displays of wealth.

Ann Bermingham's work has shown how house names ending with 'cottage', 'lodge' and 'priory' conformed with fashionable tastes for rural architecture in this period.⁸⁵ Though there is some disparity which exists in defining 'cottages' of this period. Julie Park has written about the 'malleability' of the cottage; from the country homes of the wealthy to the basic hut of the labourer and Daniel Maudlin has shown how architects created substantial 'cottages' which were actually larger villas with a mismatched plethora of 'picturesque' styles.⁸⁶ This contrast between reality and imagined realities was evident in the Greg household. In a poem written in 1808, Samuel and Hannah's children described their house at Quarry Bank as a 'mansion', which was later amended by Hannah to a 'cottage'.⁸⁷ As John Crowley argued, the lack of pretension displayed in the vernacular architecture of 'cottages' like Quarry Bank House supposedly implied comfort, as the houses were more aligned to their natural surroundings and the traditions of the countryside.⁸⁸ From the amendment of the poem, it is evident that Hannah saw her house in this light and that she subscribed to her version of a

⁸⁴ Andrew Ballantyne, 'Joseph Gandy and the Politics of Rustic Charm', in Barbara Arciszewska and Elizabeth McKellar (eds.), *Articulating British Classicism: New Approaches to Eighteenth Century Architecture*, (London: Taylor Francis, 2004), pp.163-185

⁸⁵ Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740–1860*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), pp.18–19

⁸⁶ Julie Park, "'A Small House in the Country': Cottage Dreams and Desires in the Eighteenth-Century English Imagination', in Stephen G. Hague and Karen Lipsedge (eds.) *At Home in the Eighteenth Century: Interrogating Domestic Space*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2022), pp. 82-104; Daniel Maudlin, 'Habitations of the Labourer: Improvement, Reform and the Neoclassical Cottage in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Journal of Design History*, Vol. 23, No. 1, Model, Method and Mediation in the History of Housing Design (2010), pp.17-19

⁸⁷ David Sekers, *A Lady of Cotton: Hannah Greg, Mistress of Quarry Bank Mill*, (Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2015), p.21

⁸⁸ John E. Crowley *The Invention of Comfort: Sensibilities and Design in Early Modern Britain and Early America*, (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 2000), p.22

sanitised rural idyll, which was less formal than urban life in Manchester but more sophisticated than the working-farm in Styal they had previously occupied.



Figure 2.8: Greenbank, the home of the Rathbones, 1807. Sketched by Elizabeth Greg. (QBA:765 Greg Family Letter Book)

The appearance of Quarry Bank House as a ‘cottage’ was in sharp contrast to Greenbank, the rural villa of their close friends the Rathbones, located outside of Liverpool (Figure 2.8). The Rathbones, like the Gregs were also Unitarians, but they chose to build a house which was heavily ornamented in the eighteenth-century Gothic-revival style of architecture, which made no attempts to merge seamlessly with this landscape or rural poor. These architectural trends were diametrically opposed in terms of style and architectural publications from the period would suggest the highly ornate villa was intended for the higher status individual. As D. Laing wrote in his 1800 publication *Hints For Dwellings: Consisting of Original designs For Cottages, Farm-Houses, Villas &c. Plain and Ornamental; With Plans To Each*:

In the Designs for Dwellings in the Cottage Style, I have attended to a Simplicity suited to the Character of the Structure; rejecting all Superfluity of Ornament, as inconsistent with the Building: in the Plans on a larger Scale, and in the Designs for Villas, I have indulged in more Ornament and Variety of Contour, as allowable to such Buildings, whose Inhabitants may

be considered of some Rank in Life, and entitle to more Show as well as Conveniences.⁸⁹

The construction of Quarry Bank House permitted the Gregs to meet their domestic needs and adapt their house around these. Originally, Quarry Bank House was constructed on an extremely small-scale to what it would later become, and in comparison, to the space available at the Gregs' townhouse. Originally Quarry Bank house was comprised of only three or four rooms in accordance with the occasional leisure time the family spent there; namely weekends throughout the year and more extended periods across the summer months, December and January.⁹⁰ Therefore, unlike Gladstone, the Gregs were initially satisfied dividing their time between their urban and rural houses, with the former still taking precedence as the main residential location. However, as with Gladstone's additions to Seaforth house, the gradual piecemeal construction projects to enlarge Quarry Bank House was reflective of the changing nature of the family's domestic habits.

The transition from using the rural house on a sporadic basis to making it a permanent year-round residence was often a slow process and one which could even be drawn across several generations of a mercantile family. The move towards rural locations was tied to the general expansion into the suburbs in the early-nineteenth century but personal motivations often acted as deciding factors, such as health benefits or a desire to escape from the stresses of urban life and business. The influence of matriarchal figures in the family upon the domestic circumstances of the mercantile family cannot be overlooked either. Hannah Greg consistently spent longer periods at Quarry Bank House than her husband and she chose to make it her permanent residence before Samuel joined her.

Whether by accident or design, the move to Quarry Bank also accommodated the shifting needs of the family. An eight-acre garden was cultivated at Quarry Bank on the banks of the River Bollin, the space flourished with specimens of myrtle, primula and rhododendron.⁹¹ The grand outdoor display simultaneously satisfied the recreational space long craved for by Hannah and her children, whilst also serving the practical purpose of acting as a physical

⁸⁹ Laing, *Hints For Dwellings*, pp.4-5

⁹⁰ University of Liverpool: GB 141 RP.II.1.64: Letter from Hannah Greg to William Rathbone IV, 31 July 1798.

⁹¹ Manchester Record Office: GB127. C5/6/9, Greg Account Book; Invoice to Taylor & Smith, Nursery and Seedsmen, 30 October 1818.

barrier between the house and the mill.⁹² William Rathbone IV referred to Quarry Bank as a 'little paradise'.⁹³ John James Audubon, the American naturalist and painter, described it as: 'a most enchanting spot [...] the Grounds truly Pi[c]turesque and Improved as much as improvements can be.'⁹⁴ However, unlike other visitors, William Ewart Gladstone acknowledged the inconvenient truth about the compromised location of Quarry Bank House; 'They have a very pretty place at Quarry Bank, the house on a small scale. Were it not for the noise and the smell of a cotton factory, the residence would appear an extremely pleasant one.'⁹⁵

Quarry Bank house was built just feet from the cotton mill (Figure 2.9) and Gladstone's comments infer that the Gregs' domestic ideal was perhaps somewhat romanticised by their other guests. The situation of the house adjacent to the mill was a physical testament of the family's origins in trade and industry. Indeed, the choice to establish the family at Quarry Bank was one of mixed meanings for Samuel. The location of the house and mill reflected his own shifting attitudes towards work, which became increasingly focused on the manufacturing side of the business, rather than the mercantile. After the family made Quarry Bank their permanent residence in 1815, Samuel retained his townhouse and continued to make routine visits to Manchester each Tuesday.⁹⁶ Ultimately due to the enclosed estate-like nature of Quarry Bank and Styal, Hannah and the children also became involved in the business, albeit through philanthropic interests in the lives of the workers.

⁹² Samuel Greg allowed his children to play in a cave on the edge of the garden. QBA: GLB:1.497, Letter from Bessy Greg to Mary Hodgson, November 1801.

⁹³ UOL: GB141 RP.II.1.42B: Letter from William Rathbone IV to Hannah Greg, 20 April 1795

⁹⁴ Audubon, 19 September 1826, in in Daniel Patterson, ed. *John James Audubon's Journal of 1826: The Voyage to 'The Birds of America'*, (Nebraska, USA: University of Nebraska, 2011), p.181

⁹⁵ A letter from William Ewart Gladstone to his sister, March 1828 in John Henshall, *Quarry Bank House and Garden: Styal Conservation Plan*, (Quarry Bank: National Trust, March 2006), p.20

⁹⁶ James Audubon, 10 October 1826, in Patterson, ed. *John James Audubon's Journal*, p.230



Figure 2.9: A rear view of Quarry Bank House and the mill. The service wing, which was demolished in the 1960s, was on the right of the house and it ran all the way up to the boundary wall with the mill. (T. McGrath, 2018)

The rapid accumulation of wealth gained through trade and industry presented the opportunity for some members of the industrial elite, such as John Gladstone, to adopt aspects of the lifestyles of the landed classes. Gladstone's foray into landownership in the early-nineteenth century was not uncommon in either this period or in Liverpool or Manchester. Merchants' interest and investment in the houses and associated lifestyles of the gentry can be traced back to the early-eighteenth century. In 1743 George Croxton, a merchant in Manchester eschewed his grand King Street townhouse and purchased the Birch Estate in Rusholme for £6000.⁹⁷ He sold the estate just two years later to John Dickenson, another Manchester merchant who lived at Birch Hall for the following 34 years.⁹⁸ These early forays in landownership meant these men were among a minority in the periods in which they lived but their methods of building status had clearly become standardised and normalised within 60 years, undoubtedly as a result of the industrial elites' desire to foster

⁹⁷ J. S. Buckley, *The History of Birch-in-Rusholme*, (London: Sherratt & Hughes, 1910), p. 14

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* p.14

distinctions between themselves and the rising bourgeoisie, which developed in these provincial industrial towns in the late-eighteenth century.

The reluctance of Samuel Greg to completely divorce himself from his business provides a unique insight into the awkward transitional status of some merchant-manufacturers in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Some men, such as Greg or Thomas Staniforth, had no desire to transcend their status or fully separate themselves from their business and industry, something which is only fully evident when examining their domestic spheres. Staniforth had purchased Broad Green Hall outside of Liverpool in 1789, but he preferred to live in his Ranelagh Street townhouse in the centre of Liverpool. Nevertheless, these men were clearly becoming the anomaly by the 1820s.⁹⁹ Subsequent generations of industrial families were evidently more eager to distance themselves from business in ways their parents had not been able to. Robert Hyde Greg eventually inherited his father's mill and chose not to live at Quarry Bank House. In 1831 he had his own house, Norcliffe Hall, constructed over a mile away from the mill and thus far removed from the compromised domestic situation he had experience during his own childhood.

Both of Gladstone's houses in and around Liverpool, John Lees' Platt Hall and to an extent Samuel Greg's Quarry Bank House, acted as tangible reflections of the upwardly mobile social status of their owners. Despite his own wealth and successful career, it can be assumed that Lees was aware his new status and position was due to his wife's ancestry even though interclass marriages were not unusual in this period. Therefore, by replacing the old Platt Hall with a completely new property, using architects and landscape gardeners patronised by the aristocracy, Lees was able to redefine himself and better establish his family in their new life. This is a pattern which was mirrored several decades later by John Gladstone. His vast wealth, his career in politics and his public service meant he was awarded a baronetcy in 1846. This allowed him to securely take his place as a member of the titled landed elite, a position which would not have been attainable had it not been for his successful early career as a merchant, which can be traced through his different houses. Samuel Greg was reflective of an older generation of merchant and manufacturer, who was satisfied with the domestic arrangement of his house and business. At the start of the nineteenth century the relationship between

⁹⁹ Frances Margery Hext, *Staniforthiana Or Recollections of the Family of Staniforth of Darnall, in Yorkshire, Collected and Arranged Chronologically* (Sheffield: Lavars, 1863), p. unknown

status, the house and the business were challenged and Greg was able to steadfastly reject this at Quarry Bank.

Section II: 'To be chosen by the said John Gladstone': Controlling Construction: The Merchant's Input

As revealed in the previous case studies, house building could prove a costly venture for the merchant and given the meaning of the property for his social status, it was a process the merchant wanted to remain in firm control of. Rachel Stewart's analysis of the sale prices of townhouses in London's West End in the eighteenth century communicates the general price of urban property at the extreme end of the social spectrum, with prices varying from £1500 to £8000 depending on the size and scale of the property, its location and whether furnishings were included.¹⁰⁰ Whilst these figures do not relate to the cost of construction, they illustrate the amounts of money an elite urban resident could spend on a property. As discussed in the previous section more regional examples also reflect the broad ranges of costs across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: John Gladstone's townhouse cost £1570 to build in 1792, the Hardman's rebuilding of Allerton Hall in 1736 cost £7,700, John Lees' construction of Platt Hall in 1763 cost £10,000 and John Grant Morris' Allerton Priory cost £16,950 in 1871.¹⁰¹ Location could also dictate cost and it was written into the covenant of each plot sold in Fulwood Park, Liverpool's mid nineteenth-century gated community, that each resident had to spend a minimum of £1,500 on their house, outbuildings, gardens and fencing, a rule purposefully designed to keep the area as a high-status residential location.¹⁰² Therefore, attempting to control costs and reduce them was commonplace and as Hancock noted many merchant-builders in eighteenth-century London built for 'convenience more than magnificence' and wanted 'the house handsome though not pompous.'¹⁰³ The extent of their control was varied dependent on the individual, nevertheless, their involvement the

¹⁰⁰ Rachel Stewart, *The Town House in Georgian London*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), pp.72-73

¹⁰¹ Laura Microulis, 'Gillow and Company's Furniture for a Liverpool "Maceenas": John Grant Morris of Allerton Priory, *Furniture History*, Vol. 41, (2005), p.190

¹⁰² Susan George, *Liverpool Park Estates*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), pp.75-76

¹⁰³ Hancock, *Citizens of the World*, p.343

construction process emphasises the importance of the domestic sphere in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

John Lees' control over the design of Platt Hall was representative of his control of the financial cost of construction and of the fact that limiting the creative freedoms of the architect was not unusual in this period. Nicholas Ashton (1742-1833), a merchant in Liverpool had resided in townhouses on Hanover Street and at Clayton Square before he purchased Woolton Hall, a substantial mansion around six miles outside the town in 1772.¹⁰⁴ Ashton, eager to make a statement about his new position in society, commissioned Robert Adam to redesign and remodel the Hall which had been built in 1704.¹⁰⁵ Ashton, like Lees, remained in ultimate control of the project and he rejected Adam's original plan for Woolton Hall, which had a more ornate façade including a decorative frieze which did not appear on the completed house.¹⁰⁶ This was likely to save unnecessary expenditure as the Adams brothers were notoriously expensive architects and designers.¹⁰⁷ The London merchant, Richard Oswald, commissioned Adam to design a country house in 1764 but, as Hancock noted, Oswald downscaled the plans and removed all external ornamentation to make the house both cheaper and more in keeping with Palladian architecture.¹⁰⁸ The stucco work at Platt Hall was less elaborate than Lightoler's other work showcased in *The Modern Builder's Assistant* (1757).¹⁰⁹ Like the Adams brothers, Lightoler could also prove to be a notoriously expensive architect and his work was restricted at Platt Hall and also at Stoneleigh Abbey in the same decade.¹¹⁰ The muted ornamentation was also reflective of the religious and spiritual backgrounds of both Lees and his wife's family, the Worsleys, in which other moral values took precedence over materialism. Both the Worsley family and John Lees held strong non-conformist beliefs. Lees was a trustee at the Unitarian Cross Street Chapel in Manchester and

¹⁰⁴ John R. Hughes, 'Sketch of the History of the Liverpool Blue Coat Hospital: Part II', *Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Volume One, (1861), p.85

¹⁰⁵ John Preston Neale, *Views of the seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen, in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland*, Volume Six, (London: Sherwood, Neely, and Jones and Co., 1820), p.112

¹⁰⁶ Sir John Soane Collection: SM Adam Volume 30/45; Design of House for Nicholas Ashton, Esq.

¹⁰⁷ Adams' designs were somewhat universally deemed expensive by both mercantile elites and the aristocracy and his designs for both Kenwood House and Kedleston Hall were critiqued by contemporaries such as Horace Walpole. See: Ariyuki Kondo, *Robert and James Adam, Architects of the Age of Enlightenment*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), p.103; p.181

¹⁰⁸ Hancock, *Citizens of the World*, p.322; p.342

¹⁰⁹ William Halfpenny, John Halfpenny, Robert Morris and Timothy Lightoler, *The Modern Builder's Assistant*, (London: James Rivington & J. Fletcher, 1757)

¹¹⁰ Jon Stobart & Mark Rothery, *Consumption and the Country House*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016) p.217

President of the Warrington Academy, a school for dissenters, where his son was educated, and the Worsleys were descended from Major General Charles Worsley, Manchester's first member of Parliament under Cromwell's Puritanical Government in 1650.¹¹¹

The building contract between John Gladstone and his housebuilders was a common way in which the merchant could exert control in a formal, legally binding manner. Whilst Gladstone may not have personally directed the terms and conditions, he was responsible for approving the details of the document and at several points in the contract Gladstone's input was distinct. These areas largely concern the ornamental details of the interior in which it would be expected that the client would have control over the appearance of his house. A common phrase repeated throughout the contract was 'all the rest with such colour as may be afterwards be chosen by the said John Gladstone.'¹¹² Gladstone's presence was also evident in the financial boundaries set out regarding certain items, such as chimney pieces: 'to allow the said John Gladstone twenty guineas for three marble pieces' and also the 'plain handsome front door case' which was to amount to no more than ten guineas.¹¹³

The spatial hierarchy of the interior rooms in the house also permitted Gladstone to save money. The walls of the drawing and dining rooms, library and breakfast parlour required three coats of plaster whereas all the other rooms had two coats. This was replicated with the fenestration: the windows of the drawing and dining rooms were to be of the 'best London glass', the windows of the library, breakfast parlour and staircase window were to be of the 'best Scotch glass' and all other windows were to be second-blown glass.¹¹⁴ Materials were drawn from global sources and these were not solely restricted to the principal entertaining rooms; the floors in the service rooms were paved with 'strong Holland flags' whereas in the hallways around the staircase they were the 'best polished diamond flags', showing careful choice of materials based upon the practicalities of everyday life and attention paid to all parts of the house.¹¹⁵ Wood for the joists and the floorboards in the house was sourced from parts of the Russian and Prussian Empires, in particular Riga and Danzig. This was not an extravagant expenditure, and it was common among elite housebuilding in

¹¹¹ Unknown, *The Monthly Repository of Theology and General Literature*, April 1814, No. C, Vol. IX, (Hackney: Sherwood, Neely & Jones, 1814) p.204

¹¹² GL: GG/2414: Agreement of John Gladstone with Lionel Speciall and Charles Glyone, 1792

¹¹³ GL: GG/2414: Agreement of John Gladstone with Lionel Speciall and Charles Glyone, 1792

¹¹⁴ GL: GG/2414: Agreement of John Gladstone with Lionel Speciall and Charles Glyone, 1792

¹¹⁵ GL: GG/2414: Agreement of John Gladstone with Lionel Speciall and Charles Glyone, 1792

the eighteenth century to source materials from abroad, yet these agreements regarding materials demonstrate both the pride Gladstone had in his house but also the economic restraint he exercised, and the contract outlined his decision to regulate the economic costs of construction and left no space for any indecision or unnecessary spending.¹¹⁶

The extent to which Lees, Ashton or Gladstone were directly involved with the construction project after plans had been amended and contracts drawn up remains unknown. Nonetheless, more detailed research into the lives of several other local merchants and manufacturers highlight how they were personally involved in the construction of their houses, which is indicative of a stronger element of control. In 1771, at the age of 71, Liverpool-merchant Charles Goore began to construct a house on Ranelagh Street, which at the time was located on the outskirts of the town. Goore made daily trips to inspect the progress on his house regardless of his personal health or the weather conditions; he walked or rode when possible and took a sedan chair from his house in the Old Churchyard when his health was bad.¹¹⁷ The house took three years to complete, although this lengthy period of construction and reconstruction could partly have been due to Goore's interference. He would test the quality of the bricks using a stick and if he did not approve of the softness, the whole wall had to be taken down and rebuilt on his orders.¹¹⁸ To avoid other inconsistencies in building materials, he had special shoes created for the worker who 'trode the mortar.'¹¹⁹

Absalom Watkin, a cotton merchant in Manchester, was eagerly involved in the process of securing his house and its alterations. In March 1832, Watkin went to view a property, Rose Hill in Northenden, around seven miles from the Manchester Exchange. Watkin was immediately enamoured with the situation of the property:

The situation beautiful, about a quarter of a mile from the church, on a little knoll overlooking the surrounding country and commanding a fine view of the river, etc. [...] The garden is tolerable, but much remains to be done to make the place as I should like it [...] Upon this property, it being his own, a

¹¹⁶ Hancock, *Citizens of the World*, pp.334-335

¹¹⁷ Hext, *Staniforthiana*, p. unknown

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. unknown

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* p. unknown

man might live and bring up a family. The land is some of the best in Northen[den].¹²⁰

However, Watkin was careful to visit the property several times before deciding to purchase it on 2nd April 1832. He also sought the opinion of his family and friends regarding the house. In March 1832 he took his wife and sons to see the house, in April he took his son again and he also took a friend. This shows the importance placed upon purchasing property as both a family home but also as a dynastic investment.¹²¹ Watkin also took a keen interest in the alterations to the house and gardens which began in January 1834. He frequently visited the property and made active decisions regarding the house and in particular the laying out of the garden.¹²² In October 1834 he took the 13 men who had been working for him on the property to supper at the Boat House Inn, showing the reciprocal working-relationship between the men.¹²³ Later that month he could claim he was 'much pleased' with the property.¹²⁴

These examples are demonstrative of men who could control construction of their homes due to the relatively short distances between their existing houses and their new houses. In other circumstances greater distances could undo any elements of control or restrictions the merchant-builder attempted to put in place. For that reason, the London-based merchant Richard Oswald occupied a small house on the construction site of his new Scottish estate.¹²⁵ However, the long period of construction and his pressing business links made him return to London. He paid frequent site visits to his new house and kept in contact via letter with the architect, Adam, frequently 'tinkering with the design' and expressing his concerns about the structure and later the finish.¹²⁶ Despite this close control, as Hancock noted, Adam could easily prey on Oswald's worries and concerns, which were undoubtedly exaggerated by his physical distance from the project, to suggest expensive features and fixtures 'worthy of nobility'.¹²⁷ Therefore, despite careful planning, the control exerted over the construction of

¹²⁰ A. E. Watkin (ed.), *Absalom Watkin: Extracts from his journal, 1814-1856*, (London: T. Fisher Unwin LTD., 1920), 21 March 1832, p.157

¹²¹ *Ibid.* 30 March & 1 April 1832, p.158

¹²² *Ibid.* 7 October 1833, p.168

¹²³ *Ibid.* 8 October 1834, p. 178

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* 18 October 1835, p.183

¹²⁵ Hancock, *Citizens of the World*, pp.334-335

¹²⁶ Hancock, *Citizens of the World*, pp.334-335

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* pp.334-335

a property could easily be counteracted during periods of indecision caused by distance and separation.

Around 1861, Andrew George Kurtz, a Liverpool-based chemical manufacturer commissioned the building of a house at Waterloo, some 9 miles north-west of his house at Grove House, Wavertree. As the second house was situated near the coast of the Irish Sea, the property was presumably intended to be used as a country residence. In July 1862 Kurtz described the house as 'a very well-built affair. Good to look at & of good size.'¹²⁸ Some months later in September 1862, he visited the house again, describing it as 'very compact and cheap.'¹²⁹ However, by the start of 1863 problems had started to emerge and Kurtz was told in February that the house required repairs; what exactly this entailed he did not record but by April 1863 the house was advertised for sale.¹³⁰ By May that year, Kurtz recorded in his diary 'Signed the sale of the house at Waterloo for £950 which leaves a loss on this unfortunate property.'¹³¹ Here it seems as though Kurtz's distance from the construction site led to issues with its completion. He paid routine visits to the property every few months and it is likely he was kept informed of progress through regular correspondence with those involved in the project. Yet this clearly led to issues, in his diary Kurtz made a note of 'F.B.'s bad management & sale of my house at Waterloo', which suggested the failure of this business venture, or certainly where Kurtz placed the blame, lay with those he left to act on his behalf.¹³²

In attempts to counteract the lack of control created by distances between houses, and to maintain their general routines, Samuel and Hannah Greg chose to live on site during the alterations of Quarry Bank House across 1814-1815. The slow, organic growth of Quarry Bank House across three decades was demonstrative of the economical restraint exercised by Samuel. It is possible that elements of the construction process were partly funded by the legacy left to Hannah upon her mother's death in 1801 and it is likely Samuel waited to make the final structural changes to the house in 1814-1815, when the uncertainty of the Napoleonic wars was over and the cost of building materials became lower and more

¹²⁸ LRO: 920 KUR/1/2, Diary of A. G. Kurtz, 28 July 1862

¹²⁹ LRO: 920 KUR/1/2, Diary of A. G. Kurtz, 20 September 1862

¹³⁰ LRO: 920 KUR/1/3, Diary of A. G. Kurtz, 21 February 1863; 9 April 1863

¹³¹ LRO: 920 KUR/1/3, Diary of A. G. Kurtz, 21 May 1863

¹³² LRO: 920 KUR/1/3, Diary of A. G. Kurtz, 9 April 1863

stable.¹³³ There were two major enlargements of Quarry Bank House during the early-nineteenth century, each corresponding with the family's increasing amount of time spent there. The first enlargement around 1802 doubled the size of the house. The two prominent façades of the property were altered, and the house was extended with a drawing room, entrance hall, a bay window to the western façade, and a cantilevered staircase was installed. There was also a conscious effort to separate the mill from the household, for example a false window on the eastern façade offered privacy to the occupants of the drawing room from passing mill workers and visitors. Additional bedrooms were created by these improvements and the cellars were further excavated to include the kitchen, coal cellar, wine cellar, dry and wet larders, storerooms and a small laundry for the family's personal linen.¹³⁴ The extent to which the property was altered in this period and the inclusion of designated service spaces and rooms for entertaining highlight the growing importance of Quarry Bank for the Gregs. It was clearly no longer a private house to be used occasionally by the family, instead it had evolved into a second house. Significantly, there were no superfluous spaces at Quarry Bank House designed solely to be obvious communicators of wealth. Instead, the property was only enlarged to suit the daily needs of the household, which was likely a result of both the relaxed routines of the family and the indirect result of patriarchal financial restraints.

¹³³ Chalklin, *The Provincial Towns of Georgian England*, p.126

¹³⁴ MRO: GB127. C5/6/9, Mrs Greg in private housekeeping to Samuel Greg Esq., November 1814: The family would later pay a Mrs Carr each month for processing their laundry, but it is unknown whether she came to the house or if the laundry was sent out.

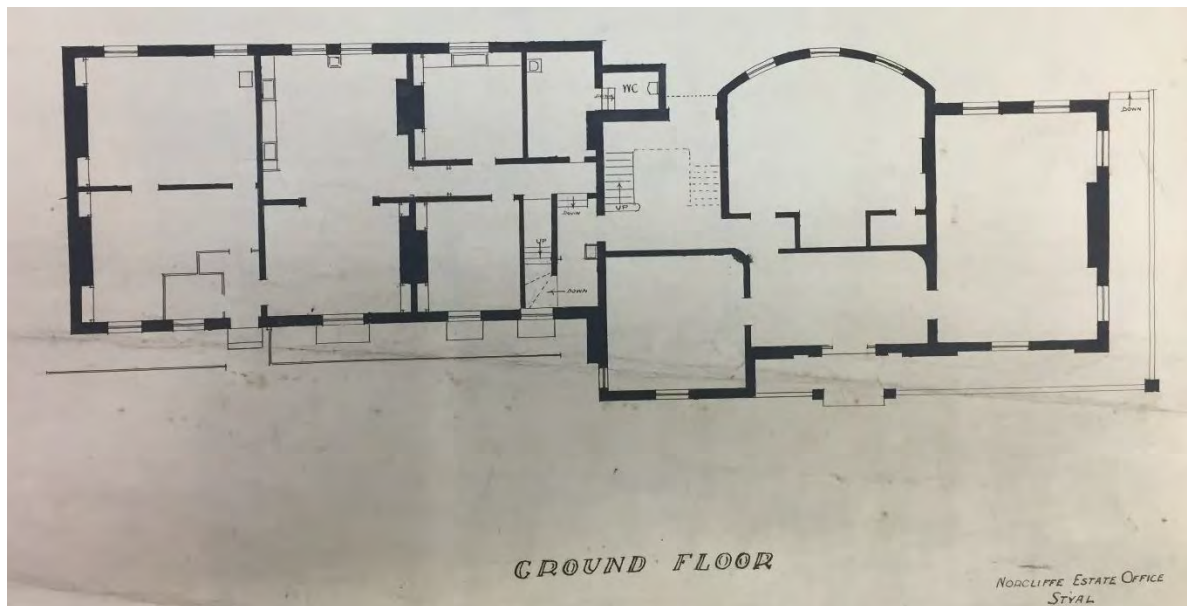


Figure 2.10: Ground floor plan of Quarry Bank House showing the main house on the right and the service wing on the left (set back) which was added in 1815. (QBA:765.1/11/A/1/3)

The final phase of alterations in 1814–1815 coincided with the Gregs’ decision to make Quarry Bank their permanent residence. An additional service wing, containing service spaces and bedrooms for the children and servants, was constructed on the southern façade of the house adjoining the mill (Figure 2.10).¹³⁵ The hierarchical status of the additional wing as a functional space, rather than a formal space, was evident from its construction and décor. It was set back slightly from the house to avoid offsetting the symmetrical façade and the fenestration was smaller than that of the main house. The detailed accounts and invoices retained by Samuel for 1814 and 1815 highlighted both his careful consideration of expenses and the length of time the final construction process took. For example, the plasterer, John Wyatt and his men spent 107 days working at the house in 1815.¹³⁶ The perseverance of the family was tested by the building work. In a letter Samuel wrote to his daughter in 1800 during the early remodelling of the property he remained optimistic; ‘our House is not quite in order, but as everyday does something – every day there is less to do, so in time we may hope to finish & I hope our patience will last out.’¹³⁷ More than a decade later, Robert Greg wrote to his mother on 2nd May 1815 stating: ‘I rejoice to hear that Quarry Bank will be habitable in June, or the

¹³⁵ Samuel Greg’s tax assessments from October 1814 reveal Quarry Bank House had 33 windows at that time. This figure remained consistent for subsequent years, suggesting the service wing had already been completed by this time. MRO; GB127. C5/6/9, Samuel Greg Esq. to the Collectors of Assessed Taxes, 25 October 1814.

¹³⁶ MRO: GB127. C5/6/9; Mr Greg to Mr Wyatt, 1815.

¹³⁷ QBA765.1.9.6.2, Letter to Bessy Greg, 1 June 1800.

beginning of July.¹³⁸ Yet, in her response at the end of May 1815, Hannah expressed her concerns over the appearance of the property which they were seemingly residing in; ‘One anxiety by that you should not think Q. Bank much disfigured for which however I fear you will in proportion to the very little addition of convenience attained [...] You will find us, at least if you come in the next 3 months not only rough & unfinished at QB...’ and therefore it seems that Hannah did not think the large-scale, lengthy building projects was worth the amount of inconvenience.¹³⁹ Evidently the Gregs considered the discomfort of the unfinished house as an inconvenience but it was not enough to disrupt their routines. This also enabled Samuel to retain a watchful eye over the progress on the house, as well as conducting business from his adjacent cotton mill.

The process of constructing a domestic residence was a significant milestone for many of Manchester and Liverpool’s industrial elites in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It communicated that the merchant-builder was established enough in his business interests and within the location where he lived, to be able to afford to commit his legacy to bricks and mortar. The house itself could convey different meanings and reflect the different motivations and the different social, political or economic aspirations of the merchant builder, as the examples of Lee, Gladstone and Greg have demonstrated in this section.

For John Lees and John Gladstone, the construction of a house corresponded with their desires to transcend their mercantile origins. In the examples of both men this involved their removal from the town centre to the countryside. For Samuel Greg, the removal to the countryside simply reflected his changing business interests, and although the location of Quarry Bank House adjoining the cotton mill compromised the family’s status to some outsiders, it reflected Samuel’s patriarchal control over both his business and his domestic life.

The various case studies in this section are unified by the various forms of control the housebuilders attempted to exert over the construction process and there are multiple explanations for this, such as the indecision to settle on a design which reflected status or aspirations. For the majority, the financial cost of building a house necessitated varying levels

¹³⁸ QBA: GLB 1.272, Letter from Robert Greg to Hannah Greg, 2 May 1815.

¹³⁹ QBA: GLB 1.1.63, Letter from Hannah Greg to Robert Greg, 22 May 1815.

of control and this was reflective of the habits of human nature. Some men, such as Absalom Watkin had a good working-relationship with those who built his house whereas Charles Goore's interest in his house bordered on interference. In contrast, Andrew George Kurtz's decision to leave much of the supervision to others resulted in a poor financial investment. Attempts to control spending on properties, such as limiting architectural details, also appear to reflect the merchant-builder's origins in trade and business, as well as their spiritual beliefs, as was evident with the examples of merchants here and from the existing historiography.

This section has also demonstrated that status and properties were somewhat unstable. The townhouses of Gladstone and Thomas Parr reflected their successes as merchants in the 1790s but two decades later they were not conducive with the lifestyles the men wished to lead. This is reflected more broadly across Liverpool and Manchester in the decline of the close arrangement of business premises with domestic residences in the early-nineteenth century. As well as environmental factors prompting these changes, houses and domestic situations had to align with the shifting aspirations of second and third generations of industrial elite families.

Section III: 'Convenient for [...] any genteel family, tradesman, manufacturer etc.': Renting Houses, Renting Status ¹⁴⁰

The merchant-builder was unusual in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as most British houses were tenant-occupied rather than owner-occupied. Status-building was still evident among those who rented and the choice of which house to occupy was an accurate reflection of this. A tenant also had a more flexible existence, particularly when areas and districts shifted in their social status and appeal, and the tenant could also occupy properties which would otherwise be beyond their means.

The historiography regarding the status of middle- and upper-class tenants in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is largely focused on the urban townhouse and what the variations of leases on these properties communicated. The lengths of tenancy agreements and leases on properties could convey social hierarchies within wider society. Occupation leases, i.e., a

¹⁴⁰ *Manchester Mercury*, 1 October 1771, p.3

fixed-term lease of 7, 14 or 21 years were offered to the middle and upper classes as they were perceived as more stable tenants due to their access to a better quality of housing and their perceived trustworthiness as respectable tenants. A result of this, as shown in the work of Peter Kemp, was that the middle-classes moved less frequently than their working-class counterparts but when they did move it was over greater distances.¹⁴¹ However, the analysis from the first chapter contradicts Kemp's conclusions as it was evident in Manchester and Liverpool at least, that some elite residents made frequent, smaller movements around town and suburb.

These longer leases may have also been responsible for the general longevity of the renting market. Both F. M. L. Thompson and M. J. Daunton's research into the housing market in the nineteenth century have shown that, for the most part, there were little social connotations connected to renting among the tenant-occupier as it was commonplace across the spectrum of the class system.¹⁴² Daunton's analysis of the houses of Cardiff's industrial elite found that renting was the widely accepted format among the community and that 'house ownership was not considered socially necessary, the general attitude being that house purchase for self-occupation was merely another investment and not of any pressing importance.'¹⁴³ This does not appear to have been the general consensus among the industrial elites in Manchester and Liverpool. The previous sections have shown how important house building was to bolstering status and this following section will demonstrate that there were still social connotations and hierarchies in the rental market, based on location, size and age of the house.

Rachel Stewart's study of London's West End townhouses in the eighteenth century presented an alternative assessment of leases. For the elites in this period, the townhouse could be obtained for a longer period or as was often common, on short-term rents for those in the city for the season.¹⁴⁴ Renting in the town or city came with its share of problems; there were high annual costs, agreements could be revoked, and short-term leases offered less

¹⁴¹ Peter Kemp, 'Some Aspects of Housing Consumption in Late Nineteenth Century England and Wales', *Housing Studies*, Vol. 2, No.1, (1987), pp.6-8

¹⁴² F. M. L. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society: A Social History of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900*, (London: William Collins, 1988), p.168

¹⁴³ M. J. Daunton, *Coal Metropolis: Cardiff 1870-1914*, (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1977), p. 114

¹⁴⁴ Rachel Stewart, *The Town House in Georgian London*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), p.72

choice of housing. Nonetheless, renting presented a favourable alternative to purchasing a property, as it allowed for the careful expenditure of finances rather than being the direct consequence of investing a lot of capital at once. This following section will build upon these conclusions to assess the housing market among the mercantile elite in Manchester and Liverpool. Moreover, it will also demonstrate how various leases determined status and communicated the value of the house in the provincial town.

Although no official statistics exist, it has been suggested that only around ten percent of all pre-1914 housing was owner-occupied.¹⁴⁵ Through an analysis of the Poor Rate Assessment books for Plymouth Grove, a popular elite residential street in Manchester between the 1820s-1860s, it is possible to see the patterns of owner-occupation compared with tenant-occupation in an average situation in the nineteenth century. Plymouth Grove is a useful case study in this sense because, unlike other streets, it retained its middle-class and upper-class occupancy until the 1880s, and it was a solely residential location without any places of business or recreation, which might have blurred the social makeup of the street.

Table 2.1: Occupancy of Houses on Plymouth Grove, 1824-1861

Year	Number of Houses	Owner-Occupied	Tenant- Occupied
1824	26	9	17
1845	65	10	55
1861	94	12	82

Sources: *Manchester Record Office: GB127.M10/9/5/4, Poor Rate Assessments, 1824; GB127.M10/9/5/25, Poor Rate Assessments, 1845; GB127.M10/9/5/48, Poor Rate Assessments, 1861*

As highlighted by the figures in Table 2.1, most of the properties on Plymouth Grove were tenant-occupied, standing at 65% in 1824 and rising to 85% by 1845 and 87% in 1861. The increase in the number of tenant-occupied properties correlates with the general movement of Manchester’s residents towards this area by the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁴⁶ The figures

¹⁴⁵ Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, p.168

¹⁴⁶ The 1861 Poor Rate Assessment book recorded Reverend William Gaskell as the owner and occupier of 46 Plymouth Grove, even though he was a lifelong tenant at the property. Therefore, these figures are not without scrutiny and as such the data has been cross compared with other sources to verify the figures.

for Plymouth Grove show that only an additional three owner-occupied houses were built in the 37-year period between 1824-1861, which represents the monopoly held by landlords, who recognised the capital which could be gained through prospective tenants in this fashionable district and this would have served to discourage others from building there. It also demonstrates that tenants purchasing their rented properties was not common in this period either. William Occleshaw, one of the principal landlords of property on Plymouth Grove, owned his own residence and an additional 19 houses. Until his death, Occleshaw was an omnipresent figure on the street watching over both the construction of his new houses and observing the tenants of his existing houses, and he was likely responsible for maintaining the influential status of the area.

Suburban streets which were built-up over several decades, such as Plymouth Grove, also communicated the changing architectural fashions for the nineteenth century. Taste and architectural style were subjective during the early-nineteenth century, especially as the fashions changed quite rapidly from neo-classical to Italianate to gothic-revival. Whilst the previous styles were always superseded by the latest fashion, the survival of the range of architectural styles in places like Victoria Park, and their frequent long-standing occupation by influential and wealthy residents demonstrates that even slightly older houses still communicated wealth and status. This is supported by Robert Kerr's architectural guide, *The Gentleman's House*, which was produced in numerous editions across the mid-nineteenth century. His 1871 edition featured plans for houses in an array of architectural styles, which reassured the reader that one style was no more universally appealing than the other, and his suggestion to the unsure merchant-builder was to base their decision on personal preferences foremost and to consider the situation of the property, cost, materials, and internal plan.¹⁴⁷ Therefore, one of the significant advantages for tenant-occupiers was the fluidity of choice, and once a lease was expired they could easily move from one house to another and thus keep up with contemporary movements and aesthetics with relative ease.

The different styles of housing were visible in communities such as Victoria Park, Manchester, which consisted of a mixture of private houses and tenanted properties. Richard Lane was initially the sole architect for the Park and his influence is evident on the architectural styles

¹⁴⁷ Robert Kerr, *The Gentleman's House*, pp.338-345

of different houses built during the first decade after its establishment in 1836. His own house was designed in the neo-classical revival style, but this style of architecture was not widely seen among other properties in Victoria Park (see Figure 2.11). As depicted in Figures 2.12 and 2.13, the prevailing style of domestic architecture in Victoria Park was Gothic-revival, although this broad category featured a number of stylised sub-divisions. Several of the early-houses are built in Lane's simplified Gothic-revival style which drew inspiration from architecture of the Tudor period. Each of Lane's Gothic-houses adhere to his signature style that they are recognisably different from later Gothic-revival villas which feature much more ornamentation and detail, with more inspiration drawn from medieval architecture. Whilst the associations of the nineteenth century Gothic revival architecture have been fixed with allegiances to the traditional spheres of religion and politics, in particularly high church politics and nationalism, as demonstrated in the plethora of public buildings conducted in this style, with domestic architecture the relationship is more complicated.¹⁴⁸ From the examples given in Manchester and Liverpool it is difficult to establish these links and there is no clear association between different groups of people choosing different styles based solely on socio-political reasons, or as seems more likely, through personal preference and aesthetics.



Figure 2.11: Three contrasting images of houses in Victoria Park Manchester. Architect, Richard Lane, designed this house in a neo-classical style for himself, c.1837 (McGrath, 2020)

¹⁴⁸ The themes of patriotism in the British gothic-revival movement are discussed in detail in Simon Bradley, 'The Englishness of Gothic: Theories and Interpretations from William Gilpin to J. H. Parker', *Architectural History*, Vol. 45, (2002), pp.325-346



Figure 2.12: Another house by the architect Richard Lane in Victoria Park. This is in his early-Gothic style, c.1837 (T. McGrath 2020)



Figure 2.13: A slightly later gothic-revival house in Victoria Park, built c.1855 (T. McGrath 2020)

Across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there was clearly a variety of house-styles available, and this allowed the tenant to choose current styles or their own styles. As such leases could vary from tenant to tenant at the discretion of the landlord, or the land agent

acting on the behalf of a larger landowner. The Reynolds-Moreton family owned the Strangeways Estate in Manchester from the early-eighteenth century, and they were one of the most prominent landowners in the region with land in Manchester, Cheetham, Ardwick, Gorton, Levenshulme, Rusholme, Fallowfield, Castleton and Salford. In Manchester itself, they had property located on Long Millgate, Salford Cross, Market Street Lane, Strangeways Hall, Hanging Ditch, Exchange Street, Deansgate and Chorlton Row. Those living on the Strangeways Estate faced different conditions based on their location, with the tenants in newer residential developments in high-status areas such as Ardwick or Chorlton Row, receiving more favourable leases and conditions than those in older properties in the centre of the town.

Arnold Birch, a gentleman, was a tenant of the Strangeways Estate in Ardwick and he signed a 21-year lease for his property in 1786, for which he paid an annual rent of £40 in half-yearly instalments.¹⁴⁹ Under his lease, Birch was responsible for paying the necessary taxes associated with the property, but the landlord was responsible for repairs.¹⁵⁰ However, Joseph Hague, also a gentleman and another tenant of the Strangeways Estate, lived on Market Street Lane in 1786. Hague had lived at the property since 1757 and had a different lease to Birch, which was for three lives, rather than a set number of years. His annual rent of £42 was paid in quarterly instalments.¹⁵¹ Hague was responsible for paying taxes and for repairing the property. This likely reflected the age of his house and the longer lease, both of which would have warranted more responsibility from the tenant. Therefore, the landlord could incorporate these costs and requirements in the lease and save themselves expenditure in the long run.

The variations in lease agreements were not a distinct Manchester-based custom or a phenomenon solely restricted to older properties as landlords could also dictate terms to suit the status or financial background of their tenants. In Liverpool Hugh Hornby (1792-1875), a merchant, paid an annual rent of £250 in half-yearly sums to J. P. Edwards for Sandown Hall

¹⁴⁹ John Rylands Library, University of Manchester Special Collections: D3406/E9: Ducie Muniments, Rent Role of Strangeways Estate commencing January 1st 1786, p.25

¹⁵⁰ JRL, University of Manchester Special Collections: D3406/E9: Ducie Muniments, Rent Role of Strangeways Estate commencing January 1st 1786, p.25

¹⁵¹ JRL UOM: D3406/E9: Ducie Muniments, Rent Role of Strangeways Estate commencing January 1st 1786, p.32

in Wavertree.¹⁵² However, Hornby was also expected to pay for repairs to the Hall, which had only been built around 20 years before he occupied it and these repairs could be costly. In 1833, he had to pay an additional £29/15s./6d. in repairs for Sandown, which was around 11% of his annual rent.¹⁵³

The types of general repairs paid for by the tenants would again depend on the nature of the lease between tenant and landlord. For example, some landlord-paid repairs would only cover any work done on the exterior of the property. In other examples, the landlord would pay for all structural repairs both inside and outside the house, but internal maintenance would be the tenants' responsibility. These various arrangements are important to note as they all still permitted the tenant some control of their rented house, even if it was restricted to interior decoration.

In 1788, the merchant Titus Hibbert moved from Ardwick to King Street in Manchester, so that he could be closer to the centre of business and the amenities of the town. Although he owned his Ardwick property, he chose to rent the King Street townhouse for an annual rent of £47.¹⁵⁴ Under the lease agreement Hibbert paid the taxes on the property, such as the window tax, which cost £3/8s./6d. in 1789 and the house tax which cost 15 shillings.¹⁵⁵ Hibbert had a different arrangement with his landlord, Mr Patterson, for any structural repairs. It appears Hibbert paid for the work in the first instance with the understanding they would later be charged to his landlord's account, and he would be reimbursed. These payments can be identified in Hibbert's account book as they are marked with a large 'X'. For example, in June 1788 Hibbert paid 'Thomas Wright for painting outside of King Street House on Mr Patterson's account' and he also paid 'the man for drink on ditto account'.¹⁵⁶ In 1794, he paid for mortar, flagging and boards at the King Street house, again 'for Mr Patterson'.¹⁵⁷

These examples of leases and arrangements between landlord and tenant suggest that even when the merchant-tenant did not own his own house, this did not necessarily change how he interacted with it and how he attempted to make the space his own. The majority of

¹⁵² LRO: 920 MD/380: Account book of Hugh Hornby

¹⁵³ LRO: 920 MD/380: Account book of Hugh Hornby

¹⁵⁴ JRL, UOM: GB 133 Eng. MS 989: Hibbert-Ware Papers: Account book of Titus Hibbert, 6 January 1792

¹⁵⁵ JRL, UOM: GB 133 Eng. MS 989: Hibbert-Ware Papers: Account book of Titus Hibbert, 5 Jan 1789

¹⁵⁶ JRL, UOM: GB 133 Eng. MS 989: Hibbert-Ware Papers: Account book of Titus Hibbert, 14 June 1788

¹⁵⁷ JRL, UOM: GB 133 Eng. MS 989: Hibbert-Ware Papers: Account book of Titus Hibbert, 31 May 1794

landlords permitted their tenants autonomy over any internal repairs and internal decoration. Again, this can be seen in Hibbert's account book; when he first occupied the property in King Street in 1788 he paid for internal painting and papering of the property, which came to £16/18s./9d., alongside an additional 5s./8d. on drink for the workmen.¹⁵⁸ Given the prevalence of renting in this period and presumably the relative ease a landlord would have finding tenants, especially in popular streets and districts, it made financial sense that the interior was left to the tenant. A landlord may have been reluctant to spend too much on a house in which he did not personally reside and in which each prospective tenant could make changes to suit their tastes. Repairs may have been a burden on the landlord, but internal decorations could potentially add value to a property. As such, some tenants could seek allowances at the end of their tenancy for any alterations which had benefitted the landlord.¹⁵⁹

Renting the country house

For some members of the industrial elites, renting also represented a shrewd control of finances. Some of the larger country properties with attached estates would have outpriced many prospective buyers from mercantile and industrial backgrounds. At the same time, some aristocratic estate owners had no desire to sell their lands but equally had no desire to reside in their country houses which may have been too close to a manufacturing town or in need of costly repairs, and as Wilson and Mackley noted the country house was never sold without its land before the twentieth century.¹⁶⁰ Therefore, advertising the country house to tenants was a common solution, although in some instances it did not prove a profitable venture and was essentially done to prevent the unoccupied house from structurally deteriorating.¹⁶¹ Whilst Wilson and Mackley focus on the circumstances forcing owners to let their properties, renting the country house along with pleasure gardens and grounds could prove extremely fruitful for the merchant-tenant as it enabled the industrial elites to obtain

¹⁵⁸ JRL, UOM: GB 133 Eng. MS 989: Hibbert-Ware Papers: Account book of Titus Hibbert, 25 March 1788

¹⁵⁹ Stewart, *The Town House*, p.93

¹⁶⁰ Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, p.349

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.* p.349

a house and a lifestyle which may have been otherwise unattainable and this has been overlooked in the current historiography.

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, various large, country houses belonging to the local gentry or wealthier merchants were available to rent in and around Manchester and Liverpool. There were numerous reasons why these houses were available but for the most part it was due to an absentee landlord. By the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, the increasing industrial and commercial activity of both towns, alongside disrupted lines of inheritance in some families meant that some aristocratic and local gentry families were no longer tied to their estates, or their tenants, in the same manner as their ancestors had been in previous centuries.¹⁶² However, revenue drawn from their estates remained a considerable proportion of their income and as such they also drew an income from letting out their ancestral houses. Unlike the ever-changing styles of architecture in suburban developments, the new-monied elite classes were distinctly drawn to older timber-framed properties in this period, as these historic houses enabled them to emulate the lifestyles and lineage that they personally lacked.

By the early-nineteenth century, several 'historic' halls around Manchester were rented by merchants, highlighting the visible shift in the hierarchy of power and status in the industrialised town. In 1800 merchants William Myers and William Rawlison, were respectively recorded at Barlow Hall and Ancoats Hall (Figure 2.14): houses that had been built in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁶³ Richard Alsop, a cotton manufacturer, resided at Ordsall Hall in Salford (Figure 2.15), which was the former manorial house of the Radclyffe family constructed between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. Strangeways Hall, on the outskirts of the town, had been leased by the Reynolds-Moreton family since the late 1770s.¹⁶⁴ By 1823, it appears that the property had been split into two halves, the older timber-framed, Elizabethan part forming one property and the early-eighteenth century

¹⁶² Kjell Hansen, 'Empirical Study III: Social Relations and Work' in Kerstin Sundberg, Tomas Germunderson and Kjell Hansen (eds.) *Modernisation and Tradition: European and Local Manorial Societies 1500-1900*, (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2004) pp.307-311

¹⁶³ G. Bancks, *Bancks's Manchester and Salford Directory 1800: Alphabetical List of the Merchants, Manufacturers and Principal Inhabitants: With the Numbers as affixed to their Houses*, (Manchester: G. Bancks, 1800)

¹⁶⁴ In 1786, Miss Greives rented the Hall for an annual rent of £50 per annum. See: JRL, UOM: D3406/E9: Ducie Muniments, Rent Role of Strangeways Estate commencing January 1st 1786, p.52

Palladian wing forming another.¹⁶⁵ This does not appear to have diminished the desirability of the Hall as Joseph Smith, a cotton merchant paid the substantial sum of £92 per annum in rent for his half of the Hall in the early-1820s.¹⁶⁶ Chorlton Hall, in Chorlton-upon-Medlock, which was part of the estate purchased by a syndicate of merchants in the 1790s, was let to silk manufacturer Henry Farrington, who resided there in 1829.¹⁶⁷ These historic halls of the local gentry enabled merchants and manufacturers to live their double existences; part-country gentleman in a large house with grounds and part-businessman, and it is telling that all these properties were within a short walking distance of Manchester town centre.



Figure 2.14: Ancoats Hall, c.1794. This building was replaced in 1827 by George Murray (m80383: Manchester Local Image Collection <<https://images.manchester.gov.uk/index.php?session=pass>> [Last Accessed 28 June 2021])

¹⁶⁵ In 1828, both Joseph Smith and Mrs Sattlewath were recorded at Strangeways Hall. Mrs Sattlewath was described as living in 'the old part of Strangeways Hall'. See: *Manchester Mercury*, 10 June 1828, p.1

¹⁶⁶ JRL, UOM: D3406/E12: Ducie Muniments– Statements of rents and arrears 1823-4

¹⁶⁷ J. Pigot & Son, *General Directory of Manchester, Salford, &c. for 1829; containing an alphabetical list of the merchants, manufacturers, traders and inhabitants in general: with a list of the country manufacturers*, (Fountain Street, Manchester: J. Pigot & Sons, 1829)



Figure 2.15: Ordsall Hall, 2016 (T. McGrath, 2016)

Despite being praised by earlier generations of merchants and manufactures for their antiquity; the desirability of these halls had diminished by the mid-nineteenth century. The merchant-tenant, who once had attempted to emulate the gentry by living in their former houses, now emulated their abandonment of such properties in favour of houses which were either further away from the town or were more comfortable and modern. By 1841, Ordsall Hall had been subdivided into smaller properties and was occupied by farmers and farm workers, a 'common fate' for smaller manorial houses.¹⁶⁸ Chorlton Hall had become the rectory for St. Luke's Church, as well as acting as a school for Roman Catholic girls.¹⁶⁹ Strangeways Hall was dismantled and demolished in 1858 and replaced by the Assizes Courts.¹⁷⁰ The original Ancoats Hall was demolished and replaced with a Neo-Gothic hall in 1827 by the cotton manufacturer George Murray. The Murray family continued to reside at the Hall until 1868 and by 1870 the Hall was occupied by the Midland Railway Company.¹⁷¹ In each case, the land which surrounded each hall was also consumed by low-quality, working-class housing. Successive generations of the Murray family chose not to replicate the countrified lifestyle that George Murray had led in the early-nineteenth century until they

¹⁶⁸ NA: Census of England, Scotland and Wales, 1841: Ordsall Hall, Salford, Reference: HO107, Piece Number: 586, Book Number: 10, Folio Number: 5, Page Number:2; Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, p.349

¹⁶⁹ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 4 April 1840, p.4

¹⁷⁰ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 19 June 1858, p.2

¹⁷¹ *Sheffield Independent*, 4 May 1870, p.4

had retired from business. His son, Benjamin Rigby Murray resided in a substantial villa at The Polygon in Ardwick, only around a mile and half from the mills, thereby allowing him to remain close to Manchester. He purchased a country estate in Scotland in 1861 for £21,500, likely as a country seat but also ensuring his dynastic legacy. However, he did not move from Manchester permanently until 1879, thereafter physically and metaphorically removing himself from his former status as a mill owner.¹⁷²

The country house which was located further from the urban town remained a desirable property for longer. In the 1860s, Dunham Massey Hall some 11 miles from Manchester (Figure 2.16), was advertised to let by George Grey, 7th Earl of Stamford and 3rd Earl of Warrington, who preferred to live at Enville, his Staffordshire estate. From 1869 until 1881, Dunham Massey Hall and its grounds were occupied by Robert Platt, a cotton mill owner and his family. For the annual rent of £1400, payable in half-yearly sums of £700, Platt not only had sole access to the Hall and gardens but also to the 300-acre park.¹⁷³ Platt enjoyed the domestic comforts of the landed elite during his occupancy of Dunham Massey Hall. In 1871, Platt, his wife, his niece, and a guest were served by domestic staff of 17 servants and the majority of the antique furniture and furnishings remained in-situ.¹⁷⁴ Platt was also able to emulate the leisurely pursuits of the elites. In 1871, his half yearly payment of the rent was reduced by £100, due to 'damage caused by the Railway to the hinterland shooting for the years 1869 to Feby. 2nd 1871.'¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² *Dundee, Perth and Cupar Advertiser*, 26 July 1861, p.8

¹⁷³ JRL, UOm: EGR14/11/7/28: Grey-Stamford Papers, Particulars of Rent of Dunham Hall &c. to May 1871

¹⁷⁴ NA: Census of England, Scotland and Wales, 1871: Dunham Massey Hall, Dunham Massey, Reference: RG10, Piece number: 3684, Folio Number: 33, Page Number: 10

¹⁷⁵ JRL, UOM: EGR14/11/7/29: Grey-Stamford Papers, Bill of Receipt received, 25 May 1871



Figure 2.16: Dunham Massey Hall. The façade was altered c.1906 (T. McGrath 2016)

Mid-nineteenth century advertisements for country houses leave little doubt that their target audience was comprised of the industrial elite. Allerton Hall, some 7 miles from Liverpool, was rented by several merchants in the mid-nineteenth century, including Edward Johnson and Richard Wright. In 1868 the Hall was once-again advertised to be let and the description included all the privileges of a country estate, including gardens, hothouses, stables, pleasures grounds of around 13 acres and situated in a parkland of 100 acres.¹⁷⁶ The advertisement also combined these requisites of a gentleman's country property, with the requirements and conveniences of modern life and one which was highly suitable for the merchant. The advertisement noted that the Hall was 'six miles from the Liverpool Exchange and three quarters of a mile from the Garston station of the London and North-western Railway.'¹⁷⁷ A similar line appeared in the advertisements for Speke Hall, some 9 miles from Liverpool, in 1867 and 1868; 'an easy communication with Liverpool by rail or omnibus' which would have allayed any concerns of perspective tenants about travelling for business and the uneasy separation of domestic and commercial life which concern the industrial elite earlier in the century.¹⁷⁸ The above examples provide insights into the values associated with the house at the time. Moreover, they not only promoted what buyers required and believed to be necessities but also publicised and promoted these ideals.

¹⁷⁶ *Liverpool Mail*, 4 April 1868, p.8

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.* p.8

¹⁷⁸ *Liverpool Daily Post*, 3 July 1866, p.2; *Liverpool Mail*, 4 May 1867, p.8



Figure 2.17: Speke Hall as it looked when Joseph Brereton lived there, c.1840s (Edward Twycross, *The Mansions of England and Wales: The County Palatine of Lancaster, Vol. III, Southern Division, The Hundreds of West Derby and Salford*, (London: Ackerman and Co., 1847)

Speke Hall (Figure 2.17) was constructed in the sixteenth century and in 1795 Richard Watt, a merchant and slave trader, purchased the house, the 2,400 acre estate, the manorial rights and the right of presentation to the chapel at Garston for £73,000.¹⁷⁹ Anthony Tibbles suggested Watt never intended to live at the Hall himself but he was drawn to the idea of possessing one of Liverpool's most historic houses and reaping the benefits from the landed estate.¹⁸⁰ The hall was described in 1867 as 'one of the most ancient timbered mansions...an interesting specimen of Old English domestic architecture, rarely to be met with in the present day' and was let to various tenants in the early-nineteenth century.¹⁸¹ Joseph Brereton, a merchant lived there across the 1840s and 1850s. Brereton opened up Speke Hall to 'country house tourists', a popular trend originating in the eighteenth century among those who wished to see the historic interiors and collections of art and furniture within these elite properties and it is likely Brereton also received some financial recompense for his hosting,

¹⁷⁹ Anthony Tibbles, 'My Interest Be Your Guide: Richard Watt (1724-1796), Merchant of Liverpool and Kingston Jamaica', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Vol. 166, (2017), p.41

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.* p.42

¹⁸¹ *Liverpool Mail*, 4 May 1867, p.8

as well as the ability to show his ambition and aspiration over and above his social status.¹⁸² The supposed paranormal activity within Speke Hall also attracted visitors. In 1846, Jane Walsh Carlyle visited Speke Hall and her letter indirectly communicates more about the status of Brereton and the dilapidated structure of Speke Hall than any hauntings. The impressive architecture of Speke Hall led to Carlyle's questioning of Brereton's background and her letter infers she had expected the house to be inhabited by a person of higher status who would be somewhat known by society outside of Liverpool. Clearly Carlyle was not expecting a merchant-tenant of the hall:

But who is Mr Brereton? "God knows"! I never saw him with my Eyes till he received me yesterday on the threshold of his own drawing-room— He seems a harmless man enough—polite, hospitable, and "not without" a sort of slow sense. And certainly he lives in the most interesting house that I ever fell in with out of the Romances of Mrs Radcliffe—so dead-old, so rickety and crumbly and "Elizabethian" [sic] in every feature [...] And once when a Liverpool Dandy was sitting alone in the old drawing room the plaster of the ceiling began to shower down on him, and then the whole ceiling beams and all disceded [sic] slowly slowly not killing him for he had time to save himself but nearly frightening him to death.¹⁸³

After Brereton, the descendants of the Watt family occupied the Hall briefly in the 1860s and began to restore the property but the untimely deaths of these individuals resulted in the hall being advertised again to tenants until the surviving Watt family member came of age.¹⁸⁴ In 1866, Frederick Richard Leyland, a shipowner moved from Falkner Square in Liverpool to Speke Hall, which he rented for the annual sum of £350.¹⁸⁵ The estate was owned by Adelaide Watt, at the time still a minor and before Leyland entered the property, George Whitley and

¹⁸² See: Jocelyn Anderson, *Touring and Publicizing England's Country Houses in the Long Eighteenth Century*, (London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), pp.1-18

¹⁸³ Volume: 20, Letter: It-18460719-JWC-TC-01: Jane Walsh Carlyle to Thomas Carlyle, 19 July 1846

¹⁸⁴ NA: Census of England, Scotland and Wales, 1841: Speke Hall, Childwall, Reference: HO107; Piece Number: 511; Book Number: 8; Folio Number: 12; Page: 18; Census of England, Scotland and Wales, 1851: Speke Hall, Speke, Reference: HO107; Piece Number: 2193; Folio Number: 10; Page Number: 12

¹⁸⁵ Linda Merrill, *The Peacock Room: A Cultural Biography*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), p.118

James Sprot acted as land agents of her properties on her behalf. Despite the relatively low rent compared to what Platt was paying for Dunham Massey Hall at the same time, Leyland had to convince Whitley and Sprot that he was a suitable tenant. This involved providing evidence of his wealth, which was used as a means of assessing his ability to maintain the property. Leyland had purchased a large collection of antique silver which Whitley assumed would 'accord with the house' and his tenancy was eventually extended when he began to make sympathetic restorations to the house at his own cost.¹⁸⁶ Leyland's move to the manor house marked a change in his status, especially amongst his peers and acquaintances. Dante Gabriel Rossetti wrote to Leyland exclaiming 'Your address is quite an excitement', although Leyland's wife, Frances did not share in the general enthusiasm for Speke and her husband had to convince her to move there from their comfortable house in the suburbs.¹⁸⁷

Frederick Richard Leyland was required to leave Speke Hall in 1878 as Adelaide Watt turned 21 years old and she desired to move back into the property.¹⁸⁸ Leyland, accustomed to the space of a country house, subsequently purchased Woolton Hall for £19,000.¹⁸⁹ The returning of the landlord to the ancestral house was not uncommon and it often displaced tenants. James Fernley, a merchant, left Platt Hall after having rented the house for 12 years. Fernley was recorded at the property in January 1841, but by the time of the census in June, the Carill-Worsley family had returned to the property, where they would live for the next few decades.¹⁹⁰ The decision of the landlord to return to his property was reflective of the precarious nature of status-building through renting as it was neither secure nor long-lasting in the same way homeownership was.

The tenancy of Leyland at Speke Hall represents the barriers which merchants and industrialists had to endure to live in an historic country house. In Leyland's case, the house itself was still regarded as an important asset, enough to warrant the matching of the character of the tenant to that of the house. Their landlords and those acting in their interests were keen to reinforce notions of status and question the motivations of their perspective

¹⁸⁶ A. J. Tibbles, *Speke Hall: A Guide to Its History and Owners*, (Liverpool: Merseyside County Council, 1983), p.34

¹⁸⁷ Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p.118

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.* p.294

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.* p.295

¹⁹⁰ NA: Census of England, Scotland and Wales, 1841: Platt Hall, Rusholme, Reference: HO107, Piece Number: 584, Book Number: 11, Folio Number: 29, Page Number: 17; *Halifax Express*, 16 January 1841, p.3

tenants. However, the opportunity to build or affirm status could also be achieved through a move to a more affluent street or suburb or renting a larger house, such as a substantial villa. Each communicated the desires and aspirations of the individual. The varying nature of leases seen among those who resided in Manchester and Liverpool confirm the same trends as seen in other parts of the country in the same period. The analysis here has shown that these leases could still allow the tenant to control status through various improvements to a property. The tenant-occupied house represents an interesting form of control in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was a house in which both tenant and landlord could claim some autonomy and given the prevalence of a tenant-occupied society, a house which was leased did little to disconnect or disengage the tenant from creating a home.

Conclusion

As this chapter has demonstrated, the house was a significant part of life's milestones for the industrial elite in Manchester and Liverpool across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The decisions concerning the kind of house to build, or rent were not taken lightly as the house represented much more than just shelter and comfort, but it also conveyed a sense of status, pride, and wealth. Given the fluid nature of the tenant-driven housing market in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, most individuals assessed in this chapter lived in multiple properties over the course of their lifetimes and whether a townhouse, suburban villa or a country house, each spoke to the aspirations of those who resided within them.

This chapter has added to the existing historiographical debates regarding the status-building and construction of the house. As with the gentry, the domestic property could convey status in many different formats for the industrial elites. Ultimately, the construction of a private domestic property could enable a merchant or manufacturer to somewhat transcend their industrial origins. As the case studies in this chapter have shown, this was linked to the construction of a second property in the countryside, which was removed from the urban environment and industry. The ownership of land enabled this community to enter the higher echelons of society, such as the local gentry or enable them to enter politics.

The amalgamation of status with property also represents an ambiguous connection for the industrial elite. This can be seen most clearly with the relationship between the situation of

the house and the place of work or business. The analysis of key individuals and their relationship to their business, such as that of Samuel Greg at Quarry Bank, has highlighted the awkward relationship between wealth and status, even amongst peers. This has offered new insights into the relationship between the house and work and our understanding of mercantile domestic/work arrangements. These have previously been discussed in works by Hancock, Longmore and Wilson for specific regions in the eighteenth century, but this chapter has shown the change and decline of these domestic arrangements in the nineteenth century. It was subsequent generations of merchants and manufacturers who were both more able and were more willing, to separate themselves from trade and business to be more aligned to their elite lifestyles which had been laid by their successful mercantile forebears. This closely links to the research shown in chapter one concerning the changing location of the house, which became more separated from the town centre and places of businesses. Therefore, this analysis offers new insights into urban developments in the nineteenth century, as well as emphasising the importance of the domestic sphere in the mercantile world.

The case studies used within this chapter have demonstrated that status-building was not necessarily solely linked to the physical construction of a house, but it could also be achieved through the occupation of an existing property. By drawing upon merchant-tenants, this chapter has expanded the current understanding regarding the renting of houses in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to cover a greater cross-section of society. Renting the country house or manorial hall was one such way in which the industrial elite could build their status in emulation of ways which were either inaccessible to them or required substantial financial investments. The age and style of the country house and hall was particularly important, and more so than the architectural appearance of a suburban villa, as it was a physical symbol of heritage, wealth and social standing which was largely absent from the merchant's own background. However, as with various types of residential developments discussed in the first chapter, location ultimately proved to be the most important consideration. The location of timber-framed halls and country houses situated too close to towns slowly declined in their attraction, whereas those in rural locations enabled the industrial elites to somewhat emulate the country lifestyle of the gentry. This has significantly

deepened our understanding of status and the house and the ways in which the merchant and manufacturer and the local gentry dealt with their properties.

It is evident from this chapter that status and power were directly communicated through the house, as the house was a connecting link with other members of society outside the mercantile or manufacturing community. The house was central to mercantile identity and the broad range of architectural fashions across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries permitted the merchant-builder or merchant-tenant had more choice and flexibility about the appearance of their residence. The following chapter will continue the architectural examination of the houses of the industrial elite by analysing how internal and external spaces within the domestic sphere were used to convey status whilst also being accessible for daily routines.

Chapter Three:

Public and Private: Status, Space, and the Household in the Merchant's House

Introduction

In a continuation of themes discussed in the previous chapter, case studies are used within this chapter to assess how the industrial elites used their domestic spaces and to examine what the spatiality of the house could communicate to contemporaries about social ambitions and aspirations. Moreover, this chapter analyses how houses in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries could convey status alongside comfort and convenience. To fully understand the spatiality of the home, this chapter has compartmentalised domestic spaces into different forms both inside and outside the house such as: formal entertaining spaces, servants' spaces, and gardens and landed estates, which compromised largely pastoral land. This is a simplistic but effective framework, and it is one which has been used as a key approach within the existing historiography.¹ It aids the reader in the exploration of the home as both public and private spheres overlapped during the general 'lived in' reality for these households.

The literature on domestic displays of luxury and status alongside comfort and convenience grew in the latter decades of the twentieth century. Lorna Wetherill has analysed consumer behaviour in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by comparing the house to theatrical stages, with front and back stages reflecting how possessions and social roles were displayed, seen and used.² This discussion was added to and expanded upon by Amanda Vickery in her seminal text on the eighteenth-century house, which examined the boundaries between gendered spaces.³ As Jane Hamlett has shown in her assessment of middle-class houses in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, domestic space could also be

¹ See: Dana Arnold (ed.), *The Georgian Villa*, (Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2011); Christine Casey (ed.), *The Eighteenth-Century Dublin Townhouse: Form, Function and Finance*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010); Stephen Hague, *The Gentleman's House in the British-Atlantic World 1680-1780*, (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Jane Hamlett, *Material Relations: Domestic Interiors and Middle-Class Families in England, 1850-1910*, (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2010)

² Lorna Wetherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760*, Second Edition, (London: Routledge, 1996), p.9

³ Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009)

simultaneously public and private depending on changing uses of the rooms and the social position of the householder.⁴ Hamlett's case studies of middle-class families, where some members of the mercantile community found themselves, reveals that domestic space could also be used to blur the status quo of household hierarchies particularly in smaller houses where the public and private spheres were more fluid.⁵ In contrast, architectural histories such as Mark Girouard's *Life in the English Country House*, highlighted and emphasised the spatial hierarchies that mark the houses of the elite classes, where sprawling country mansions made divisions between public and private spheres more conspicuous.⁶ This chapter will demonstrate where the houses of the industrial elites fit into this range of architectural hierarchies and it will analyse how they adapted and moulded their domestic spaces. An imbalance of the current historiography is that existing studies have not compared the different domestic situations of merchants and manufacturers. Therefore, the comparative approach used within this chapter will address this.

The chapter will also examine the extent to which boundaries in the house created truly distinct public and private spheres. This has been debated in the historiography, predominantly with examples from the houses of the wealthier classes which featured some physical form of separation of family spaces and service spaces. The notions of privacy were again further reinforced by the division of family spaces into those used to entertain, such as a drawing room and those which were generally out-of-bounds to visitors, such as dressing rooms. Infiltrating both spheres were the householders themselves, the family and their servants. As illustrated in the works of Naomi Tadmor, Theresa McBride, Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, the late-eighteenth century and early-nineteenth century witnessed a change in household hierarchies and servants were increasingly seen as a separate and distinct part of the household from the family.⁷ This chapter will explore these divisions of internal spaces through architectural treatises and guides such as Roger North's *Of Building*,

⁴ Hamlett, *Material Relations*, p.62

⁵ *Ibid.* p.3

⁶ Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978), pp.284-286

⁷ Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p.272; Theresa McBride, *The Domestic Revolution: The Modernisation of Household Service in England and France 1820-1920*, (London: Croom Helm, 1976), p.33; Leonore Davidoff & Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850*, Revised Edition, (Oxon: Routledge, 2007) pp.389-396

Robert Kerr's *The Gentleman's House* and J. J. Stevenson's *House Architecture*.⁸ These publications, dating from the late-seventeenth century to the late-nineteenth century trace the gradual inclusion of discernible physical boundaries within the fabric and form of the house. The architectural treatises have been analysed within this chapter alongside floorplans and other archival material to assess how indoor and outdoor spaces were arranged, and to examine levels of domestic conformity among the industrial elites in Manchester and Liverpool.

Section I: Public and Private Spaces: Locating the Entertaining Rooms

Houses in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were 'centres of domestic life, showpieces of display, and theatres for status construction.'⁹ This is true of the townhouses of the industrial elites in Manchester and Liverpool, which acted as stages where both family life and business dealings were performed as part of daily routines. The formal entertaining rooms within the home are amongst the spaces where status and aspiration were most vividly reflected through the designs of the interior and through material culture. This section also discusses the flexibility of internal spatial arrangements in townhouses, suburban villas and houses in the countryside to examine how houses functioned beyond their defined boundaries as a home. As such it is argued that the house and the residents had to be adaptable to reflect their changing domestic needs, daily routines and the sociability of the mercantile lifestyle but this did not compromise status.

The Spatiality of the Townhouse

The spatiality of the townhouse has always been affected by the growing urban environment around it from the early-modern period, and Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson have documented evidence of the parlour being relocated from the ground floor to the first floor

⁸ Howard Colvin & John Newman (eds.), *Of Building: Roger North's Writing on Architecture*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981); Robert Kerr, *The Gentleman's House*, (London: J. Murray, 1865); J. J. Steveson, *House Architecture*, (London: Macmillan, 1880)

⁹ Hague, *The Gentleman's House*, p.73

in the late-sixteenth century.¹⁰ The movement of the parlour to the upper levels of the house was evocative of the ambiguous division of public and private spaces which began in this period. The removal of the parlour in this period is somewhat of a juxtaposition. Clearly there was an increased desire for privacy and to remove this space away from the public threshold, as discussed in architectural treatises of the time.¹¹ Yet the street-facing views of the first floor parlour, a common arrangement of space in both British and British-Atlantic houses in the eighteenth-century, were evocative of display and the household taking part in 'the theatre of the street.'¹² Hamling and Richardson have suggested that the room continued to be street-facing to reflect an 'outward-looking perspective, in which the occupants of the house are engaged with the wider community, rather than being spatially and metaphorically separated from it.'¹³ This was echoed by the analysis of Bernard L. Herman's comparisons between street-facing rooms and the status of the householders. The mercantile Pennock family commissioned a new townhouse in Norfolk, Virginia in 1796. However, they were dissatisfied with their architect's arrangement of the rooms and his emphasis on privacy. He removed the drawing and dining rooms away from the front of the property and this ruined the Pennocks' chance to see and be seen in an elevated position within the urban environment.¹⁴

Ultimately, the movement of formal entertaining rooms around the house and the growing urbanisation of towns resulted in a somewhat standardised internal layout of townhouses. The double-pile plan was a common feature in both urban and rural properties in this period and, with its four rooms per floor, it was generally representative of larger houses of the elites. Despite this, Stephen Hague has noted that little academic scholarship has been paid to these houses in Britain, particularly the relationship between the four main rooms and 'smaller ancillary spaces' running off them.¹⁵ The extent to which these larger rooms and smaller spaces were created with the desire to have public and private spaces was questioned

¹⁰ Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, *A Day At Home In Early Modern England: Material Culture and Domestic Life, 1500-1700*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2017), p.185

¹¹ See: Colvin & Newman (eds.), *Of Building*, pp.1-11

¹² Bernard L. Herman, *Town House: Architecture and Material Life in the Early American City, 1780-1834*, (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), p.53

¹³ Hamling & Richardson, *A Day At Home*, p.185

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p.53

¹⁵ Herman, *Town House*, p.75

by Jane Hamlett in her analysis of late-nineteenth century houses.¹⁶ The houses of the industrial elites prove that notions of public and private spaces could be both clearly defined and non-existent; outsiders were constrained to certain spaces but the householders themselves, as Hamlett argued, had little privacy.

The townhouse of Samuel and Hannah Greg at 35 King Street in Manchester was reflective of the general design of larger townhouses in this period but also one in which boundaries were blurred (see Figure 3.1). The house was five bays and three stories over cellars, and it had adjoining neighbours on each side. The ground floor was divided by a central hallway with the staircase located on the rear, southern wall. On the eastern side was the dining room at the front of the house with the butler's pantry behind, and on the west was the breakfast parlour at the front and the kitchen behind. The drawing room and adjoining anteroom was located on the first floor at the front of the house, and these spaces also overlooked King Street.

Comparing the Greg's townhouse, with other townhouses of the period reveal differences about identity and status, and it demonstrates some regional differences in the homes of merchants and manufacturers. Number 4/6 Fournier Street, a house of a similar size to 35 King Street, was built in Spitalfields, London around 1726 (see Figure 3.2).¹⁷ At Fournier Street, status and sociability were strongly emphasised, as demonstrated by the ground floor room with a large bow window on the rear of the house, which signified this room as a formal space, and it overlooked a garden. To an extent, sociability was also evident at King Street, as denoted by the presence of the ground floor dining room but the layout was more congested and service spaces were not segregated as at Fournier Street. The Gregs clearly attempted to overcome this, visitors would have moved horizontally between the parlour and dining room at the front of the house, and the servants would have moved horizontally between the kitchen, butler's pantry and storerooms at the rear of the house. As such there was no need to have any formal rooms at the rear of the ground floor as these rooms over-looked the functional yard and Samuel's warehouse, as discussed in the previous chapter. Therefore, unlike Fournier Street, the ground floor at King Street communicated the presence of

¹⁶ Hamlett, *Material Relations*, p.5

¹⁷ F. H. W. Sheppard, 'The Wood-Michell estate: Fournier Street', in *Survey of London: Volume 27, Spitalfields and Mile End New Town*, (London: Athlone University, 1957), pp. 199-225

household hierarchies, as different rooms competed for space and the Gregs attempted to enforce privacy from the functional spaces of the house.

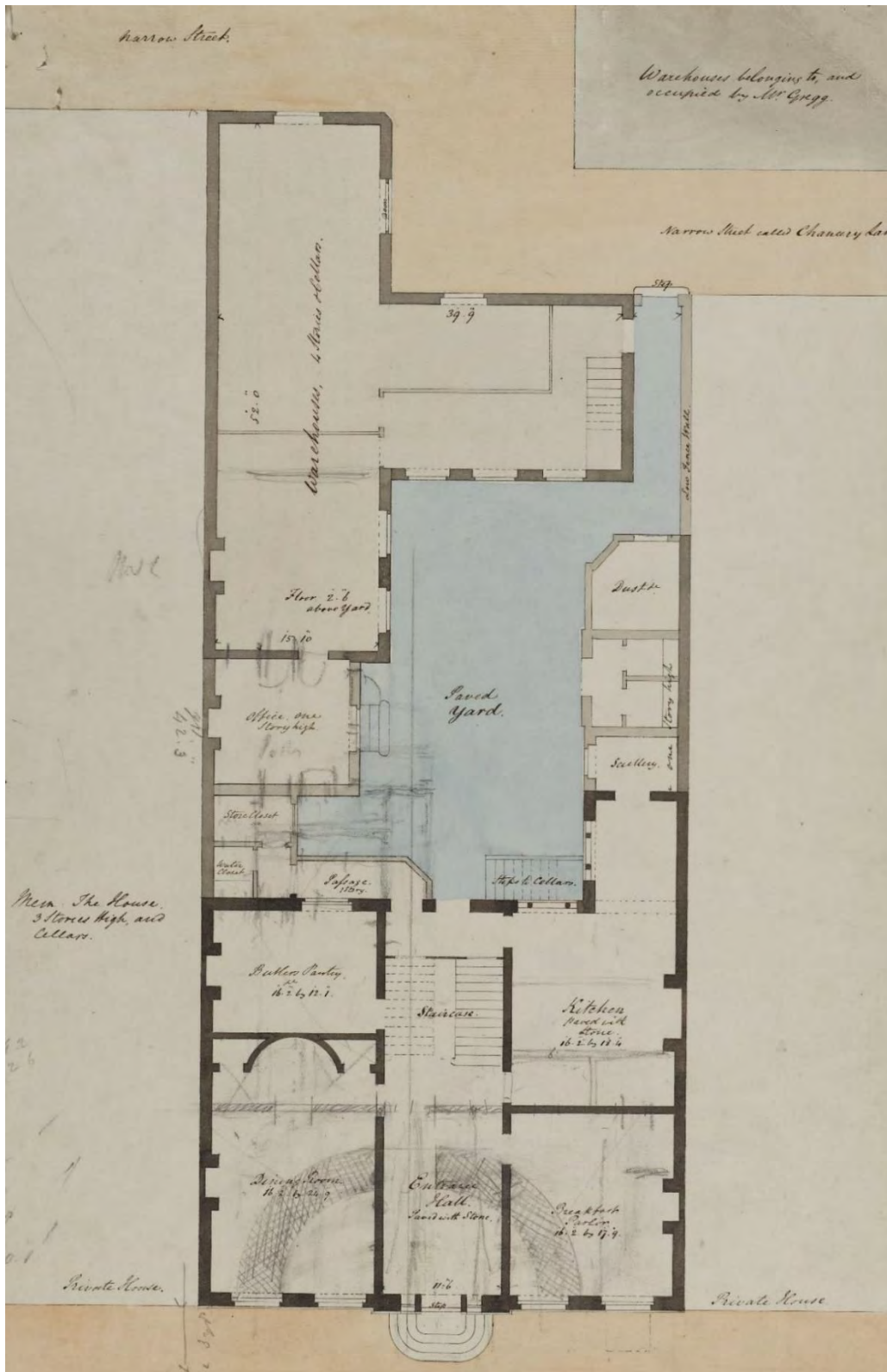


Figure 3.1: Floor Plan of 35 King Street, Manchester (1826) (Sir John Soane Collection: SM (2) 56/1/1A: David Mocatta, Site Plan of House in King Street, 1826)

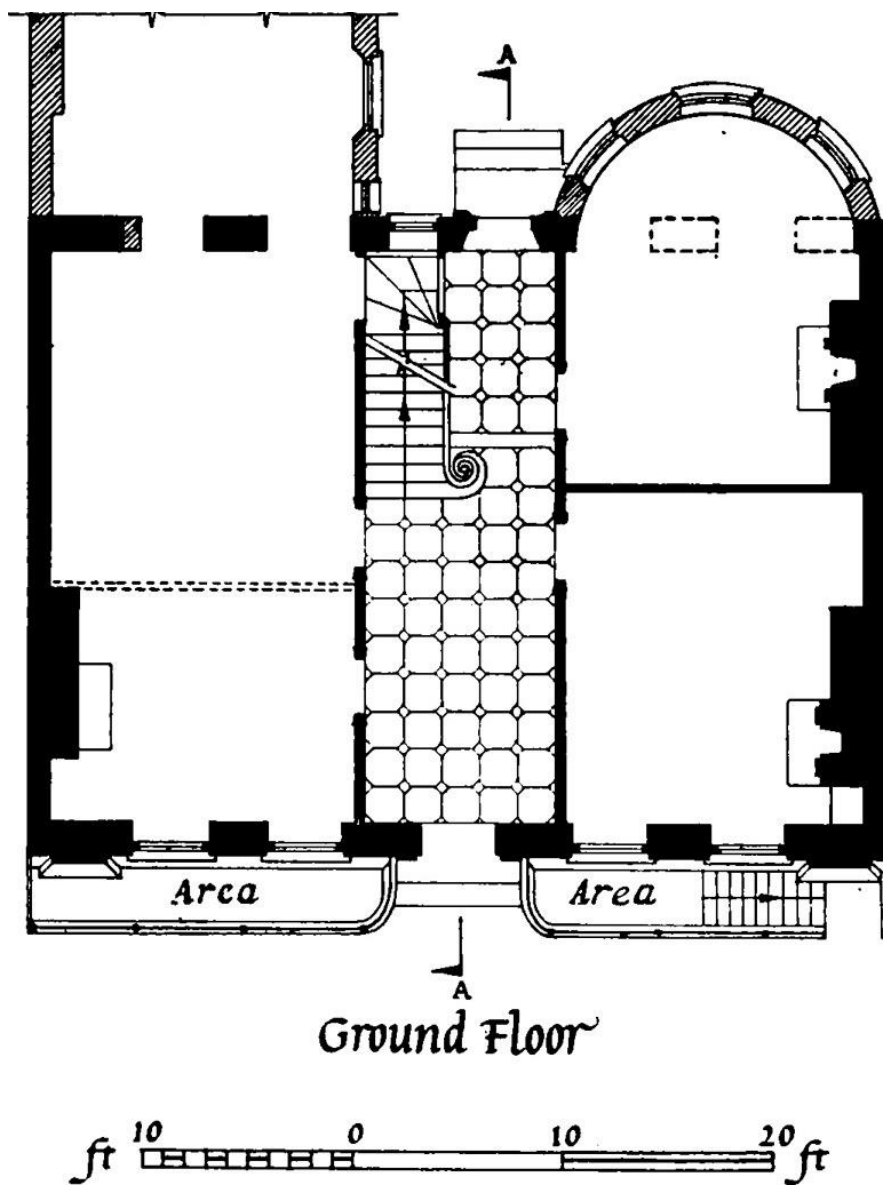


Figure 3.2: Ground floor plan of 4/6 Fournier Street, Spitalfields (F. H. W. Sheppard, 'The Wood-Michell estate: Fournier Street', in *Survey of London: Volume 27, Spitalfields and Mile End New Town*, (London: Athlone University, 1957

The domestic anxieties and desires of the industrial elites of Manchester and Liverpool are revealed in newspaper advertisements regarding houses available to rent or for sale. Descriptive language was used so the reader was aware of the plan of the house without having to necessarily view the property. This was also an engaging ploy to captivate the reader and to make the house in question seem more appealing, which was especially important in the town where the housing market was saturated with similar styles of properties. An advertisement for a 'convenient family house' in Great George Square made sure to note that there was a 'parlour to the front'.¹⁸ A corner house on Duke Street and Cornwallis Street affirmed that the house had a suite of entertaining rooms with good communication between them and this included: a ground floor breakfast parlour, drawing room and dining room and additional first-floor 'sitting-room' which the advertisement noted fronted the more desirable outlook over Duke Street.¹⁹ Other entertaining rooms were also starting to appear within Liverpool townhouses in the early-nineteenth century, in connection with the repurposing of workspaces into leisure amenities and it is symptomatic of a shift in how perceived status was measured through the domestic sphere. A house in Great Charlotte Street had a front parlour and back parlour on the ground floor, a drawing room on the first floor and it also had a new billiard room in a building at the back of the property.²⁰

Whilst the drawing and dining rooms of these townhouses played very clear and structured roles in daily lives and routines, other spaces had to perform more multifunctional roles, such as the breakfast parlour which had more fluid uses beyond the role attributed to it by its title. The room seems to originate from the common/little parlour as depicted by Roger North in his seventeenth-century architectural treatise.²¹ North described the room as a somewhat informal and less regulated space which could also be used to conduct business.²² Dan Cruikshank and Neil Burton have shown that the parlour in the eighteenth century townhouse was often a multipurpose space, less formal than the drawing room and for this reason it was often located on the ground floor, which was a widely adopted practice even among the aristocracy.²³ By the mid-nineteenth century, it was also evident that the custom of keeping

¹⁸ *Liverpool Mercury*, 17 February 1815, p.5

¹⁹ *Liverpool Mercury*, 14 August 1818, p.5

²⁰ *Liverpool Mercury*, 29 March 1816, p.5

²¹ Colvin & Newman (eds.), *Of Building*, p.137

²² *Ibid.* p.137

²³ Dan Cruikshank and Neil Burton, *Life in the Georgian City*, (London: Viking, 1990), p.53

a breakfast parlour had become an outmoded tradition and that a morning room was more in-keeping with fashions. In his architectural treatise, Robert Kerr, derided the habit of keeping a breakfast room, which he referred to as the 'inferior variety' of room when compared to a morning room.²⁴ From Kerr's analysis of these rooms it is evident that a breakfast room was located near a dining room to act as an informal dining space, whereas a morning room held a higher value and was more desirable as it was located near a drawing room and it acted as an informal recreational space.²⁵

To an extent the strict defining of rooms and their usage based on location in the house does not apply to eighteenth-century townhouses in the same way it did with the much larger, mid-nineteenth century suburban house where the location was fixed to take best advantage of the morning light. The Gregs' had a 'breakfast parlour' which was located on the ground floor opposite the dining room. However, Thomas Staniforth's 'breakfast parlour' in his townhouse on Ranelagh Street was located on the first floor alongside the drawing room.²⁶ John Gladstone's 'breakfast parlour' was also located on the first floor of his Rodney Street townhouse alongside the drawing room and library. However, in the building contract between Gladstone and his builders, the room was simultaneously referred to as both the 'breakfast parlour' and as 'the sitting room', which is evocative of its intended uses.²⁷ The breakfast parlour certainly acted as a versatile space for the Gregs. Hannah used this room as a classroom on Sunday afternoons, when home-schooling her young children before they began their more formal education.²⁸ Likewise the presence of a 'mahogany worktable with silk bag' in the 'breakfast room' at Belle View in Anfield, suggests this was a space for recreational activities such as needlework, and perhaps it was Mrs Phillips's handicrafts which also decorated the panel of a rosewood cabinet and an ottoman in the same room.²⁹

²⁴ Kerr, *Gentleman's House*, p.106

²⁵ *Ibid.* pp.103-106

²⁶ *Liverpool Mercury*, 16 June 1815, p.5

²⁷ GL: GG/2414: Agreement of John Gladstone with Lionel Speciall and Charles Glyone, 1792

²⁸ QBA: QBA765.1/9/79/32, Ellen Melly, *Reminiscences*, (1889), p.37

²⁹ LRO: M84/5/13/7: Auction Catalogue of Belle View, Anfield 1858

Decorative Features of the Merchant's House

By the eighteenth-century decorative plasterwork was increasingly used within elite residential developments as an integral component of the structure of the house, especially in performative spaces and rooms used to convey taste and status. Through examples of housing in Britain, Ireland and America, Conor Lucey has shown how plasterwork 'emerged as one of the most effective visual and material means to reflect new architectural tastes in a standardised brick shell.'³⁰ As such the demand for decorative plasterwork was so high in provincial towns and cities, especially in London and Dublin, that the design and manufacture moved from the remit of the architect to the skilled tradesman, which was cheaper and more efficient.³¹ This fostered enterprise but necessitated the practicalities of house-building and financial costs and these features were often produced on site.³²

The elite, merchant-builder therefore had to demonstrate that his house was both superior to those being built by his contemporaries or for the rental market, but that it also followed contemporary designs and fashions. The most obvious way to create this distinction was to have a named architect design the interior. As discussed in the previous chapter, the decorative schemes at Platt Hall were designed in a Rococo fashion by the architect Timothy Lightoler and therefore, they were different to the anonymous, standardised patterns described by Lucey which would have been evident in the townhouses of John Gladstone and Samuel Greg.

³⁰ Conor Lucey, *Building Reputations: Architecture and the Artisan, 1750-1830*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), p.123

³¹ *Ibid.* .123; p.160

³² *Ibid.* p.154

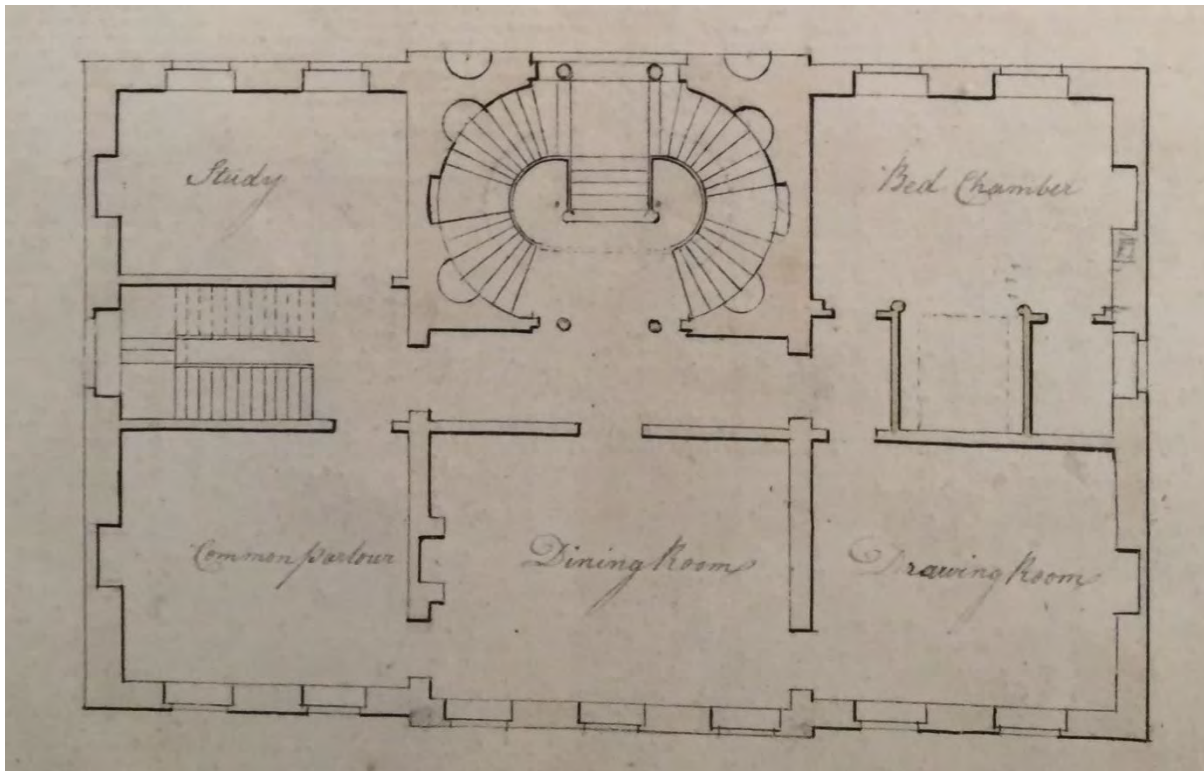


Figure 3.3: Plan of the first floor at Platt Hall (c.1761) (Manchester City Art Galleries: M/c CAG:1961.165A: Floorplans of Platt Hall by Timothy Lightoler, 1761)

The status of public and private spaces was reflected in Lightoler's decorative features of Platt Hall. The ground floor of Platt Hall was entirely devoted to servants' spaces: the butler's pantry, housekeeper's room, the servant's hall, the master's room and two closets.³³ However, Lightoler used a screen of ionic columns in the entrance hall to create a barrier between these spaces and the rest of the house, which also served to guide visitors towards the staircase and up to the first-floor suite of entertaining rooms. The formal staircase at Platt Hall was an elliptical design which only ascended to the first floor, which was not uncommon in gentry houses in this period, and this was a feature ultimately adopted in elite townhouses around London, Dublin and Philadelphia by the end of the eighteenth century.³⁴ This was important as it was evidence of Lees's rise in status that his former contemporaries were now emulating his house. The staircase walls were adorned with plasterwork murals and carved niches and the hallway was flanked by Corinthian columns (Figure 3.4), which also adorned the doorcases to a suite of three interconnecting rooms on the main façade of the property, the drawing room, dining room and common parlour. The hierarchical status between these

³³ MCAG: 1961.165A: Plans attributed to Timothy Lightoler

³⁴ Lucey, *Building Reputations*, p.149

three rooms as public spaces was reflected in the levels of ornamentation in their design. These three rooms had octagonal panelled mahogany doors with matching window shutters. The other two rooms on this floor, the bedroom and study located at the rear of the house, had simple rectangular panelled doors and simple doorcases, which denoted these spaces were private, family rooms.



Figure 3.4: A view of the staircase from the first floor at Platt Hall (T. McGrath, 2018)



Figure 3.5: The former dining room at Platt Hall. This is the only room where Lightoler's decorative plasterwork still survives. (T. McGrath 2018)

The dining room was the most ornately decorated room in Lightoler's plans and it was the main entertaining space which suggests that John and Deborah Lees frequently socialised around communal dining (Figure 3.5). The doorcase was framed by portico above Corinthian columns and each wall was adorned with extensive stucco work. Above the ornate fireplace was a landscape by Richard Wilson which was commissioned by Lees in 1764 for £26.³⁵ The decorative schemes of the adjoining drawing room and common parlour were much more subtle and refined (Figure 3.6). Both rooms only featured stucco work on two of the four walls, likely in an attempt to reduce costs, as discussed in the previous chapter. Likewise, the study also featured muted designs and the chimney piece was the only decorative feature again distinguishing this as a private space.³⁶

³⁵ MCAG: Letter from Richard Wilson to James Massey, 18 December 1764

³⁶ Designs for ceilings are a notable absence from Lightoler's plans and if any were erected, they no longer survive in-situ.

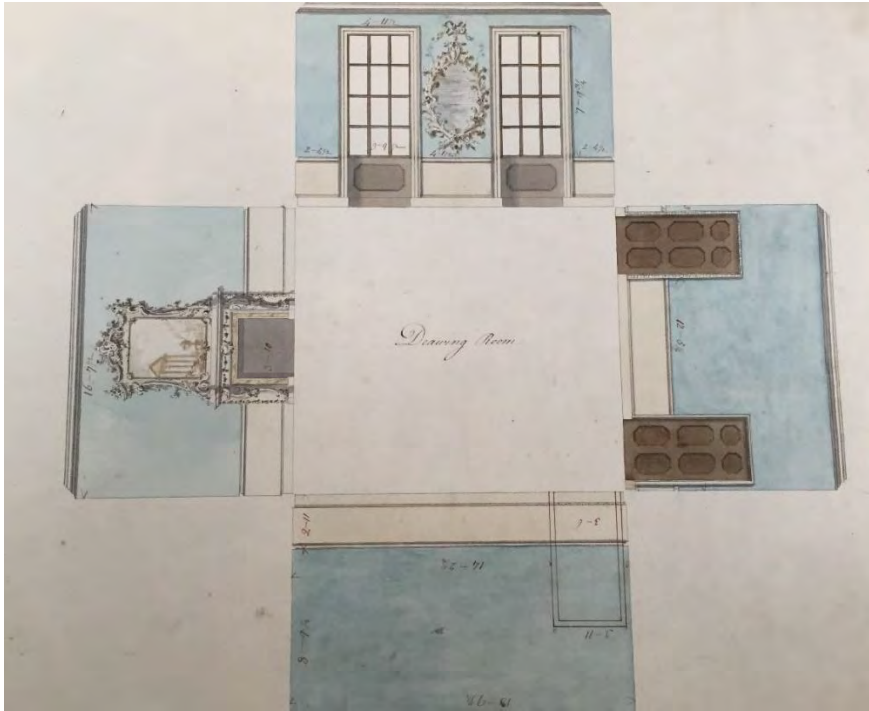


Figure 3.6: Lightoler's more muted designs for the drawing room. (MCAG: 1961.165A)

Lightoler's plans also presented a unique view of decorative schemes for private family spaces, such as bedrooms (see Figures 3.7 and 3.8). The second (attic) floor of Platt Hall was devoted to family bedrooms and two of the rooms depicted in the plans were plain without ornamentation. However, the alcove bedroom on the second floor and its counterpart on the first floor were ornately detailed rooms, which were likely the separate bedrooms of John and Deborah, or their shared bedroom and the other room belonged to Thomas Lees, John's son. Each wall in both alcove bed chambers featured decorative stucco work and the alcove itself was flanked by Corinthian columns and decorative friezes above the doorcases. These two rooms demonstrate decoration for personal consumption. The first-floor alcove bedroom may have been a slightly more public room depending on how the Lees' family used their formal spaces but the replication of the fussy, highly decorative designs in the second floor alcove bedroom proves that individuality and personal reflections on status could be asserted through decorative schemes among the private parts of the house.

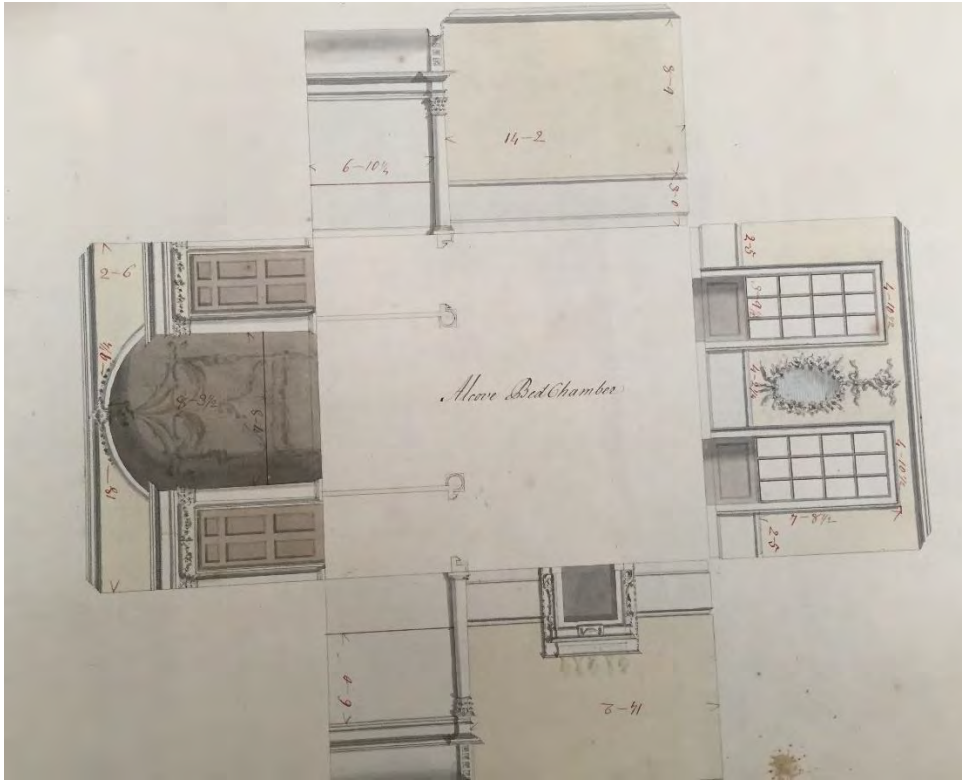


Figure 3.7: Lightoler's plans for the first-floor alcove bedchamber at Platt Hall (MCAg: 1961.165A)



Figure 3.8: Lightoler's plans for the second-floor alcove bedroom at Platt Hall (MCAg: 1961.165A)

Decorative plasterwork could also be used in subtle ways to reinforce status and identities. The Gregs' house at Quarry Bank was very different in design and appearance to Platt Hall and it featured a muted internal decoration scheme. Nonetheless, the white and grey Carrera marble chimneypiece in the drawing room was befitting of their position (Figure 3.9). A central plaque on the fire surround portrays a nymph sat spinning, which was a subtle reference to the industrial origins of the family.



Figure 3.9: The fireplace in the drawing room at Quarry Bank House (T. McGrath, 2018)

Spatial Arrangement in the Suburban and Rural House

In contrast to the conformity and constrained plan of urban townhouses, the configuration of entertaining rooms within the suburban and rural houses of the industrial elites were often configured on one level. This arrangement of rooms was primarily due to the larger building space, but inspiration was also somewhat contradictorily drawn from both vernacular and elitist forms of architecture. The configuration of the formal entertaining rooms on one level was clearly influenced by the *Piano Nobile* layout of elite houses in which the intercommunication of the rooms was essential. Although some larger country houses, such

as Platt Hall, retained the first-floor suite of entertaining rooms (Figure 3.3), the smaller suburban and rural houses of the industrial elite reduced this to the ground floor. This was reflective of an 'economical and flexible' style of living and it also emphasised the importance of gardens and outdoors spaces, particularly the notion of bringing the outside, inside.³⁷

The most fluid example of the blurring of boundaries between indoor and outdoor spaces was the addition of a conservatory or smaller glasshouse attached to suburban and rural houses. The size and function of this structure depended on the income of the householder and thus it acted as a tangible and clearly visible status symbol. As Kerr noted, 'The *Greenhouse* is the structure in which plants are cultivated, as distinguished from the *Conservatory* as that in which they are placed for display', suggesting that these structures also could convey a sense of cultivated horticultural knowledge.³⁸ A large conservatory, such as the one erected at Heald House in Rusholme in 1840, cost £44, marginally less than the annual rent of the property which was £50.³⁹ Whereas at 42 Plymouth Grove the glasshouse erected by Henry Micholls was of the smaller kind as described in *The Villa Gardener*; it was simply an extended sill on the exterior of the house enclosed with an outside bow window.⁴⁰

The intercommunication between the conservatory and formal entertaining rooms was an important element of spatial organisation. This was an arrangement which had its formation in the latter decades of the eighteenth century in correspondence with the rise of suburban housing as discussed in the first chapter. In his 1816 publication on gardening, Humphry Repton's vision of a 'modern living room' depicted a garden room or conservatory adjoined to the informal library space.⁴¹ Repton deliberately contrasted this with an image of an enclosed, panelled parlour indicating the new arrangement and uses of entertaining and leisure spaces for a new elite.

Within a few decades Repton's vision had become a standardised norm and Kerr noted that the most common location for conservatories was off the drawing room or morning room.⁴²

³⁷ Hague, *The Gentleman's House*, p.77

³⁸ Kerr, *The Gentleman's House*, p.337

³⁹ *Manchester Times*, 12 September 1840, p.12 – It is important to note that the cost of these structures became cheaper after the abolition of the tax on glass in 1845.

⁴⁰ John Claudius Loudon, *The Villa Gardener: Comprising of the choice of a suburban villa residence; the laying out, planting and culture of garden and grounds and the management of the villa farm, including the dairy and poultry-yard*, (London: Wm. S. Orr & Co., 1841), p.56

⁴¹ Humphry Repton, *Fragments on the Theory and Practise of Landscape Gardening*, (London: J. Taylor, 1816)

⁴² Kerr, *The Gentleman's House*, p.127

Extant floorplans reveal how the glasshouse and conservatory were used by the industrial elites and even though there were distinguishing features between the two, merchants and manufacturers used both to display status and knowledge. At 42 Plymouth Grove the glasshouse was attached to the western façade of the house. It could be accessed from the dining room, and it was visible from the drawing room. The cotton merchant Sewell Barker's conservatory at The Sycamores, Old Trafford, was entered via the morning room and it then opened directly onto the garden as shown in Figure 3.14.⁴³ This was clearly a space for cultivating plants as much as displaying them and located directly underneath the conservatory at cellar level was a potting-house with a stove, and therefore it was testament to the moulding of domestic space around the leisurely activities of Barker or those of his household. However, the permeation of outside spaces with formal entertaining rooms and the intertwining of natural elements and the indoors could prove damaging to the house and its inhabitants. Robert Kerr and John and Jane Loudon emphasised the need for good ventilation when conservatories or glass houses were connected to formal rooms as the damp could be 'injurious to furniture, and the walls of the room.'⁴⁴ Henry Micholls ended his tenancy at 42 Plymouth Grove because of issues with the drains, which still were a source of discontent for the next tenant, Elizabeth Gaskell, who wrote in 1865; 'The whole system of drainage is bad [...] Both Charlie and Georgina have perceived the smell *in the drawing room* & spoken about it.'⁴⁵ Gaskell's own emphasis on the drawing room highlights her mortification that the pervasive smells were publicly acknowledged in the most prominent room in the house by her guests.⁴⁶

The communication between formal entertaining rooms and other public and private spaces used by the merchant and his family varied between suburban and rural properties. As previously discussed, property ownership enabled the industrial elites to have more control over the appearances of their houses and the interior was likewise modelled around the domestic needs of the household. Unexecuted plans of a 'cottage' dating to the 1820s were designed for the merchant Philip Barrington Ainslie in the suburbs of Liverpool (see Figure

⁴³ Unknown, *Villa and Cottage Architecture: Select Country and Suburban Residences Recently Erected*, (London: Blackie & Son, 1868), p.99

⁴⁴ Kerr, *The Gentleman's House*, p.127; Loudon, *The Villa Gardener*, pp.56-57

⁴⁵ Letter from Elizabeth Gaskell to Marianne Gaskell, 6 October 1865 in Chapple & Pollard, *The Letters of Mrs. Gaskell*, pp. 776-777

⁴⁶ The drains were located in the yard, adjoining the kitchen and scullery.

3.10). These plans depict a ground floor which was divided into formal family spaces and private family spaces by an elliptical staircase. Along the southern façade of the property were the dining and drawing rooms, and an annexe which was labelled 'books' and this adjoined 'Mr A.'s room', likely his study or office.⁴⁷ In the northern half of the house, accessible only through a doorway under the staircase and therefore, purposefully tucked away from the main body of the house, was a china closet and storeroom alongside a schoolroom and a teacher's room.⁴⁸ The presence of the children's suite of rooms with service spaces on the ground floor denoted this as a private part of the house but one which was designed to conform with the general advice that nurseries and schoolrooms ought to be 'within easy reach of the lady of the house' and it shows the flexible approach to domestic arrangements in the nineteenth century.⁴⁹

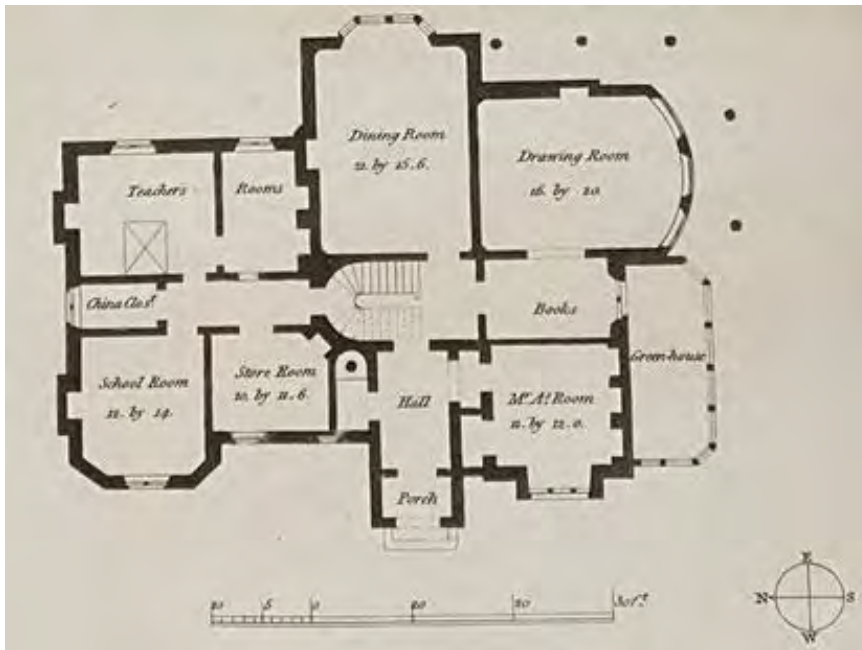


Figure 3.10: Plan of Philip B. Ainslie's Cottage, Liverpool (Robert Lugar, *Villa Architecture: A Collection of Views, With Plans, of Buildings Executed in England, Scotland &C.*, (London: J. Taylor, 1828)

It is important to note how clearly visible boundaries between public and private spaces, as seen in Ainslie's house, were largely subjective. Johann Georg Silkenstadt built Rose Bank, a villa in the suburb of Didsbury, Manchester, in 1872 and his public entertaining rooms

⁴⁷ Robert Lugar, *Villa Architecture: A Collection of Views, With Plans, of Buildings Executed in England, Scotland &C.*, (London: J. Taylor, 1828)

⁴⁸ Why so much space was devoted to education facilities remains unknown, it is not stated whether the house was to function as a school-cum-domestic residence or whether this space was just for Ainslie's children.

⁴⁹ Kerr, *The Gentleman's House*, p.147

permeated private spaces of the entire household on each floor of the house (see Figure 3.13). The main, eastern façade featured an unusual cluster of the drawing room, dining room and breakfast room in a consecutive arrangement on this side of the house. On the first floor was a substantial billiard room alongside family bedrooms. This showpiece room appears to have been a necessary arrangement as the room needed to be large enough to accommodate the billiard table but its presence in the house demonstrated that Silkenstadt was conforming to the emerging social ideals of a fashionable home. On the second-floor attic level, there was a smoking room which led to a platform on the roof. According to Robert Kerr's advice, the situation of the smoking room was important and it needed to have both good prospects and ventilation, which Silkenstadt's room did.⁵⁰ Kerr also suggested that if the smoking-room was situated on an upper floor, then 'it may even be well to have a small *special stair* to it.'⁵¹ Silkenstadt appears to have been more economical and the smoking room at Rose Bank was reached by the same secondary staircase the servants used to get to their bedrooms on the same floor.

In some cases, the mercantile-builder could completely subvert the standardised layout of a house. In 1876 Henry Anthony Bennett commissioned the architect Edward Salomons to design a house on Nelson Street in Manchester (Figure 3.11). Bennett's new house was built adjacent to his old property, a substantial country villa built in the symmetrical style in the 1820s. In contrast, his was a substantial neo-Gothic building and it was completely incongruous to the rest of Nelson Street. It was built up to the street line and not only lacked both front and rear gardens but also a yard, where practical buildings such as stables could have been located. The house cost £6000 to build and it drew heavy criticism. The architect H. Goldschmit believed Bennett had 'wasted his money on the house' and as a result it was devalued during the Poor Rate Assessment.⁵² However, this was not a reflection on Salomons's skill, but it was more emblematic of Bennett's desire to create a house which reflected his own personality. He once stated that he had spent a long time 'putting those bricks together.'⁵³

⁵⁰ Kerr, *The Gentleman's House*, p.129

⁵¹ *Ibid.* p.129

⁵² *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 15 December 1877, p.3

⁵³ *The Manchester Guardian*, 15 December 1877, p.9

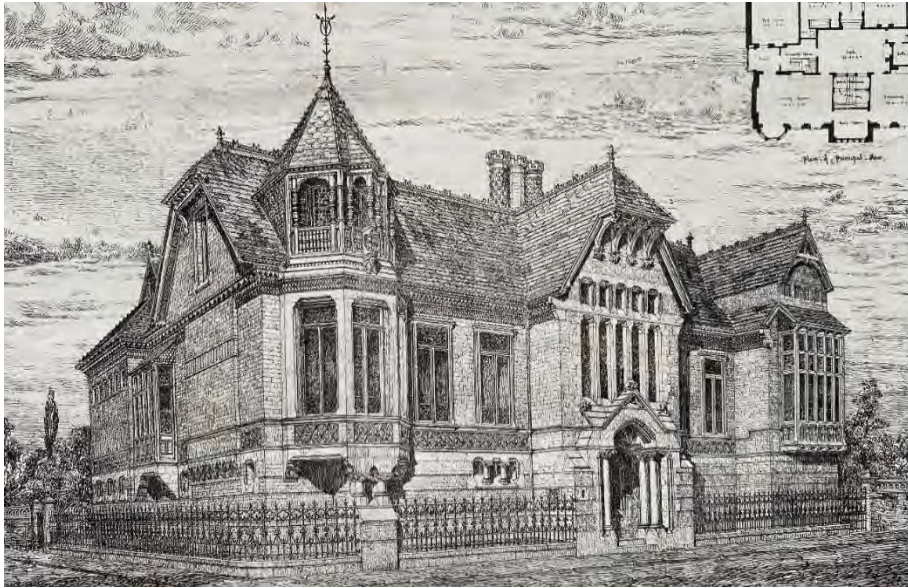


Figure 3.11: Henry Anthony Bennett's House, Nelson Street, Manchester (1876) (*The Building News*, 8 December 1876)

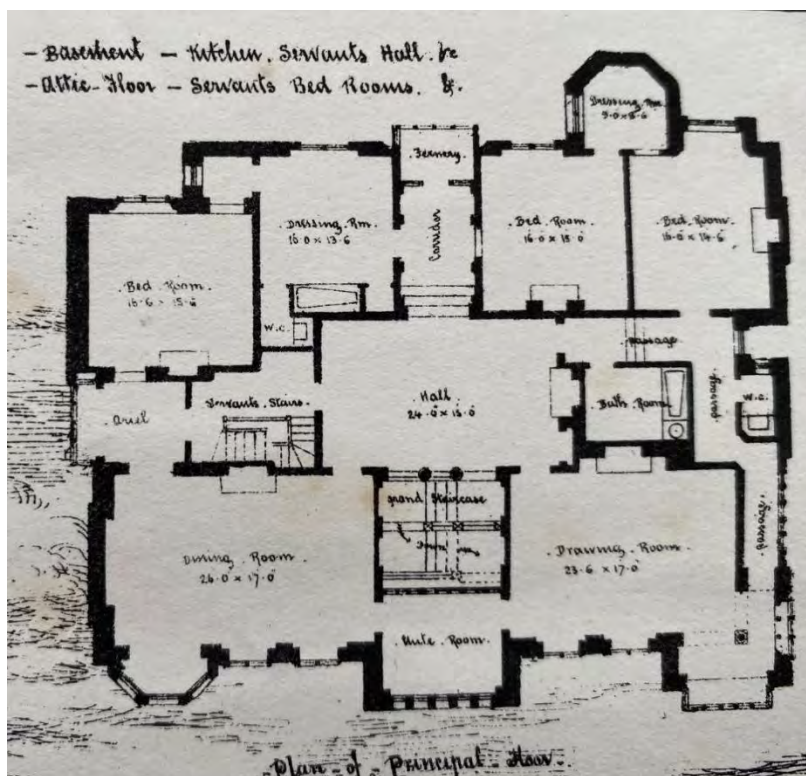


Figure 3.12: Plan of the principal floor at Bennett's house (1876) (*The Building News*, 8 December 1876)

The criticisms of Bennett's house did not just apply to the exterior but also to the lack of entertaining rooms and the spatial arrangement inside (see Figure 3.12). The house had just one principal floor, slightly raised from street level, and the 'basement' and 'attic' floors were solely for service rooms and servants' bedrooms. A 'grand staircase' connected the principal

floor with street level and a servants' staircase connected the various other floors. There were only two formal entertaining rooms, a dining room and a drawing room along the main southern façade of the property. Although this floor also contained the main bedrooms, there was a sense of privacy created by the arrangement of spaces. Two bedrooms and a dressing room could only be accessed via passageways from the hall. Likewise, Bennett's bedroom could only be accessed through an oriel chamber off the dining room and from the servants' staircase. Bennett's bedroom had an adjoining dressing room which contained a private bathroom and water closet. From this space was a hallway with a fernery, the closest thing to a garden the property had.

Bennett clearly rejected the conventional form for a suburban residence, and it suited his own needs and domestic requirements. Unlike the houses of Silkenstadt and others who were building fashionable, status-symbol houses, Bennett was building a house to escape from the conventionalisms of society. As the house was so unusual, Bennett's bachelorhood was frequently raised during debates on the property to assess its suitability as a domestic residence. Mr Goldschmit stated, 'for the requirements of Mr Bennett the house was exceedingly suitable, as it would also be for any other rich bachelor.'⁵⁴ His bachelorhood was widely confirmed and acknowledged throughout his life and after his death. In 1877 he was described as 'having the misfortune of being a bachelor' and his house appears to have also physically manifested this persona too, as it was described as being 'eminently suitable for a bachelor.'⁵⁵ Bennett actively used his domestic property to confirm this public-image in bricks and mortar; he was the eccentric and wealthy single man. However, this was far from the reality. Bennett had a long-standing relationship with Mary Siddall, a former domestic servant and the daughter of a laundress. The relationship lasted from the early-1850s until his death in 1883. The couple produced at least five children who were privately educated at a boarding school in Camberwell in London allowing Bennett to live a double-life. By the 1881 census, Mary had joined Henry at Nelson Street as his 'wife' and she started to use his surname, and

⁵⁴ *The Manchester Guardian*, 15 December 1877, p.9

⁵⁵ *Manchester Evening News*, 14 December 1877, p.3; *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 15 December 1877, p.3

she recorded herself as a widow after his death, though there is no record of a marriage, and his obituary clearly states that 'he never married' omitting any mention of his family.⁵⁶

Bennett's control over his domestic space was further reinforced when he converted the dining room into a library, which was more suited to his lifestyle.⁵⁷ As Hamlett has shown, it was not uncommon in the houses of bachelors who lived independently and perhaps did not entertain as widely, to sacrifice an entertaining room for a study, library or office which would be more appropriate to their daily routines.⁵⁸ Bennett was a retired merchant and he also held a commission in the Kings Own Royal Tower Hamlets Militia and served as a Justice of the Peace, and as a churchwarden at the Cathedral.⁵⁹ Therefore, unlike younger unmarried men, Bennett had no need to furnish his house to convey his prosperity or stability; his wealth and the social standing were visibly established and he clearly, did not conform to the standards of masculinity expected of his class.⁶⁰ He had once joked that he had spent 21 years designing the house which was 'a source of amusement' and 'a hobby' for him.⁶¹ Shortly after Bennett's death in December 1883 the house was advertised for sale. Unlike other advertisements which actively sought to entice the reader with the domestic qualities of the building, the advertisement of Bennett's house simply claimed, 'it stands on 1,600 square yards of land and is suitable for a public institution as it could be enlarged at a small cost.'⁶² The house was clearly unpalatable for the general population of Manchester and it became the Anstalt Schiller club, a members' club for the German community.

Bennett's house was clearly comfortable, by his own definitions, even if it did not conform with the architectural standards and common understandings of domesticity. However, houses which were built to conform to a standardised format could be deemed both uncomfortable and convenient, even if they served the purpose of building for status. In 1840

⁵⁶ NA: Census of England, Scotland and Wales, 1881: Nelson Street, Chorlton-Upon-Medlock, Reference: RG11; Piece number: 3916; Folio Number: 120; Page: 21; NA: Census of England, Scotland and Wales, 1891: Choir Street, Broughton, Reference: RG12; Piece number: 3213; Folio Number: 21; Page: 36; *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 22 December 1883, p.5

⁵⁷ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 15 December 1877, p.3: the newspaper article records Bennett's house only had a drawing room and a library.

⁵⁸ Hamlett, *Material Relations*, p.36; p.91

⁵⁹ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 22 December 1883, p.5

⁶⁰ Deborah Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), p.92; John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class in Victorian England*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), p.173

⁶¹ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 15 December 1877, p.3

⁶² *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 16 February 1884, p.2

James Muspratt, a Liverpool merchant commissioned the architect, James Picton to design Seaforth Hall in the neo-classical style. The result was an impressive five-bay house flanked by Corinthian columns and topped with porticos which spoke of the Muspratt family's status, especially in the Seaforth area as they were now the premier family as the Gladstones had moved to Scotland by this time. However, Seaforth Hall was not considered an ideal domestic residence by Muspratt's granddaughter, who lived there from 1861:

A fine impressive house, it was very good for entertaining in, but not, as Mama continually complained, a comfortable one. The hall was too large and draughty, the kitchen too far-removed from the dining-room, the pantry wholly inadequate for a party, and in spite of its size, the house only possessed one small bathroom and the most meagre of sanitary arrangements. Amazing too, to relate, there was practically no system of drainage...⁶³

Architectural tastes were subjective, but they could openly draw criticism, particularly if the occupant was deemed to be too aspirational in his standards. The diaries of chemical manufacturer Andrew George Kurtz actively reflected his opinions on domestic architecture in and around Liverpool. Kurtz, as Joseph Sharples noted, 'had a deep dislike of what he regarded as architectural pretension' and he actively disapproved of the fashions of the mid-to-late nineteenth century including the Arts and Crafts movement and the Queen Anne revival style.⁶⁴ He thought Gothic revival should be confined to ecclesiastical architecture and he had no 'enthusiasm for all things Japanese.'⁶⁵ As such, he rarely found his own tastes reflected in the homes of other merchants and manufacturers who chose to follow contemporary fashions to keep up with society. He made clear connections between taste and character and often with scathing remarks. He referred to Mossley House as 'a pretentious place, & as such suited to its owner' and he regarded a house in Allerton as

⁶³ Hildegard Gordon Brown, *I Remember: Reminiscences of a Childhood at Seaforth Hall*, (Gloucester: The Crypt House Press Ltd., 1933), p.13

⁶⁴ Joseph Sharples, 'Merchants' Houses in Victorian Liverpool', in John Dunne and Paul Janssens (eds.), *Studies in European Urban History: Living in the City: Elites and their Residences, 1500-1900*, Vol. 13, (Belgium: Brepols, 2008), p.205

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* p.205

‘Imposing externally but nothing particular within. Just like the people it’s built [for].’⁶⁶ John Gladstone’s continuous alterations of Seaforth House in the 1810s, as discussed in the previous chapter, did little to actually improve the house in the eyes of some visitors. By the 1820s Gladstone had introduced a number of public entertaining rooms including; a dining room, the north drawing room, the south drawing room, the octagon room, a library and a double-height saloon with picture gallery. William Forwood stated that construction of a large circular saloon at the centre of Seaforth House ‘was a very fine apartment, but it ruined the rest of the house, making all the other rooms small and ill-shaped.’⁶⁷ Again, the extent to which the arrangement of rooms was convenient or inconvenient was somewhat subjective, as with the boundaries which existed between spaces. Clearly Muspratt’s and Gladstone’s houses communicated their status and aspirations, at the sacrifice of comfort and convenience. In contrast, Bennett’s house was built with his personal specifications for comfort and convenience, but it was heavily criticised for its rejections of standardised domestic norms.

Section II: Servants Spaces and Household Relationships

The arrangement of rooms and the public and private function of ancillary spaces within the domestic sphere of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was most evident in spaces devoted to service and servants. Intercommunication between the different service rooms of the house and between these spaces and family spaces was a fundamental requirement of a well-functioning and convenient house. These two spheres often operated as part of two parallel worlds under one roof. Service spaces were therefore both public spaces used by all the servants and private, as they were isolated from the rest of the household. Despite their importance to daily routines, they often occupied a sub-category of considerations in architectural plans because of the hierarchical structure of the home and society in general. This following section will examine the development of these spaces and how they functioned

⁶⁶ A. G. Kurtz Diary 16 October 1869; 22 December 1866 in Sharples, *Merchants’ Houses*, p.205

⁶⁷ William Bower Forwood, *Recollections of a busy life: being the reminiscences of a Liverpool merchant, 1840-1910*, (Liverpool: Henry Young & Sons, 1910), p.12

to preserve the balance of relationships between the merchant, his family and his wider household.

The debate of when the physical separation of servants from the family within the domestic sphere became visible and commonplace has been the subject of recent scholarship. From the seventeenth century there was a growing desire for physical privacy within the houses of the wealthy, which became more evident in the eighteenth century and standardised by the nineteenth century.⁶⁸ However, as Tim Meldrum noted, the privacy of the family, not the servant, was paramount in architectural design and comfort.⁶⁹ This is evident in the architectural treatises dating from the late-seventeenth century from both Britain and France. Both Jacques-François Blondel and Roger North called for the physical separation of service spaces and thus, servants, in architectural plans for the house.⁷⁰ The motivations for this separation were for the convenience and comfort of the family from nuisances and annoyances caused by daily routines, such as cooking and smells from the kitchen, as well as the risk of fire to the main house.⁷¹

By the mid-nineteenth century, publications such as Kerr's *The Gentleman's House* reaffirmed that the distinct separation of two households was the requisite of a modern house; 'The family constitutes one community; the servants another. Whatever may be their mutual regard and confidence as dwellers under the same roof, each class is entitled to shut the door upon the other, and be alone.'⁷² This resulted in what Jane Hamlett has referred to the 'otherness' of servants in the late-nineteenth century house.⁷³ This form of physical isolation coupled with social isolation ultimately led to disruption of household harmonies and the unpopularity of domestic service, as Siân Pooley's study of late-nineteenth century Lancaster has shown.⁷⁴

⁶⁸ Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, p.26

⁶⁹ Tim Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender, 1660-1750: Life and Work in the London Household*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2014), pp.77-82

⁷⁰ Jacques-François Blondel, *De la distribution des maisons de plaisance et de la décoration des édifices en général* (Paris: Charles Antoine Jombert, 1737); Colvin & Newman, *Of Building*

⁷¹ Blondel, *De la distribution des maisons*, p.38; Colvin & Newman, *Of Building*, p.141

⁷² Kerr, *The Gentleman's House*, p.76

⁷³ Hamlett, *Material Relations*, p.41

⁷⁴ Sian Pooley, 'Domestic Servants and their Urban Employers: A Case Study of Lancaster, 1880-1914', *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 62, No. 2, (May 2009), pp.405-429

In some eighteenth and early-nineteenth century architectural treatises the separation of service spaces from the rest of the household had become so normalised that many servants' spaces are a noticeable absence from discussions and plans in architectural treatises. Robert Morris's, *Select Architecture* (1757), which featured the plans for over 45 buildings does not mention these spaces at all and D. Laing, *Hints For Dwellings* (1800) devoted just two lines in the entire book to discuss these parts of the house.⁷⁵

Nonetheless, the architectural form of these service spaces could still be used to convey status through the house, especially rurally located houses which had the available space. As the previous chapter discussed, John Lees' Platt Hall was ultimately a more impressive and imposing structure because of the two service pavilions either side of the main body of the house, which added to its overall scale and dominance of the landscape. Timothy Lightoler altered John Carr's internal layout of service rooms at Platt Hall to make the arrangement more convenient for the household. The coach house was moved from the west pavilion to the east pavilion where it adjoined the stable and was within closer proximity of the road.⁷⁶ The western pavilion housed the kitchen, scullery, servants' hall, storerooms and servants' bedrooms which was practical and convenient. Internal access to the eastern and western service pavilions from the main house was shielded behind a screen of Corinthian columns, separating the public and private spheres of the two households.

In smaller houses, such as the townhouses and suburban villas of the industrial elite, servants' spaces had to be incorporated within the one structure, as was evident in the Gregs' King Street townhouse. Occasionally, in this property and in many others, the shared spaces led to the overlapping of spheres, particularly in households which only had one staircase. These were elite architectural issues and Blondel, North and Kerr, writing across the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries all offered structural alternatives such as passages, corridors, and secondary staircases to avoid the overlapping spheres.⁷⁷ Kerr noted that these ancillary spaces 'can be taken that the domestics have not to trespass too much on the *privacy* of a Principal Corridor; it must in fact be treated as essentially as a Family Passage to

⁷⁵ Robert Morris, *Select Architecture: Being regular Designs Of Plans And Elevations Well Suited to Both Town and Country* (London: Robert Sayer, 1757); D. Laing, *Hints For Dwellings: Consisting of Original designs For Cottages, Farm-Houses, Villas &c. Plain and Ornamental; With Plans To Each* (London: J. Taylor, 1800), pp.14-15

⁷⁶ Manchester City Art Galleries: M/CCAG 1961.165A, Plan attributed to Timothy Lightoler

⁷⁷ Colvin & Newman, *Of Building*, p.134; Kerr, *The Gentleman's House*, pp.165-170

which the servants have no access except when they are engaged in special acts of personal attendance.⁷⁸ Privacy was clearly a juxtaposition in the nineteenth century household. The family, using the principal corridor did not expect isolation in these public thoroughfares, but they did expect them to be used by servants only when one part of the household was performing an act of duty to the other. Therefore, segregation was clearly enforced within households even when the physical structure of the house did not necessarily physically separate the inhabitants.

These separate corridors, staircases and spaces became integral parts of household design when incorporated into the construction of the house. It is telling that, when the Gregs' chose to make Quarry Bank their permanent residence in 1815, they had an additional wing constructed adjacent to the main house, which contained servants' rooms and their children's bedrooms. Unlike the townhouse, this service wing had a separate staircase, and the ground floor of Quarry Bank House was devoted solely to the family's rooms; a drawing room, dining room and a study.

The floorplans of three mid-nineteenth century suburban villas outside of Manchester (see Figures 3.13, 3.14 and 3.15) highlight the different levels of interest that architects and merchant-builders paid to service spaces and amenities. Theodore Merck's villa in Victoria Park and Georg Silkenstadt's Rosebank both had first-floor housemaid's closets with sinks. Notably, these facilities were depicted as being beneficial for the family rather than the servants and this reinforces the notion that the mid-nineteenth century household was in two separate components. The wash-room laundry in the cellar at Rosebank was described as being 'distinct from the rest of the basement and has its own access from the yard by steps. Thus, and by reason of this cellar being arched over, there is no annoyance in the living-rooms from the internal position of the wash-house.'⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Kerr, *The Gentleman's House*, p.168

⁷⁹ Unknown, *Villa and Cottage Architecture*, p.111



Figure 3.13: Plan of Rosebank, house of Georg Silkenstadt (1868) (Unknown, *Villa and Cottage Architecture: Select Country and Suburban Residences Recently Erected*, (London: Blackie & Son, 1868)

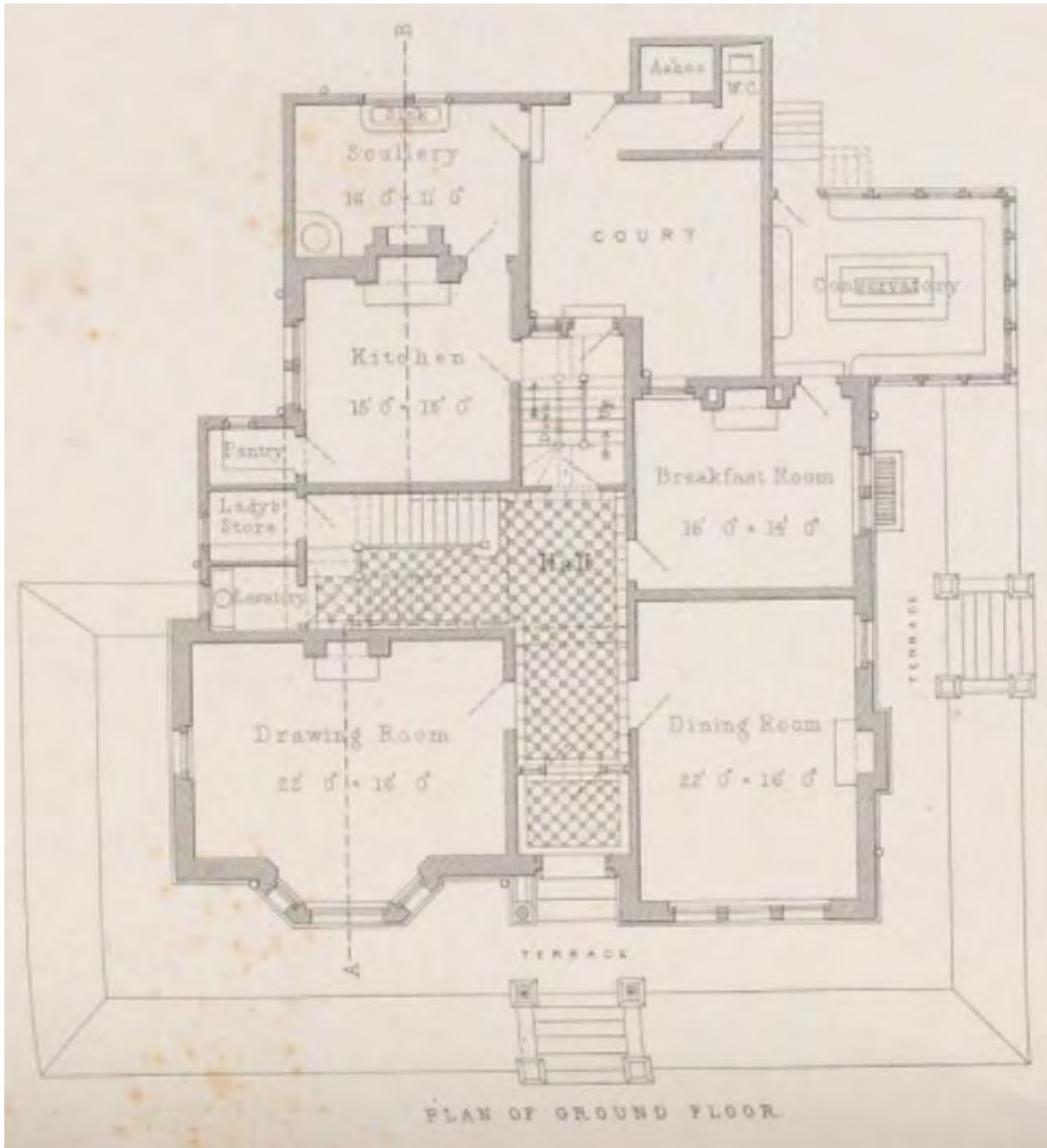


Figure 3.14: Plan of The Sycamores, house of Sewell Barker (1868) Unknown, *Villa and Cottage Architecture: Select Country and Suburban Residences Recently Erected*, (London: Blackie & Son, 1868)

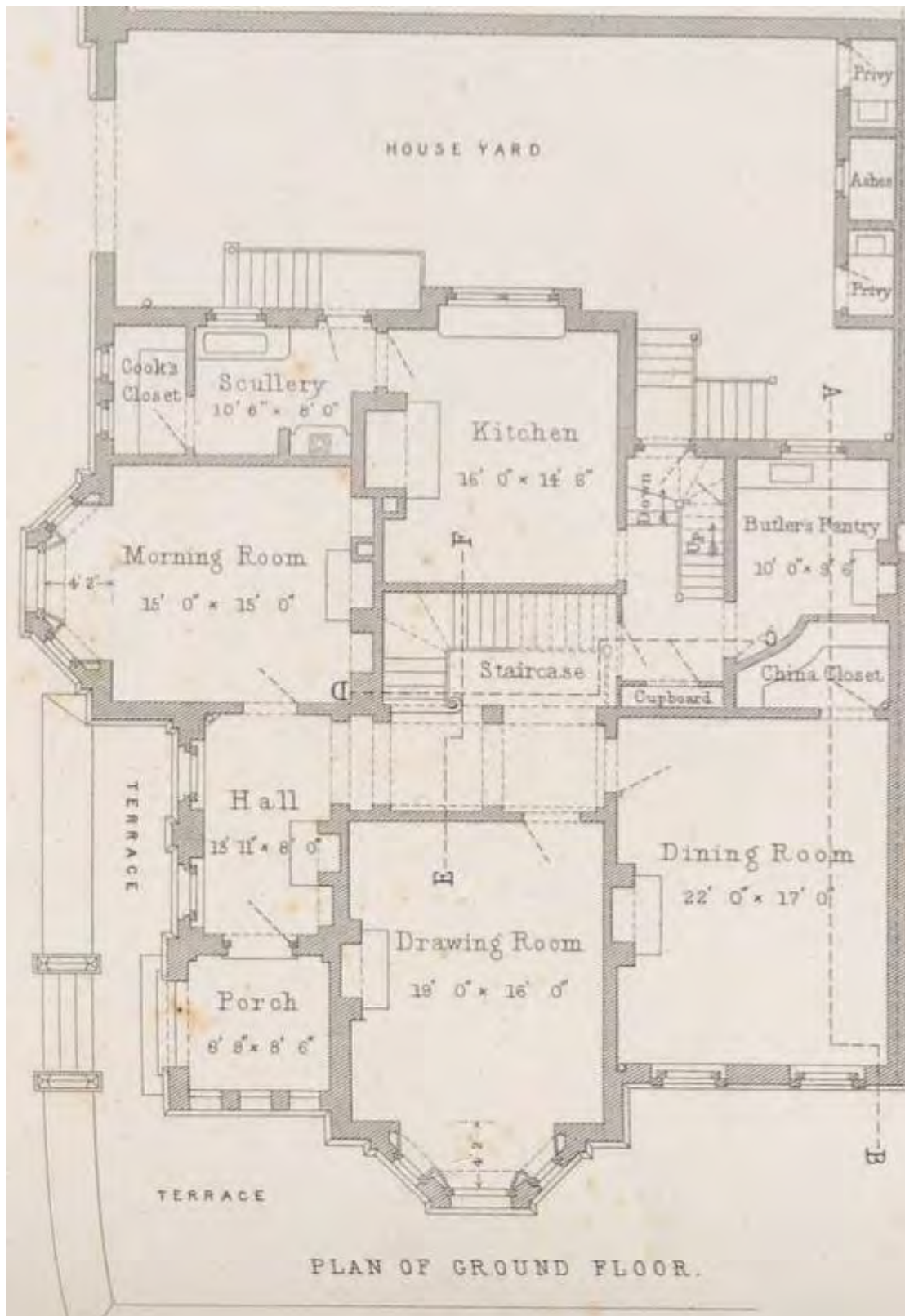


Figure 3.15: Plan of Theodore Merck's villa in Victoria Park (1868) (Unknown, *Villa and Cottage Architecture: Select Country and Suburban Residences Recently Erected*, (London: Blackie & Son, 1868)

All three properties had a separate staircase for servants, but these only extended as far as the first floor, thus meaning access to the attic level in each house would have been via a shared staircase.⁸⁰ However, the extent to which the attic was a family-used space was variable depending on the property and the family's requirements of such spaces. At Sewell Barker's house, The Sycamores, the attic level was devoted entirely to servants' bedrooms and it was labelled in the plans as a 'servant's attic', thus denoting it as a service space.⁸¹ The presence of a bedroom with an adjoining dressing room and its own loggia in the attic of Theodore Merck's villa clearly defined this as another floor which the family, or their guests, would use.⁸² At Rosebank, the attic space was a mixture of servant's bedroom and Silkenstadt's smoking room. This arrangement of space somewhat reduced privacy from the servants, as the floor was of mixed use.

The analysis of contemporary floor plans presents new innovative insights into the actual 'lived-in role' of elite housing in the mid-nineteenth century. These plans prove that clearly defined spaces, as outlined in architectural treatises such as Kerr's work, were not as pronounced nor as easy to enforce, and as such the two spheres continuously overlapped. Architectural treatises and idealised floor plans reflected the unrealistic structures of domesticity in an eighteenth and nineteenth century household. The emphasis of the spatial segregation between master and servant in middle and upper-class households can often be overplayed in these publications. Social relations between the master, mistress and servant could be cordial and close and in smaller households there could be significant physical overlap and more interactions between the family and servants. The kitchen was not solely out-of-bounds to the master or mistress of the household for general day-to-day activities. Rachel Leech (1799-1856), wife of cotton mill owner Thomas Leech (1790-1863), recorded in her diary the regular occasions she and her stepdaughter, Sarah Ann, cooked in the kitchen. This was also reflective of the family's lesser status, as other wives such as Deborah Lees, Hannah Greg and Anne Gladstone did not take part in general cooking. Rachel Leech also sought out solace in the kitchen during heated arguments with her ill-tempered husband and it is likely she found comfort in the presence of her maids and the busyness of the room. In January 1854 she wrote, 'Mr L was in a terrible temper and vowed vengeance against us all if

⁸⁰ Unknown, *Villa and Cottage Architecture*, pp.99-112

⁸¹ *Ibid.* p.99

⁸² *Ibid.* p.106

we did not obey him I lived in the Kitchen some Days was also the place of refuge.’⁸³ However, as Hamlett has demonstrated, the sharing of work and domestic space did not necessarily foster an intimate relationship between mistress and servants.⁸⁴ Regular use of the kitchen by the mistress and her daughters could have caused the infiltration of the two households which disrupted the servants’ privacy, though this would not have been thought of as inconvenient by the family. Recreational spaces for servants were often lacking in suburban villas and townhouses, so the kitchen was often used as a communal space for servants. Whilst these considerations were often only secondary, Theodore Merck’s villa was criticised in the mid-nineteenth century for its lack of servants’ amenities, ‘What the house most requires, in the opinion of its architect, is a servants’-hall’ and the architect noted that a hot plate should be added to the scullery for cooking during the summertime, thus allowing the servants more comfort in a slightly cooler kitchen.⁸⁵ This infers that architectural trends were changing and that the servants were slowly becoming recognised as their own community in the household and thus domestic space needed to be adapted to reflect this. Moreover, it would also be beneficial to the master or mistress to provide for their servants’ needs, to retain staff. These themes are discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

The intertwining of lives between the family and their servants was unavoidable regardless of the size and scale of the house. At Grove House in Wavertree, physical distance between the main house and the coachman’s cottage in the grounds did little to alleviate tensions between the servants of Andrew George Kurtz. Kurtz was a bachelor, who left the running of his house to his cousin, Julia Turner. Whilst he only occasionally physically involved himself in household matters, he frequently recorded domestic affairs in his diary, thus highlighting his knowledge and interest in the daily concerns of his household. In December 1863 he recorded; ‘Found Julia quite upset. Charles & Mary had been ‘at it’ again. Really, I’m quite at the mercy of my servants.’⁸⁶ Presumably Kurtz refers to an incident between the coachman Charles Yarwood and his wife, Mary who lived in the cottage with their two small children. However, both the cook and the housemaid at that time were also named Mary, so this could have been an internal dispute between the servants. Kurtz later recorded ‘Gave Charles notice to quit, as I

⁸³ Cheethams Library: [Brown/6/8], Diary of Rachel Leech, 12 January 1854

⁸⁴ Hamlett, *Material Relations*, p.57

⁸⁵ Unknown, *Villa and Cottage Architecture*, p.106

⁸⁶ Liverpool Record Office: 920 KUR/1/3: Diary of A. G. Kurtz, 9 December 1863

can't endure so much excitement on his account' and in January 1864, a new coachman and his wife arrived.⁸⁷ At the same time Kurtz was also involved in the domestic situation of his other servant William Lister, to whom he gave notice at the same time as Charles, for being 'incapacitated'.⁸⁸ Kurtz was eventually persuaded to give Lister another chance after a letter and visit from Mrs Lister 'in consideration of her trouble.'⁸⁹

The examples from Kurtz's household reflect the occurrences of everyday life. Significantly, they offer little evidence to support the notion in Kerr's *Gentleman's House*, that the master and servant occupied two distinct communities. There was inevitable overlap between the two spheres which occasionally led to physical relationships. Nonetheless, the decision to marry a servant was a distinctly taboo subject as it transcended the usual class boundaries and by the mid-nineteenth century it somewhat tarnished the romanticisation of the domestic ideal, as the home was not supposed to lead to corruption. Kurtz noted with disdain in October 1863: 'Rod tells me Tom Smith has married his servant! This has annoyed me very much, I thought he knew better! Possibly she may suit him better than one in a higher sphere, I suppose he knows best.'⁹⁰ Two days later the cross-class marriage was still a source of gossip among Kurtz and his friends. He noted, 'Susan in a terrible way at the account of Tom. I don't wonder at it!'⁹¹ In 1780 Titus Hibbert, a widower of ten years, remarried to Miss France, who had previously been his daughter's governess. The relationship appeared to have been met with the disapproval of his son, Samuel, particularly as the marriage came as somewhat of a surprise announcement.⁹² Perhaps more telling of the relationship is the absence of the second Mrs Hibbert within the records of the family in both the 1838 edition of John Burke's *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland* and the 1850 edition of Burke's *Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland*.⁹³ To an extent Mrs Hibbert, the former governess, had been written out

⁸⁷ LRO: 920 KUR/1/3: Kurtz, 10 December 1863; 920 KUR/1/4: 2 January 1864

⁸⁸ LRO: 920 KUR/1/3: Kurtz, 10 December 1863

⁸⁹ LRO: 920 KUR/1/3: Kurtz, 11 December 1863

⁹⁰ LRO: 920 KUR/1/3: Kurtz, 17 October 1863

⁹¹ LRO: 920 KUR/1/3: Kurtz, 19 October 1863

⁹² Mrs. Hibbert Ware, *The Life and Correspondence of the late Samuel Hibbert Ware*, (Manchester: J. E. Cornish, 1882), p.88

⁹³ John Burke's *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland: Enjoying Territorial Possessions or High Official Rank but Uninvested with Heritable Honours*, Volume IV, (London: Henry Colburn, Publisher, 1838) p.501; John B. Burke, *Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland for 1850*, Volume II, (London: Henry Colburn, Publisher, 1850), pp.1521-1522

of history. These examples serve to prove that the physical separation between the family and the household was impossible given the interdependent relationship of the two which necessitated frequent close proximity, despite physical separation of rooms and spaces within the house. The convivial relationship in some households appears to have been common, but the taboo nature of master-servant physical relationships acts as a reminder that there was a distinct class difference, even though all were living under one roof.

Section III: House and Garden: Land Use and Status

The land surrounding the domestic residences of the industrial elite such as a suburban wraparound garden, or a landed estate, was used to project their status. As discussed in the previous chapter, mercantile status was displayed in the eighteenth-century town through the erection of large warehouses and counting houses, but this was replaced as a marker of success in the nineteenth century by the carefully cultivated suburban garden. It further demonstrates that leisure was one of the most important markers of success and status in the nineteenth century elite house. For the majority of the industrial elites of Manchester and Liverpool the acquisition of land was used to promote a rise in status, and it was usually linked with the building or renting of a similarly status-building property. This following section will closely analyse how the use of exterior spaces was managed to reinforce or conversely to subvert notions of status.

In 1768, five years after the completion of Platt Hall, John Lees set about re-designing the parkland which surrounded the hall. Ever conscious of his new position among the local gentry, Lees appointed William Emes, the former head gardener at Kedleston Hall, to landscape his grounds.⁹⁴ The plans, which have been partially reproduced in Figure 3.16, reveal the extent of Lees' land which was subdivided by Wilmslow Road, running north to south through the estate, and by Platt Brook, running east to west. On an eleven-acre plot, at the centre of which sat Platt Hall, Emes planned gardens with trees and paths to the north and south, corresponding with both principal façades of the property. He also laid out an

⁹⁴ Manchester City Art Galleries, *Parks for the People: Manchester and its Parks 1846-1926*, (Manchester: Manchester City Art Galleries, 1987) pp.13-14

ornamental plot to the west of the house which was divided into four parts and though unnamed on his plan, it was likely a kitchen garden.⁹⁵



Figure 3.16: Part of William Emes plan for the formal gardens at Platt Hall (1768) (Manchester City Art Galleries: *A Plan of the Estate at Platt Hall, 1768*)

The juxtaposition of ornamental outdoor spaces alongside practical spaces was equally common in the eighteenth-century genteel house and in the nineteenth-century suburban residence. An analysis of the close proximity between decorative and utilitarian outdoor spaces by Stephen Hague has shown the extent to which this was a replicated layout among gentlemen's houses in the British-Atlantic world of the eighteenth century.⁹⁶ This arrangement was likely born out of convenience, but it also ties into the idealisation and romanticisation of rural life and farming communities by the aristocracy in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries.

The smaller plots of land that the suburban villa occupied, compared to John Lees' sprawling estate, necessitated the overlapping of spaces in the garden. In *The Villa Gardener* (1850) John Claudius and Jane Loudon estimated the average villa garden size to be between half an acre and two acres in scale and within this space they suggested laying out: a lawn, a

⁹⁵ MCAG: *A Plan of the Estate at Platt Hall, 1768*

⁹⁶ Hague, *Gentleman's House*, p.63

shrubbery, a flower garden and a kitchen garden.⁹⁷ The publication was one of a series by the Loudons which commenced in 1838 with John Loudon's first book, *The Suburban Gardener, and Villa Companion* and this was subsequently followed by Jane Loudon's *Instruction in Gardening for Ladies* (1840).⁹⁸ These advice books complemented the rise of suburbia in the early-to-mid-nineteenth century and the popularity of keeping a garden as a hobby, which fed into readers' interests whilst generating, promoting and universalising these ideals as acceptable norms. The subdivided suburban garden could clearly be separated into public spaces, which were used for entertaining, and private spaces which were for practical purposes. Elite residents seem to have enjoyed a freedom of use of the entire garden unlike their use of the interior of the house which, for the most part, had clear boundaries.

In contrast to urban topographies, outdoor spaces in the suburbs were clearly valued as an extension of the house rather than acting as part of the public streetscape. The front-facing ornamental gardens were particularly important as these acted as communicators of status, style and taste. The Loudons' had emphasised the importance of the front garden in urban and suburban locations which, like the front-facing room of earlier townhouses, was to be used for display; 'the garden, even in London, might be rendered ornamental, both from the street or road, and from the house of the occupant'.⁹⁹ However, the wraparound garden could also evoke a sense of privacy, something evident in Elizabeth Gaskell's letter concerning her new garden at her Plymouth Grove property. She wrote that her garden afforded her the privacy to relax outdoors without having to maintain strict societal etiquette; 'it is quite shut in, - and one may get out without a bonnet, which is a blessing, I always want my head cool and stray about in the odd five minutes.'¹⁰⁰ The Gaskells followed a typical layout of their garden to their Plymouth Grove neighbours, including flower gardens and lawns, a practical yard space, a kitchen garden, children's gardens and livestock pens. In the 1861 census, only three households on Plymouth Grove had live-in gardeners, although some other properties had purpose-built gardener's cottages for their servants, and this demonstrated their

⁹⁷ Loudon, *The Villa Gardener*, p.43

⁹⁸ *Gardening for Ladies* sold more than 200,000 copies. See: Jane C. Loudon, *Instructions in Gardening for Ladies: The Original 1840 Classic Gardening Book*, (London: Constable & Robinson Ltd., 2013), p.2

⁹⁹ Loudon, *The Villa Gardener*, p.45

¹⁰⁰ Letter from Elizabeth Gaskell to Eliza Fox, 26th April 1850 in J. A. V. Chapple and Arthur Pollard (eds.), *The Letters of Mrs. Gaskell*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1966), p.111

status.¹⁰¹ Not only did the household have the means to employ a servant whose work was dedicated to the maintenance of the garden, but they could also afford to house that worker in accommodation which was separate from the house.

The practicalities of dedicating part of the garden to kitchen gardens and livestock was both economic and educational. Loudon devoted a section of *The Villa Gardener* to enlighten their urbane, middle-class audience about the upkeep of livestock in a suburban setting. This included advice on rearing cows, poultry, rabbits, fish and guinea pigs.¹⁰² An advertisement for a property on Plymouth Grove in 1832 highlighted the extent to which outdoor space was actively used for these practical purposes. The house and its grounds contained 'piggeries, poultry-pens, a duck-house, also a large fish-pond'.¹⁰³ However, Gaskell did occasionally express concern about her wandering poultry which was clearly disturbing her neighbours and in 1852 she wrote 'Mr Coates is worrying us about our naughty poultry, which *will* go up & down where they have no business to.'¹⁰⁴

For the most part, the rearing of livestock and planting of flowers and vegetables was considered to be beneficial for the whole household and in particular for children. It was deemed 'both agreeable and useful' for children to spend time outdoors and garden pursuits evoked a sense of responsibility for caring for plants and animals, which ultimately would have a 'vast influence [...] on their future happiness'.¹⁰⁵ This was also an aspirational pursuit for the new-moneyed classes, especially the urban elites around Manchester and Liverpool and to an extent the pastime was popularised by the practices of the Royal children at Osborne House, where Prince Albert ensured they all had their own garden patches.¹⁰⁶ By the 1850s, small garden tools designed for children could be purchased on the high street emphasising the widespread acceptability of children's gardens as a non-gendered educational and recreational past time.¹⁰⁷ This was also indicative of emerging changing

¹⁰¹ NA: Census of England, Scotland and Wales, 1861: Plymouth Grove, Chorlton-Upon-Medlock, Reference: RG09; Piece number: 2880; Folio Number: 127; Pages: 3-24; *Manchester Courier*, 5 August 1843, p.1

¹⁰² Loudon, *Villa Gardener*, pp.700-717

¹⁰³ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 5 May 1832, p.2

¹⁰⁴ Letter from Elizabeth Gaskell to Marianne Gaskell, Late April 1852 in Chapple & Pollard, *The Letters of Mrs. Gaskell*, p.184

¹⁰⁵ Loudon, *Villa Gardener*, p.8

¹⁰⁶ Sarah (Duchess of York) and Benita Stoney, *Victoria and Albert: A Family Life at Osborne House*, (London: Weidenfield and Nicholson, 1991), pp.106-107

¹⁰⁷ *Liverpool Mail*, 11 September 1858, p.8

notions of childhood as a separate entity to adulthood. As early as 1829, Hugh Hornby, a merchant at Sandown Hall in Wavertree, had purchased inexpensive rakes and forks for his children reaffirming that this was not an entirely new mid-century phenomenon, and that gardening was an elite past time before it was somewhat democratised, and widely popularised by the Loudons and other contemporary writers.¹⁰⁸

In the early 1830s Absalom Watkin, a merchant, had co-designed the garden at his house, Rose Hill in Northenden, Manchester. He appears to have been more involved with this than in the details of the interior of the house. Watkin took great delight in personally tending to his land: 'employed all afternoon in the garden. When the twilight came on, I walked around the garden and orchard, which are now beautifully green and blooming, and thought how much I had to enjoy, and how little I deserved, and felt really but not sufficiently thankful.'¹⁰⁹ Yet he was also keenly aware that gardens acted as a social communicator and he enjoyed visiting gardens and passing comment on them in his diary, in toned down reviews compared to Kurtz's comments on his neighbours houses. In May 1832 Watkin visited Broughton, north of Manchester, to assess property for the poor law rate. His diary recorded his admiration for the gardens he saw in this elite neighbourhood: 'Mr Williams' garden at the Priory, the garden of Mr Bailey's new house, Mr Burgess', Mr White's, and finally at Mr Clowes' the Old and Mr Harter's the new Hall [...] the gardens of the Old Hall are delightful and much prettier than those of the New Hall.'¹¹⁰ He found the gardens and grounds around Quarry Bank and Styal 'beautiful', his neighbour's garden 'skilfully laid out, and all in high order' and at Broughton Old Hall he was taken on a tour of the garden and the greenhouse where he saw a geranium 'nine or ten feet high'.¹¹¹ His comments were not always positive and in 1845 he wrote 'I never saw a large and well-arranged garden in such a state of neglect. The whole is overrun with weeds, the growth of years' and Watkin's disdain clearly shows how the garden acted as a physical representation of the status of the owner.¹¹²

As Watkin's writings highlight, the cultivation of species of plants, flowers and shrubs also communicated status through a sense of enlightenment and travel. In 1849 plans for a new

¹⁰⁸ Liverpool Record Office: 920 MD/380: Account book of Hugh Hornby

¹⁰⁹ A. E. Watkin (ed.), *Absalom Watkin: Extracts from his journal, 1814-1856*, (London: T. Fisher Unwin LTD., 1920), 7 October 1833; 14 May 1838

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.* 21 May 1832

¹¹¹ Watkin, *Absalom Watkin*, 15 May 1836; 2 April 1835; 6 December 1823

¹¹² *Ibid.* 3 September 1845

flower garden at Platt Hall were laid out for Charles Carrill Worsley, the grandson of John Lees (Figure 3.17. The plans depicted the changes and advancements of garden design and practice and the fashion for bedding out plants grown in hothouses.¹¹³ At Platt Hall there were 12 new beds for flowers, shrubs and rhododendrons interspersed around several species of trees which had global connections: a weeping oak, a weeping cherry, an American weeping willow, a Chinese weeping ash, an oak tree, a weeping elm and a weeping beech.¹¹⁴ Like his grandfather decades earlier, Carrill Worsley was eager to project his own status, ambition and cultural knowledge in Platt Hall, especially as the family had only re-occupied the hall in 1841 after it had been leased to various tenants for four decades.

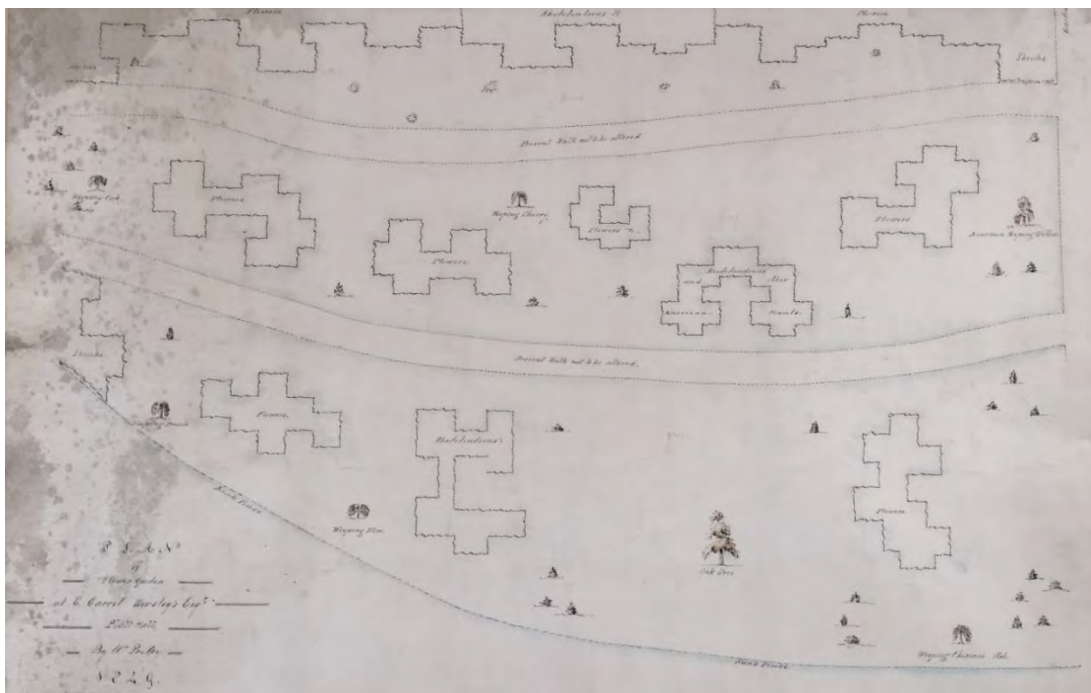


Figure 3.17: Plan for flower gardens and shrubs at Platt Hall (1849) (Manchester City Art Galleries: Plan of the Flower Garden at Charles Carrill Worsley's Platt Hall, W. Poulin, 1849)

Estate Development: Using Land as Social Tool

The industrial elite and their descendants attempted to exert status and power and re-affirm their hierarchical positions as landowners through building projects on their land and their estates. Not all merchants and manufacturers had access to the vast landed estates as John

¹¹³ See: Sarah Bilston, 'Queens of the Garden: Victorian Women Gardeners and the Rise of Gardening Advice Text', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (2008), pp.1-19

¹¹⁴ MCAG: *Plan of the Flower Garden at Charles Carrill Worsley's Platt Hall*, W. Poulin, 1849

Lees had at Platt Hall. Others such as John Gladstone purchased a few acres along with their country villas and subsequently purchases land in the years that followed. In more urban examples, these men purchased plots of land which where they were then able to develop or sell. Regardless of the extent of the land, the industrial elites development of it acted as clear social markers, especially from their peers, as this was a financial investment only available to those who owned land and not those who rented country houses and estates, as discussed in the previous chapter. In some instances, development projects were advantageous ways to make money, as land could be sold to speculative developers as suburbs grew around Manchester and Liverpool. However, moral authority could also be reinforced by the construction of philanthropic buildings and places of worship which were particularly prominent erections by the industrial elites in the North West during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

John Gladstone's ambitions were evident in his control over speculative property development on and around Rodney Street from the 1790s; he owned 10 houses on Rodney Street, four on Slater Street, three on Knight Street, two on Naylor Street, one on Roscoe Street and one on Duke Street.¹¹⁵ Gladstone also planned to develop his Seaforth Estate into a large, middle-to-upper class residential development. The Seaforth Estate was 105 statute acres in size and worth £28,000, and Gladstone first ensured that properties were available for close family members, such as his two sisters-in-law and his mother-in-law, but beyond this there were very few residents when the family moved there permanently in 1814.¹¹⁶ The purchase of landed estates allowed eighteenth-century and early-nineteenth century merchants such as Gladstone to meet the property requirements for parliamentary access.¹¹⁷ Gladstone decided to enter parliament in 1817, a decision which his vast wealth and general social standing permitted him to do. He was elected as a Member of Parliament for Lancaster in 1818, although he desired to hold the seat for Liverpool.¹¹⁸ His efforts to gain political

¹¹⁵ GL: GG/2427/6: List of rents due to John Gladstone, 30 June 1840

¹¹⁶ Checkland, *The Gladstones*, p.82

¹¹⁷ The Property Qualifications Act for England and Wales, enacted in 1710 and repealed in 1838 sought to control access to Parliament by introducing financial barriers, this should have made it the monopoly of landowning elite but there was limited success, as other wealthy men found ways around it. See: Penelope J. Corfield, 'The Rivals: Landed and Other Gentlemen' in Negley Harte and Roland Quinault (eds.), *Land and Society in Britain, 1700-1914: Essays in Honour of F. M. L. Thompson*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p.12

¹¹⁸ Checkland, *The Gladstones*, p.82

favour were in vain as, when Canning left his Liverpool seat in 1822, William Huskisson was elected over Gladstone.

In 1836 Gladstone had plans drawn up for the development of his Seaforth Estate. Seaforth House was shown at the centre of these plans, and it was still surrounded by large, formal gardens but it was bounded by a graceful crescent of villas on one side and a formal square on the other. At the time the map was drawn by the architectural firm Cunningham and Holme, 16 houses had already been built, including Seaforth House, and 18 new plots were depicted alongside potential plots available for 60 houses.¹¹⁹ Architectural plans dating between 1834-1843 show some of the houses which were built. They conformed to the popular villa-style architecture of the era, and they were sizeable yet modest properties.¹²⁰ These fashionable houses, some complete with modern conveniences such as a bathroom, were designed to appeal to the new generation of Liverpool's mercantile community, who, like Gladstone decades before, desired a respectable house in the countryside.¹²¹

It is telling that the plans to develop the estate only came to fruition in the mid-1830s, after the Gladstones had left Seaforth for their Scottish estate and also after he was awarded over £106,000 in compensation for his 2508 enslaved peoples across his nine plantations in the West Indies: the largest claim awarded by the government.¹²² As an absentee landlord, Gladstone tried, and was somewhat successful in his emulation of the residential developments occurring elsewhere in the country at the time and which had long-since been favoured by aristocratic families as a substitute form of income.¹²³ In Manchester, the Anson family had inherited the Birch estate in Rusholme which had been purchased by a mercantile ancestor, John Dickenson in 1745. In 1836 they began to sell their lands for residential development of which Victoria Park was the successful outcome. However, the planned estate at Seaforth never proceeded under the 1836 vision. John Cunningham's plan of Seaforth in 1852 shows that just 30 houses had been built and many of the proposed plots

¹¹⁹ GL: GG/2426/1: John Gladstone's Seaforth Estate Map, by Cunningham and Holme, Architects, Wood Street, Liverpool, 1836

¹²⁰ GL: GG/2425/1: Mrs Conway's House at Seaforth, 1834

¹²¹ GL: GG/2425/3: House at Seaforth, 6 October 1842

¹²² John Gladstone: Profile and Legacies Summaries, Legacies of British Slave- Ownership, University College London <<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/8961>> [Last Accessed 9 February 2020]

¹²³ Christie, *The British Country House*, p.16

were still vacant ground.¹²⁴ Despite this, the houses which were constructed were enough to turn Seaforth into a fashionable village, albeit not to the scale Gladstone had envisaged.

Beyond the construction of some properties, Gladstone affirmed his position in society as a wealthy philanthropist in other ways. In 1815 he paid £10,600 for the construction of St. Andrew's Church and School on Renshaw Street.¹²⁵ Gladstone replicated this image of a paternalistic landowner at Seaforth. He built St. Thomas's Church and Parsonage at Seaforth in 1815, despite protests from the rector of Litherland to the Bishop of Chester, that Gladstone could simply drive his carriage to near-by Crosby Church.¹²⁶ St. Thomas's Church, as Checkland noted, was Gladstone asserting his dominance in the area and over the existing clergy.¹²⁷ He was ensuring that his message and beliefs were preached to the community, in a way that clearly emulated the attitudes of local gentry in earlier centuries.

In 1845 the Anson family decided to erect a church dedicated to St. James on their estate in Rusholme, which was likely in response to the local increase in population in the township, partially due to the Victoria Park development.¹²⁸ Significantly, the church was to be the first Anglican church in the township and corresponded with the early-nineteenth century Anglican revival.¹²⁹ However, Thomas Carrill Worsley, who resided on the neighbouring estate at Platt Hall also decided to build an Anglican church, Holy Trinity, also in 1845. Carrill Worsley likely wanted to reinforce his family's presence in the area and as such, highlight that the Ansons were absentee landlords and their family seat, Birch Hall, was let to a tenant. The connection between Carrill Worsley and the church was emphasised by its proximity to Platt Hall, and it was built adjoining the flower gardens, just over 530 feet from the house. Ultimately Carrill Worsley had his church consecrated first, even though it was unfinished, to outshine St James's which was just half a mile away on the neighbouring estate.¹³⁰ The rivalry between the two families is telling of the role of the second and third generations of families

¹²⁴ GL: GG/2426: Seaforth Estate Plan, by John Cunningham of Liverpool, 1852

¹²⁵ J. A. Picton, *The Architectural History of Liverpool*, (Liverpool: Geo. Smith, Watts, & Co., 1858), p.64

¹²⁶ Checkland, *The Gladstones*, p.80

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* p.80

¹²⁸ The population of Rusholme had grown from 1,868 persons in 1841 to 3,679 in 1851. J. S. Buckley, *The History of Birch-in-Rusholme*, (London: Sharratt and Hughes, 1910), p.37

¹²⁹ See: Michael J. Crawford, 'Origins of the Eighteenth-Century Evangelical Revival: England and New England Compared', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 4, (October 1987), pp.361-397

¹³⁰ Clare Hartwell, Matthew Hyde and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, Lancashire: Manchester and the South-East*, (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), pp.466-467

which were descended from mercantile origins. Subsequent generations had not known the struggles or needed the ambitions exemplified by their predecessors. As such, business and the workplace for them was economically advantageous but had no emotional or sentimental value and as a result their values and outlook were more in-line with those of the landed elite by the mid-nineteenth century. The churches acted as their tangible legacy to the area and emphasised their status, both to the community and to each other. Although the carving up of estates for financial benefit had depleted their power in the area, their use of their land for church-building demonstrated they still held considerable influence at the very least.

Samuel Greg's development of Styal village on his Quarry Bank Estate served to reinforce his status in a slightly different context to Gladstone, Carill Worsley and Anson, as he held a direct and obvious paternalistic control over his mill workers. Greg had built an apprentice house for his workers in the 1790s, however as Mary B. Rose noted Greg did not start to build worker's cottages at Styal until the 1820s and this delay was likely a result of his focused attentions on constructing and amending Quarry Bank House.¹³¹ In 1823 Greg built a school for the children of his workers, a cooperative shop and a place of worship, Northcliffe Chapel, as well as establishing a debating society and a female society, although the latter is attributed to Hannah Greg.¹³² The building projects are reflective of the philanthropic nature of the Greg family. Northcliffe Chapel was built as a Baptist chapel as this was the dominant spiritual belief among the workforce, even though the Gregs were Unitarians themselves. In 1833 the chapel was converted into a Unitarian place of worship and Greg converted a barn in Styal for the use of a growing Methodist community.¹³³ Unlike the churches erected by Gladstone and Carill Worsley, Greg was not trying to directly influence the spiritual beliefs of the local community. The development of the estate at Styal was different to the private enterprise developments at Seaforth and Rusholme because Greg was in direct control, and every aspect of the lives of its inhabitants were involved and intertwined with Quarry Bank Mill. This was also reflective of his direct role in his business unlike the other families who had transcended their mercantile origins and were looking for alternative ways in drawing an income.

¹³¹ Mary B. Rose, *The Greg's of Quarry Bank: The Rise and Decline of a Family Firm 1750-1914*, (Cambridge: The Press Syndicate, 1986), p.112

¹³² Rose, *The Gregs*, pp. 113-114

¹³³ Styal, Cheshire: History, < <https://www.ukunitarians.org.uk/styal/history.htm> > [Last Accessed 19 March 2021]

Land, therefore, was a commodity which could be used to project status in a variety of ways, such as through the cultivation of a beautiful garden or through the erection of churches and chapels. The garden itself was both a recreational and practical space and there were few boundaries between these different sections, although certain locations still offered some privacy from the streetscape. The use of larger parcels of land was different and when a family no longer held specific ties to a property, they were often comfortable dividing and selling their land for economic gain, especially in the context of the rise of suburban districts in the early-nineteenth century. Status remained tied to land for successive generations of the mercantile elite who were no longer in trade, and this could result in expressions of dominance and positionality as they attempted to leave a philanthropic legacy in an area which was rapidly changing.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated the various ways in which the industrial elites of Manchester and Liverpool in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries used their houses, gardens, and land to build and maintain a sense of status, whilst also assessing their function for the practical daily routines of the household. The analysis of various architectural styles for domestic properties has highlighted elements of change and continuity within the arrangement and use of rooms in the house itself. As one century progressed into the other, and as the elite moved from spatially constrained townhouses to spacious suburban and rural properties, the functional hierarchy of rooms remained the same; but other divisions of family rooms and service spaces sought to change the household dynamic between the master, mistress and their servants.

The blurred boundaries between public and private spaces were evident in the relationship between the house and its outside spaces. Outside space became a much more valued commodity and a cultivated symbol of status among suburban and rural houses as it was tied to recreation and leisure. The addition of conservatories and glasshouses created seamless boundaries between inside and outside and they emphasised the importance of the garden as an extension of the house and as another formal entertaining space. However, as with the division of the interior spaces in the house, this chapter has shown the ways in which outdoor

space was also utilised for practicality and recreation. Moreover, this chapter has argued that land was also used by the industrial elites to reinforce their position in society. The use of land changed meaning among different generations of those who benefitted from mercantile wealth. In the eighteenth century, John Lees at Platt Hall hired renowned gardeners to cultivate his estate. Whereas Samuel Greg, created a large formal garden, he used the majority of his estate to create a workers' village. By the nineteenth century philanthropy, as an umbrella-term, was used as a means of creating a tangible legacy, such as church building. These were often designed to cater to the communities that had developed on the estates sold or leased by subsequent generations of mercantile families. The use of land was often linked with aspirations and self-importance, such as John Gladstone's desire to control the congregation at Seaforth or the rivalry between Carill Worsley and Anson over the construction of the first Anglican church in Rusholme.

This use of case studies in this chapter has highlighted the ways in which the interior of the home could communicate status and indeed the ways in which the arrangement of spaces was in imitation of those of a higher status. The fixed decorative schemes at Platt Hall served to reinforced John Lees' new position as a member of the landed elite and the presence of ornate plasterwork in private spaces, such as bedrooms, demonstrates that a sense of comfort could be drawn from individual displays of wealth and taste.

The arrangement of domestic spaces was variable and for the most part was dependent on available space. There were relatively few material differences between the townhouses of the industrial elite and the gentry in the eighteenth century, as both were constrained by urban topographies. A key difference between the internal arrangements of public rooms within the urban and suburban house is in the adaptation of space. The constraints of the urban environment enforced greater flexibility in where rooms were located in townhouse and how they were used, whereas rooms were more static and served distinct functions in the more spacious suburban house. The case studies analysed within this chapter have also demonstrated that the houses of the industrial elite could also subvert the domestic norm when too much emphasis was placed on making houses private or attempting to make them too public. In the case of Henry Anthony Bennett's house in Manchester, the importance on making the house convenient for his lifestyle and to his own tastes resulted in a property which was widely criticised and inconvenient for the general population, as reflected by its

conversion into a club. Likewise, John Gladstone and James Muspratt sought to convey their status through the internal and external features of their houses but with little consideration of the effects of alterations and amendments of the property on the practicalities of living in the house and the comfort of the household.

This chapter has also reassessed the separation of the family and their servants, living under one roof. Whilst architectural treatises from the seventeenth century onwards called for more physical separation between the two within the arrangement of rooms, examples given here of urban townhouses in the eighteenth century, such as that of Samuel and Hannah Greg demonstrate that such divisions were a luxury rather than a necessity. Several examples of houses of the industrial elite discussed here across both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have demonstrated that household practicalities and convenience often created an overlap between the two spheres. However, whilst some spaces may have been shared, servants were continually reminded of their place in the household hierarchy. Architectural treatises were very explicit in this message that shared public ancillary spaces such as corridors, passages and secondary staircases were still regarded as the private domain of the family. The desire for separation was strongest in the mid-nineteenth century house, to the extent that improvements to service spaces to make them more convenient were not for the benefit of the servants but for the comfort of the family.

A key finding of this chapter was documentary evidence of how these planned and designed spaces worked in reality. The continual overlap between the two spheres within the house had variable results on the relationships between the household. This chapter has shown that these could be cordial and paternalistic or maternalistic relationships. Likewise, this could also lead to physical intimacies created by the blurred boundaries within the house, though this remained a strict taboo when a servant was elevated in position through marriage to their master. The desire to separate spaces and members of the household from each other could foster these emotions. How the household chose to navigate these boundaries though was dependent on character, experience and domestic control and these themes are explored in more detail in the following chapter.

Chapter Four: Managing the House and Household

Introduction

The previous chapters of this thesis have analysed and discussed the houses of the industrial elites of Manchester and Liverpool with regards to their location and form, and the arrangement of internal spaces. This chapter will more closely examine the merchant's household and how the house was used within daily life. The house will be analysed through a gendered lens, looking at how control and management of the household was exerted by both the merchant or manufacturer and also by the women in the family. The role of men within the domestic sphere is assessed in this chapter through their financial control of the house, especially how this enabled them to be involved with domestic routines and with material culture used to express status. The role of women is analysed through their management of servants, and this highlights human interactions between space, place, possessions and people. In turn, this highlights new avenues of research into the domestic lives of merchants and manufacturers, and it shows how houses were used as lived in spaces.

This chapter will go some way to bridging the divide in the current historiography of masculinity and domesticity across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, identified by Karen Harvey and Alexandra Shepard as arising from a difference in methodologies.¹ However, the research within this chapter bridges the gap between the two periods and this chapter builds upon the research of key scholars of eighteenth-century masculinity such as Hannah Barker, Karen Harvey and Amanda Vickery along with John Tosh's seminal studies of nineteenth century middle-class masculinity. Despite the divide in the historiography, similar discourse in themes relating to socio-economic status and masculinity links both the works of Shepard and Tosh and suggests there is a continuation of themes in the historiography, which this chapter will further verify.²

¹ Karen Harvey and Alexandra Shepard, 'What Have Historians Done with Masculinity? Reflections on Five Centuries of British History, circa 1500-1950', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 2, (April 2005), pp.276-279

² *Ibid.* p.279

The patriarchal role of the merchant and manufacturer and his involvement in domestic life is therefore both an important theme of this chapter and to the historiography. There has been limited attention paid to the domestic lives of merchants and manufacturers and family relationships have often analysed through a patriarchal lens, most notably by charting the inter-marriages of the community's wealthy elites and also with the local gentry.³ The private lives of these men are often overshadowed by their public accomplishments, including their entrepreneurial successes or their civic and philanthropic legacies. However, underpinning the lives of all these men was their personal domestic space; as noted by Hannah Barker, eighteenth-century masculinity was 'rooted firmly in the home' and studying the relationship between men and their households offers new insights into social status, material and emotional comfort and domestic control and independence.⁴ This chapter emphasises the homosocial relationships of merchants and manufacturers within the context of the home, and in particular his impact of this upon other the domestic sphere.

One such way this chapter will demonstrate this is through the personal socio-economic records of men in this period. These can be seen within their account books, bills, receipts and letters, and an analysis of these documents belonging to the industrial elites of Manchester and Liverpool will be used to provide insights into the relationship between men, their domestic spaces, and their possessions as evidence of household control and status building. As Karen Harvey's assessment of account books and commonplace books of eighteenth-century men has shown, men across a wide spectrum of society engaged with household consumption at mundane levels, even if they did not necessarily make the purchases themselves.⁵ The works of Margot Finn and Margaret Ponsonby support Harvey's findings and they have emphasised the importance of men's financial records as evidence of their involvement within the domestic sphere.⁶ However, there has been a lack of academic focus on the industrial elites as a socio-economic group, with the historiography focusing

³ Richard G. Wilson, *Gentlemen Merchants: The Merchant Community in Leeds 1700-1830*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971); David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London merchants and the integration of the British Atlantic community, 1735-1785*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

⁴ Hannah Barker, 'Soul, purse and family: Middling and lower-class masculinity in eighteenth-century Manchester', *Social History*, Vol. 33, No. 1, (Feb. 2008), pp.12-35

⁵ Karen Harvey, *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p.133

⁶ Margot Finn, 'Men's Things: Masculine Possessions in the Consumer Revolution' *social history*, vol. 25, no.2 2000, pp.133-155; Margaret Ponsonby, *Stories from Home: English Domestic Interiors, 1750-1850*, (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007), pp.135-137

largely on aristocratic households, or the households of the middling sorts and this chapter will plug this gap to emphasise the importance of this group and their contribution to our understanding.

The examination of merchant's and manufacturer's accounts within this chapter will also link the studies of masculinity and domesticity across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. John Tosh suggested there was a shift in the definitions of domesticity for nineteenth-century middle-class men. He acknowledged that domesticity was a 'state of mind' as it represented something 'he must protect, provide and control' and Tosh's overall conclusion was that men were increasingly removed-from and distanced themselves from the domestic sphere across the mid-to-late nineteenth century.⁷ The financial records of bachelors and widowers used in this chapter highlight the ways in which some men had more invested roles within the management of the household and one which continued across the centuries; as Harvey suggested oeconomic practices for the ordering of the household could transcend marriage and parenthood.⁸

The experiences of aristocratic women and their homes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have been extensively analysed in recent historiography. This was in response to the obvious omission of women's lives, roles and input within country houses in existing literature, such as Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley's *Creating Paradise*.⁹ Judith S. Lewis's research has explored the extent to which aristocratic women in the eighteenth century played an active part in domesticating a property which was built to reflect status rather than comfort, or domestic family life.¹⁰ The works of Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths, and Amanda Vickery have also readdressed the imbalance the roles of women within the household, in particular household management, with the emphasis on the middle and upper classes.¹¹ This chapter draws upon this rich historiography

⁷ John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class in Victorian England*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), p.4; pp.170-194

⁸ Harvey, *The Little Republic*, p.23

⁹ Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley, *Creating Paradise: The Building of the English Country House, 1660-1880*, (London: Continuum International, 2000), p.271

¹⁰ Judith S. Lewis, 'When a House Is Not a Home: Elite English Women and the Eighteenth-Century Country House', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 2, Special Issue on Material Culture (Apr., 2009), pp.336-363

¹¹ Leonore Davidoff & Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850*, Revised Edition, (Oxon: Routledge, 2007); Jane Whittle & Elizabeth Griffiths, *Consumption & Gender in the Early Seventeenth-Century Household: The World of Alice Le Strange*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press,

but focuses the lens on the experiences of women who occupied a slightly lower social position than those written about by Lewis but higher than those written about by Davidoff and Hall. It expands upon Vickery's excellent analysis of genteel women in the eighteenth century to show the roles the wives and women connected to the industrial elite played within the domestic sphere and the lives of their households.

The extent to which the wife of a merchant and manufacturer was able to domesticate her home has been underexplored and the role of female family members in mercantile and manufacturing families of the eighteenth and nineteenth century is somewhat complex. Some wives were written about solely in the context of the domestic sphere, though there has been little analysis of their daily experiences and livelihoods.¹² Other literature, mainly biographies of individual families, such as David Sekers's biography of Hannah Greg, undomesticate these women and emphasise their roles within or associated with, the family business and the roles of elite women in the eighteenth century as submissive or ornamental accessories of their more powerful husbands has been reassessed.¹³ As the premise of this thesis concerns the domestic home, this chapter will explore the experiences of women in relation to their houses and household. This is not to discredit the duality of their positions, but the emphasis of this chapter focuses on the balance of cultivating a domestic and familial environment and ordering a household, as well as her ability to communicate status through her position within her home to the outside world, for example her skills as a hostess, which was crucial to the successes of her husband.

Ultimately this chapter will demonstrate the importance of the mercantile domestic sphere to our understanding of the relationship between the house and household and also the interwoven relationships between the householders themselves. The first section of this chapter will use account books and pocketbooks to forge the connections between space, possessions and identity. It will examine how men interacted with their household through

2012); Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1998)

¹² See: S. G. Checkland, *The Gladstones: A Family Biography, 1764-1851*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971); Bernard L. Herman, *Town House: Architecture and Material Life in the Early American City, 1780-1834*, (North Carolina: North Carolina Press, 2005); Stephen Hague, *The Gentleman's House in the British-Atlantic World 1680-1780*, (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Wilson, *Gentlemen Merchants*

¹³ David Sekers, *A Lady of Cotton: Hannah Greg, Mistress of Quarry Bank*, (Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2015); Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus, *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England: Roles, Representations and Responsibilities*, (London: Routledge, 1997), pp.1-28

the management of expenses. It will also look more closely at their consumption patterns and how these were linked to status, comfort and convenience. The second section will draw upon the rich material contained within the letters and diaries of the wives of merchants and manufacturers. It will assess their role in the management of the household and what was expected of their positions within the industrial elite. Ultimately, the chapter will give a fuller illustration of domesticity in northern industrial and commercial towns and reveal the merchant at home in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Section I: Men and The Management of Domestic Consumption

As demonstrated in previous chapters, the industrial elite of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were concerned by the dual anxieties of building status and preserving financial control with their houses. The process of keeping detailed account books and financial records relating to domestic consumption was not an uncommon practice and among the mercantile community it was often born from long-practiced routines and methods of controlling and accounting for businesses and associated expenses, or thrust upon the merchant by external circumstances, more likely due to the absence of a wife or close female family member to undertake such tasks.

Likewise, Thomas Travers Hayes (1824-1883) commenced the recording of his daily expenditure in his diaries and pocketbooks in 1839, at the age of 15 and kept these accounts until his death. By 1875, he had inherited his father's mill and his house, Fairfield, in which Hayes lived with his second-wife, Elizabeth, and his two children. In that year he also exhaustively recorded his financial income and expenditures, splitting his outgoings into various categories, which detail the daily lives and routines of his household and encompass categories that show he was actively aware of his expenditure both inside and outside the home. Hayes then cross-compared the total figures across three consecutive years to gain a more accurate representation of his spending and therefore, manage his expenses. (See Table 4.1)

In December 1873 he estimated that his property, excluding his mill and associated property, was worth £13,107/12s./5d.; the following year it had risen to £15,180/6s./7d. including: Fairfield which was worth £550; all furniture, his horse and carriage, plate, books etc. was

valued at £900, and he also owned land in Leigh and Blackpool and multiple shares in the Runcorn Alkali Company, the London and North Western, London and York, and Midland Railway companies, plus shares in banks, and other stocks and loans, the rising value of these which likely accounted for the increase in the value of his property between 1873-74.¹⁴ Hayes was by no means short of capital but his account books highlight periods where his spending fluctuated across the years, namely across several categories; amusements, books and newspapers, clothes, excursions, furniture, carpets and linen, garden and gardener, horse and coach and sundries. Expenditure on his house was a fairly even expenditure each year and he was consistent in the maintenance of the house and garden, as well as household furnishings, though considerable savings were made in these categories in 1875.

¹⁴ Private Collection: Account Book of Thomas Travers Hayes, 1875

Table 4.1: Expenditure of Thomas Travers Hayes, 1873-1875

Categories (titled by Hayes)	1873	1874	1875
Amusements, concerts &c.	£23/2s./6d.	£18/17s./3d.	£1/10s./6d.
Beer, wine, spirits	£68/15s./11d.	£41/18s./4d.	£41/12s./2d.
Books & newspapers	£25/2s./1.5d.	£28/1s./8.5d.	£20/6s./9d.
Clothes	£22/1s./9d.	£28/16s./7d.	£20/15s./7d.
C & C	£96/0s./0d.	£106/3s./10d.	£104/0s./0d.
Coal & gas	£36/18s./2d.	£38/4s./9d.	£41/1s./11d.
Excursions	£61/3s./6d.	£86/3s./9d.	£51/2s./3d.
Furniture, carpets, linen	£55/18s./8d.	£58/5s./9d.	£24/9s./7d.
Garden and gardener	£60/5s./8½d.	£49/3s./0d.	£48/10s./7d.
Ground rent, insurance	£40/14s./6d.	£38/14s./9d.	£39/4s./9d.
Horse and coachman	£97/8s./10½d.	£120/5s./5d.	£109/6s./2d.
Housekeeping	£215/6s./9½d.	£214/17s./1d.	£213/0s./9d.
House repairs	£43/18s./11d.	£36/16s./10d.	£29/10s./7d.
M. (Marion)	£78/12s./7d.	£88/14s./7d.	£394/11s./11d.
Presents	£72/12s./3.5d	£100/0s./4d.	£9/16s./1d.
Rates & taxes	£19/10s./9½d.	£19/3s./1d.	£19/1s./2d.
Servants' wages	£36/5s./6d.	£34/19s./6d.	£38/9s./10d.
Surgeons' bills and medicines	£12/7s./8d.	£36/62s./0d.	£18/10s./6d.
Special	£94/9s./0d.	£76/10s./6d	£38/15s/0d. wedding breakfast (May)
Sundries	£36/17s./4d.	£43/12s./8.5d.	£29/13s./3d.
Total receipts	£1197/12s./1d.	£1265/17s./4d.	£1510/14s./6d.
Total expenditure	£1282/2s./10d.	£1452/18s./2d.	£1293/9s./4d.

Source: Private Collection: Account Book 1875

The account book of Hayes, and those of several other merchants and manufacturers discussed in this chapter not only communicate the male presence in the domestic sphere but they also serve to reinstate the presence of women too. In May 1875 Hayes's only daughter, Marion Elizabeth Hayes married Jonathan Cordukes McKibbin. Hayes's account books record that he had given his daughter a monthly allowance of £5 for her personal use, but the devotion of one category solely to her expenditure shows that he paid for her other expenses too. The amount spent on Marion rose suddenly between 1873-75 from £78/12s./7d. in 1873 to £88/14s./7d. in 1874 and then a substantial increase to £394/11s./11d. in 1875, which most likely reflected preparations for her wedding, including her trousseau. The details recorded in other categories of Table 4.1 infer that Hayes was willing to make cutbacks and sacrifices on his personal expenditure and that of the wider household to mitigate the cost of the wedding.

Hayes's use of umbrella categories suggests there was double- account book-keeping taking place in his household, which Vickery noted was an entirely common practice, and it would suggest that Marion submitted her receipts to her father, or he was named on her bills directly.¹⁵ Whilst these accounts do not reveal what Marion was purchasing, other men of the industrial elite recorded female expenditure in more detail. Titus Hibbert's account book for the 1780s revealed the expenses of his only daughter, Hannah. Hibbert's habit of recording his household accounts started after the death of his first wife in February 1770 and he found himself acting as his own housekeeper. His account book over the following 25 years records in minute detail his daily consumption for himself and the household, a practice he continued even after his second marriage in 1780 until ten days before his death. Hibbert's expenditure on Hannah was minimal in accordance with her position as a single woman in her father's household, and the records generally accounted for material for clothing and accessories. In the period between June to October 1781, for example, he spent £4/2s/½d. on hats, shoes, gloves, silks, gauze, muslins, ribbons and fringe, which were all clearly labelled 'for dau.'¹⁶ Like Marion Hayes, Hannah was given 'pin money' or 'pocket money' but on a more sporadic basis

¹⁵ Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, pp.109-112

¹⁶ University of Manchester:GB133 Eng MS 989: Hibbert-Ware papers: Household Expenses Account Book, 1770-1795: 2 June 1781, 31 June 1781, 4 August 1781, 6 August 1781, 3 September 1781, 7 September 1781, 3 October 1781, 17 October 1781

and the amount she was given fluctuated too; five shillings in October 1781, £1/1s. in May 1782, 2s./6d. in November 1782.¹⁷

Hugh Hornby, a merchant and mayor of Liverpool in 1838, lived at Sandown Hall in Wavertree, Liverpool. He also kept detailed records of all his expenses and those of the household between 1829-1844. Hornby's wife, Louise seems to have been the key decision-maker and purchaser for their children's items, as the pages dedicated to the children's expenses mostly state 'paid Louise' and when cross compared with other sections of this account book, such as the furnishing accounts, it is possible to see that Louise was making purchases for the nursery.¹⁸ This was reflective of her domain in the household, which was exactly the same situation Vickery identified in the households of the landed elite.¹⁹ However, as their three children Frederick, Louisa and Edward got older, Hornby seems to have made additional purchases for them beyond the money he was still giving to his wife. These items, which appear to be small gifts, are recorded in more detail than the other entries, such as a 'Hartley hat for Edw.' in November 1833, a 'paint box and paper' for Frederick in June 1836 alongside occasional pocket money for Frederick and Louisa, where Louisa received 10 shillings compared to her brother's payment of £1/10s.²⁰ Moreover, the little gifts to his children and the care taken to record the details, as with Hibbert's recording of purchases for his daughter, go beyond the description of financial record keeping and they actively demonstrate the role of men within the lives of their children in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries.

The accounts are also testament to the gendered divisions of the household and the interdependence of men and women in the running of a house in this period. One of Hibbert's consistent expenditures was the £1/1s. he paid to his wife twice a month, which he recorded in a variety of ways, 'pd. Wife for necessary uses', 'pd. Wife for laying out for family' before he eventually settled on the phrase 'pd. Mrs Hibbert'.²¹ This was a regular monthly outgoing and it demonstrates the financial control Mrs Hibbert had over the housekeeping money and thus suggests household management was her domain but her husband was still in ultimate control of the budget. Her bills likely account for food and other items but Hibbert's noting of

¹⁷ JRL, UOM: GB 133 Eng. MS 989: Hibbert-Ware Papers: Account book of Titus Hibbert, 23 October 1781, 15 May 1782, 13 November 1782

¹⁸ Liverpool Record Office: 920 MD/380: Account book of Hugh Hornby, pp.63-64

¹⁹ Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, pp.113-116

²⁰ LRO: 920 MD/380: Account book of Hugh Hornby, pp.63-64

²¹ JRL, UOM: GB 133 Eng. MS 989: Hibbert-Ware Papers: Account book of Titus Hibbert, 1780-1795

certain household commodities such as 80lbs of soap in July 1783, a lemon squeezer in December 1785, and two yards of oil cloth and two yards of flowered oil cloth in September 1785 suggest he was keenly aware of household needs even if he did not necessarily choose the items himself.²²

The process of allotting a wife, or female family member a set sum for housekeeping was a standardised practice and Hugh Hornby also paid his wife, Louise for the housekeeping.²³ The amount of money fluctuated each month, as did the regularity; sometimes Louise was paid once a month, sometimes three times a month which again infers that she made the purchases and submitted the receipts and bills to her husband.²⁴ The joint role of husband and wife in household purchases was evident in the Hornby's record of furnishings. He took the time to record little details about the materiality of his furnishings and their intended location in the home, as far as space would allow on the page, which demonstrated his interest in the house. Likewise, these details would have proved useful for future cross-referencing of records. The accounts are also testament of Louise's agency as the purchaser of furniture and furnishings. Hornby noted her name next to these items which could appear in various formats such as, 30th January 1833 'paid Louise for blankets' or 13th February 1837 'Louise furn. [sic furniture] for yellow room' and 11th August 1838 'Louise: Woolwright's bill (drugget)'.²⁵ Louise's purchases for the home were often low-value, practical and decorative items such as blankets, window blinds, table cloths, sofa covers and lampshades. Although some records indicate she purchased furniture, such as furniture for the yellow room in 1837 and furniture for the green room in 1835, there are no itemised lists of what these pieces were.²⁶ Hornby's account book demonstrates the coordinated relationship between the merchant and his wife with regards to household purchases, including autonomous decisions regarding high-value purchases as well as everyday housekeeping.

Louise Hornby also had her own personal allowance, beyond the housekeeping money, which was given in cash by her husband. Between 1829-1839 she received a fixed sum of £72 per year from her husband, which rose to £100 per year from 1840.²⁷ Whilst this only represented

²² JRL UOM:GB133 Eng MS 989: Household Expenses: 20 July 1783, 31 December 1785, September 1785

²³ Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, pp.109-112; Harvey, *The Little Republic*, pp.81-85

²⁴ LRO: 920 MD/380: Account book of Hugh Hornby, p.49

²⁵ LRO: 920 MD/380: Account book of Hugh Hornby, pp.28-29

²⁶ LRO: 920 MD/380: Account book of Hugh Hornby, pp.28-29

²⁷ LRO: 920 MD/380: Account book of Hugh Hornby, pp.73-74

an average of 3.5% of total yearly expenditure for the family across the decade of the 1830s, it was not a nominal amount and on average Louise's expenditure was higher than the amount spent on the children which accounted for 3.1% of expenditure, not including their education costs, and Hugh Hornby's personal expenditure on himself which was on average 2.1% of the annual total. Table 4.2 reveals the details of the family's personal expenses and the fluctuations year on year which was to be expected with a growing family. Louise's static income for the decade reinforces the notion that her husband was ultimately in control of the family's finances and though she had freedom to make purchases, she had to work within her budget.

Table 4.2: Annual Personal Expenditure of the Hornby Family, 1830-9

	Hugh Hornby	Louise Hornby	Hornby Children	Total Annual Expenditure
1830	£50/8s./3d.	£72/0s./0d	£33/2s./ 2½d.	£1566/18s./ 2½d.
1831	£28/5s./2d.	£72/0s./0d	£34/8s./2d.	£1638/15s./11d.
1832	£22/13s./1d.	£72/0s./0d.	£40/5s./3d.	£1895/18s./7d.
1833	£23/8s./8d.	£72/0s./0d	£33/16s./ 11½d..	£1695/7s./4d.
1834	£50/5s./1d.	£72/0s./0d	£42/19s./ 3½d.	£1965/1s./2d.
1835	£24/4s./1d.	£72/0s./0d	£33/16s./10d.	£1648/4s./10d.
1836	£38/2s./ ½d.	£72/0s./0d	£59/8s./1d.	£1783/15s./5d.
1837	£58/8s./7½d.	£72/0s./0d	£71/8s./4d.	£1940/1s./2d.
1838	£57/13s./6½d.	£72/0s./0d	£78/18s./5d.	£2252/18s./11d.
1839	£79/13s./1d.	£72/0s./0d	£166/14s./8d.	£2669/5s./7d.

Source: Liverpool Record Office: 920 MD/380: Account book of Hugh Hornby

The mid-nineteenth century diaries of Rachel Leech, a cotton manufacturer's wife, also highlight the mutually dependent ways in which the household operated, and she recorded that the whole family took part in the process of domestic consumption. This was an arrangement born out of necessity and convenience as the family lived several miles outside of Manchester, so items from the town were purchased as and when family members made trips. Rachel suffered from ill health which often prevented her from making personal trips

and it is likely she directed family members about what purchases to make. For example, a week after she visited Rose's Fancy Bazaar in December 1853, she sent her son Daniel and daughter Eliza, to return the hamper used to transport their goods and she noted that her children 'brought back a bedroom service with two other pieces of chamber ware' which had likely been seen on the previous visit.²⁸ Rachel's husband, Thomas Leech often made general purchases for the household as he was the only family member to frequently travel to and from the centre of Manchester from their home in Urmston. In February 1847, Rachel recorded in her diary that her husband returned from a meeting at the Portico Library with groceries; including 28lbs of soap, 28lbs of sugar, 6lbs of currants, 6lbs of raisins, 4lbs of rice, 6lbs of coffee, 2lbs of tea, 12 sip candles and allspice.²⁹

The account books of Hornby and Hibbert, and Leech's diary show that women were responsible for typically 'feminine' activities such as housekeeping and the rearing of the children. These examples shed more light on the agency of women in the domestic sphere. Although this took place largely behind the scenes and it is only evident in their husband's account books, it does highlight their presence and the variation of the source material demonstrates these elite women fulfilled largely similar roles across different generations of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The accounts of Hornby and Leech are evidence of women's agency over the furnishing of the home in the early and mid-nineteenth century. Deborah Cohen acknowledges this, but despite the collaboration between married couples, she asserts that the process was 'almost entirely a man's world' until the 1880s.³⁰ The examples given here, as with those from other gentlewoman in Vickery's work, such as Elizabeth Shackleton of Alkincoats Hall, prove women's agency was certainly evident in elite households from the eighteenth century onwards and that women made independent decisions regarding the household, as well as collaborative ones, and these can often be missed as it was just their husband's names which appeared on bills.³¹ The very nature of these women's roles as mistress of the household, as Vickery argues, means that they had a clear idea about what items in their homes needed updating and replacing, even if they did

²⁸ Chetham's Library: [Brown/6/8], Diary of Rachel Leech, 19 December 1853

²⁹ CL: [Brown/6/8], Diary of Rachel Leech, 15 February 1847

³⁰ Deborah Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), p.90

³¹ Cohen, *Household Gods*, p.90; see: Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, pp.106-128

not necessarily purchase items themselves.³² These are important findings. Although most entries in the account books of Hornby lack description, they do highlight the agency of the merchant's wife and family in household purchases, and they also reflect the cooperative relationship of the married couple in the running of the household. The recording of certain purchases, particularly the slightly more detailed recording of expenses on children demonstrates the paternal affection within the mercantile home and it also reinforces the presences of the patriarch in his household and his family's lives across the period of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Furnishing Status: Making Purchases for the Home

The patterns of consumption regarding the interior of the home across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries allows for the reconstruction of the monetary and coded cultural values of different generations of the industrial elite. In particular the possessions the merchants and their families chose to surround themselves with, especially in the aforementioned public spaces of their home, demonstrated their status, routines and aspects of their identities to the wider community.

The home had always been 'a sensitive barometer of status' and the eighteenth and nineteenth century household, according to Clive Edwards, had to uphold a balance of difference statuses, such as the status of morality as shown through the rejection of the vice of luxury, whilst also maintaining their cultural status as shown through taste and refinement.³³ Both Dror Wahrman and Deborah Cohen in their respective works have argued that Evangelicalism of the early-nineteenth century was evident in the domestic sphere and Cohen argued it progressed into the formation of a connection between materiality and morality from the 1840s onwards.³⁴ She links the moral value of possessions with changing consumer habits of the nineteenth century and with changing designs such as the neo-gothic revival of A. W. Pugin and John Ruskin along with the natural and simplified beauty of William

³² Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, p.146

³³ Cohen, *Household Gods*, p.116; Clive Edwards, *Turning Houses into Homes: A History of the Retailing and Consumption of Domestic Furnishings*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2016), pp.92-93

³⁴ Dror Wahrman, *Imagining the Middle Class: The Political Representations of Class in Britain, c.1780-1840*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p.378; Cohen, *Household Gods*, p.28

Morris.³⁵ This resulted in what Bernard L. Herman referred to as ‘status anxieties’ which were manifested through possessions in the homes of the middle and upper classes.³⁶ Herman believed the mercantile class ‘depended on their material world for its expression’ as they used their socio-economic agency to create distinctive divisions, both in terms of wealth and moral precedence, from those beneath them.³⁷

However, the historiography has also shown that material culture alone did not necessarily communicate wider notions of character and respectability. In their studies of global mercantile communities in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Herman, Ulla Ijas and Marie Steinrud have demonstrated that the cultural and social importance of possessions and property as communicators were akin to the skillsets and social interactions needed to use, understand and appreciate these items and domestic spaces, rather than ownership alone.³⁸ This confirms the conclusion of Stephen Hague who stated that gentlemen in the eighteenth-century Anglo-American world made measured and economical decisions regarding the furnishings of their domestic spaces and that they made ‘little effort to replicate aristocratic consumption practices.’³⁹ These findings were echoed among the industrial elites of Manchester and Liverpool. The accounts used in the following section demonstrate that status was considered but alongside comfort and cost. Expressions of individuality and taste were also important factors when making purchases for the home, as much as any other factor.

The relocation of the Gladstone family to Seaforth in 1814 was a calculated decision by John Gladstone to not only escape the inconvenience of the town but also to act as an investment in the status of the family. The contents of their Rodney Street townhouse already reflected the successes of John Gladstone’s financial ventures. The household contents were valued at £8000, including pictures, drawings, prints worth £2000; plate and china: worth £1000; horses and carriages: £700; bed and table linen: £500; wines etc: £1200; books: £400, and furniture,

³⁵ *Ibid.* pp.28-30

³⁶ Tosh, *A Man’s Place*, p.23

³⁷ Herman, *Town House*; pp.37-38

³⁸ Herman, *Town House*, p.56; Ulla Ijas, English Luxuries in Nineteenth-Century Vyborg, in Johanna Ilmakunnas & Jon Stobart (eds.), *A Taste for Luxury in Early Modern Europe: Display, Acquisition and Boundaries*, (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017), Chapter 13, pp.276-277; Marie Steinrud, Books, Wine and Fine China: Consumption Patterns of a Brukspatron in Early Nineteenth-Century Sweden, in *Ibid.*, Chapter 9, p.188

³⁹ Stephen Hague, *The Gentleman’s House in the British-Atlantic World 1680-1780*, (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p.114

looking-glasses etc: £2200.⁴⁰ The pianoforte alone was worth £100.⁴¹ Nonetheless, the residential move prompted the need for new furniture and this had been planned by Gladstone around two years before the relocation. Between November 1812 and October 1813, he made a number of purchases of furniture and soft furnishings for Seaforth House from the firm Gillows of Lancaster and London. The majority of the purchases made during this period related to the drawing room at Seaforth, a room which was frequently used by the Gladstones for both formal entertaining and daily family use. Therefore, the furnishings of the room had to convey a mixture of status, comfort and practicality. The financial cost certainly reflected the luxury but also the necessity of buying a new suite of furniture for a new house. The first bill in October 1812 totalled £482/10s./5d., the second bill in December 1812 came to £330/7s./11½ d. and the final bill in October 1813 was £164/10s./0d.⁴² Gladstone's choice of Gillows reflected his aim of creating a fashionable home. Susan E. Stuart noted that in the early-nineteenth century Gillows were producing goods which were 'undoubtedly the most innovative in furniture history'.⁴³ Gladstone's invoices are recorded as being sent from London, so it is possible he visited the showrooms located there, or he visited the manufactory works at Lancaster.

The Gladstones' tastes were reflected in the corresponding use of material and colours. Rosewood was their favoured choice of wood, although some items were 'Japanned' and gilded. The various tables and items of furniture which had a base all stood on brass feet in the shape of paws. The curtains, sofas and chair coverings were all dressed in crimson silk and velvet, and finished with gold-coloured silk fringe and tassels.⁴⁴ The presence of certain items of furniture highlight how this was a multifunctional space and they are described in the bills as the 'Elegant rosewood work and craft table richly inlaid with metal and crimson silk work bag to ditto with rich gold coloured fringe' and a 'handsome rose wood harp stand with turned pillory elevating top inlaid with polished metal on castors' provide an insight into feminine-influenced uses of the room, whereas the backgammon table, card tables, moving library and ivory chess set suggest more universal recreational activities in this space.

⁴⁰ Checkland, *The Gladstones*, p.80

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p.54

⁴² Gladstone Library: GG1140/1-3: Accounts of Furniture at Seaforth, 1812-1813

⁴³ Susan E. Stuart, *Gillows of Lancaster and London, 1730-1840: Cabinetmakers and International Merchants: A Furniture and Business History*, (Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 2008), p.22

⁴⁴ GL: GG1140/1 – To Gillow & Co, London Nov. 1812

The invoices also emphasised the amount of seating in the drawing room, which was telling of the size of the space and also the extent to which the family entertained. There were ten 'Japanned' and gilt chairs, eight armchairs to match, six currie chairs to match, two Grecian 'couches' with short backs and a Grecian stuffed sofa, which were then Japanned and gilded and covered in crimson velvet to match other items. The prominence of Grecian inspired furniture placed the Gladstones at the centre of the neo-classical aesthetic movement which was dominating architecture and the designs of other furniture makers at the time.⁴⁵

The status the family was displayed in other ways throughout their home, such as through their collection of artworks, which ultimately numbered 204 pieces by 1829.⁴⁶ David Hancock has likened the merchant's collection of art to house building as collecting art also 'reflected, enhanced, and reinforced the associates' emerging gentility.'⁴⁷ The majority of the collection at Seaforth was of landscapes, seascapes and rural scenes which reflected the country setting of the house. These pictures were dispersed throughout the house but there was a large concentration within John's bedroom and almost all of the 24 pictures located there depicted scenes of nature, farming and rural activities. As Hancock noted of other mercantile collections, scenes of pastoral industry were included in collections to reinforce 'politesse' by men 'eager to appeal landed and genteel' and in Gladstone's home they may not only have acted as reminders of his native Scotland but also served to show how far the family had risen in a few generations.⁴⁸ As Kate Retford has demonstrated the shrinking size and scale of art work in the domestic setting did not reduce the impact of the piece, instead this allowed for smaller pictures to be grouped together as conversation pieces.⁴⁹ Gladstone's emphasis on his status and his desire to communicate this was evident in a grouping of pictures on the ground floor of the Saloon. An image of Seaforth House was hung somewhat incongruously, and suggestively, beside images of Roslyn Castle, Windsor Castle and Carnarvon Castle.

Other paintings at Seaforth, such as family portraits, were of little financial value but instead they projected a sense of comfort and sentiment. Anne Gladstone's ill-health meant she was frequently confined to her bed and as such the pictures in her room were clearly favoured

⁴⁵ Stuart, *Gillows of Lancaster and London*, p.137

⁴⁶ GL: GG/2422: Catalogue of Pictures at Seaforth, 1829

⁴⁷ Hancock, *Citizens of the World*, p.347

⁴⁸ Hancock, *Citizens of the World*, p.367

⁴⁹ Kate Retford, 'From the Interior to Interiority: The Conservation Piece in Georgian England', *Journal of Design History*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (Winter 2007), pp.291-292

pieces in which she found comfort and this is evident from the removal of a scene depicting 'Turks, Cattle and bales at a seaport' from the north drawing room to her bedroom. The other seven pictures in Anne's bedroom were family portraits; there was a pair of herself and her husband in 1805 and the others were of her parents and her brother. The only other family portraits in the house were hung in the dining room, this included portraits of John and Anne painted in 1828 and 1829 respectively, most likely the reason why the older portraits were relegated to Anne's bedroom. Kate Retford's analysis of family portraiture in this period highlights the dual importance of these portraits for their status value but also their ideological value of 'maternal tenderness, fatherly concern and affectionate marital unions' and therefore, the clustering of family portraits in Anne's bedroom reinforces her matriarchal role within the home and the comfort and pleasure she derived from her family.⁵⁰

Anne also derived a sense of spiritual comfort from her religious beliefs and Checkland noted that 'Mrs Gladstone set the religious tone' at Seaforth and the sabbath was strictly upheld and there were daily Bible readings and prayers twice a day'.⁵¹ The number of religious-themed pictures interspersed around the house would also suggest the Gladstones linked their moral values with their status, and this is confirmed by their funding of churches as discussed in the previous chapter. Deborah Cohen's work examining the moral message of domestic interiors in the early-nineteenth century, places the Gladstones at the centre of the wave of Evangelicalism which commenced in the late-eighteenth century.⁵² The 'religious severity' of John and Anne's generation, she argues, gave way to the era of 'moral improvement' in the mid-nineteenth century, which again could be seen in domestic furnishings.⁵³ However, not all historians are aligned with this view. Hancock noted that the presence of religious themed artworks in the collections of other merchants, including half the collection of art at Mr Aufere's villa in Chelsea and one-third of the collection of art belonging to John Boyd, suggests that religious-themed art was also chosen because it was generally fashionable rather than solely for its strict moral message.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Kate Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life: Family Portraiture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), pp.232-233

⁵¹ Checkland, *The Gladstones*, p.85

⁵² Cohen, *Household Gods*, p.4

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 13

⁵⁴ Hancock, *Citizens of the World*, p.354

The definitions of comfort were altered in the eighteenth century and as John Crowley argued these definitions were in transition from moral and sentimental comfort to a physical sense of material comfort such as warmth and light, which were viewed as a human right.⁵⁵ The Gladstones furniture and furnishings in the early-nineteenth century reflected both types of comfort but scholarship has debated to extent to which physical comfort was then separated into gendered spaces in the nineteenth-century home. Tomás Maldonado suggested it was only in the mid-nineteenth century that both genders embraced an equalised sense of comfort in their shared domestic spaces.⁵⁶

Although Robert Kerr's architectural treatise from the mid-nineteenth century still advocated that comfortable home could be achieved by physically distancing the inhabitants of a household from each other, including men and women, this does not appear to have been the reality in many homes and this notion was criticised by Charles Rice and Deborah Cohen particularly for its neglect of women in the gentleman's household.⁵⁷ Jane Hamlett's research supports Maldonado's theories in which some middle-class married couples actively made the decision to share domestic space, such as the drawing room and these decisions were born from choice rather than from necessity, as may have been the case in smaller homes.⁵⁸ Although this would appear a trend of the latter decades of the nineteenth century, the Gladstone's use of the drawing room as a family room infers it was a common practice evident throughout the century. This can also be noted by the presence of certain items of 'gendered' furniture in merchant's houses by the mid-nineteenth century, such as the walnut tête-à-tête couch and the matching lady's gondola chair and gentleman's easy chair in the drawing room of Theodore Merck's villa in Victoria Park which confirmed that there was a strong sense of comfort and close proximity with other householders.⁵⁹ Items related to comfort, and which were also high-value, were not necessarily restricted to chairs, sofas and couches in formal entertaining rooms. Hugh Hornby's acquisition of a metal bed in 1834, a relatively newly-

⁵⁵ John E. Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort: Sensibilities and Design in Early Modern Britain and Early America*, (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 2000), p.292

⁵⁶ Tomás Maldonado, 'The Idea of Comfort', in Victor Margolin and Richard Buchanan (eds), *The Idea of Design*, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995), pp. 248–56.

⁵⁷ Charles Rice, *The Emergence of the Interior: Architecture, Modernity, Domesticity*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2007), p.57; Cohen, *Household Gods*, p.93

⁵⁸ Jane Hamlett, *Material Relations: Domestic Interiors and Middle-Class Families in England, 1850–1910*, (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2010), pp.91-92

⁵⁹ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 11 April 1857, p.12; Liverpool Record Office: M84/5/13/7: Auction Catalogue of Belle View, Anfield 1858

patented piece of furniture and one which was also costly at £7, was not going to be on public view or for public use as it was confined to a bedroom but ultimately it would have added to the comfort of the user, particularly if the bedframe was purchased with the intention of making it easier to keep bedbugs and other pests away.⁶⁰

High-Status and Low-Cost: Purchasing Goods

Although Gladstone made expensive purchases for his new home, status in the mercantile home could also be achieved through the acquisition of low-cost possessions. It is perhaps one of the biggest juxtapositions of the mercantile home that high-status items could be new, expensive, and fashionable but also old, cheap and second-hand. As Harvey noted this method of purchasing items for the home permitted men to unify their management skills in both their commercial and domestic lives and to save costs where necessary.⁶¹

The rise of furniture showrooms, department stores and other shops selling household goods across the latter decades of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century offered the customer the chance to purchase furniture and furnishings quickly, and the presence of these stores in the accounts of the industrial elites show they clearly appealed to the financially conscious merchant.⁶² In January 1874, mill-owner Thomas Travers Hayes purchased new furniture from Kendal Milne in Manchester. The mahogany what-not cost £3/8s./6d. and whilst this was beyond the income of the working-classes at the time, it was certainly affordable to the rising middle-classes whose income was far less than Hayes's.⁶³ The mill-owning Leech family of Urmston Cottage also made their regular purchases from Manchester's stores which also catered to the rising middle-classes of Manchester, such as the Faulkner Brothers' Bazaar on New Bridge Street and George and Jas. Rose Fancy Bazaar

⁶⁰ LRO: 920 MD/380: Account book of Hugh Hornby, pp.28-29; The name Mrs Foster was recorded next to the bed, so Hornby either purchased the bed from her or it was purchased for her. There were no servants by this name in the household and as it was such an expensive item of furniture, Mrs Foster may have been a relative.

⁶¹ Harvey, *The Little Republic*, p.118

⁶² A survey by Hoh-Cheung Mui and Lorna H. Mui discovered that the number of shops dealing with household-furnishing in Manchester rose from seven shops in 1783 to 77 by 1822-3, although not entirely accurate, as Clive Edwards infers, it represented the upwards trend of shopping within the provincial town the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. See: Edwards, *Turning Houses into Homes*, p.59 and Hoh-Cheung Mui & Lorna H. Mui, *Shops and Shopkeeping in Eighteenth Century England*, (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1989)

⁶³ Private Collection: Account Book of Thomas Travers Hayes, 1875

on King Street.⁶⁴ By 1841 Gillows had established a branch in Manchester, where a merchant, John Owens purchased wallpapers for his home on Nelson Street; a blue sprig in large print for the back bedroom, a blue peapod pattern for the front bedroom and dressing room and gold paper for unidentified parts of the house.⁶⁵ The total amount of John Owens' receipt to Gillows for the wallpaper in 1841, which included stripping and hanging, was reduced from £18/5s./4½d. to £17/10s.⁶⁶ The reduction may have been for a prompt payment but from an analysis of Owens' spending habits, it was likely he contested the price.⁶⁷ He often only made minimal savings; such as 2s./1d. on a bill from Thomas Simmons for painting the stables and other woodwork; 3s./4d. on a bill from Joseph England for painting the outside of the house, and £1/4s. on a bill from Tomlinson & Leigh, ironmongers.⁶⁸ In October 1843 he had his gig repaired and repainted which cost £5/3s. however at the bottom of the bill Owens noted: 'J. Chatterton did say that the repair of the gig would be about £4/10s but said he could not exactly tell. However, he is inclined to take that [illegible] If it help aid this day as he is wanting it for wages', his bartering over the price was likely a result of a lifetime in trading which had crossed over into his domestic sphere.⁶⁹

Owens also made purchases at sale auctions for various furnishings and household items. His purchases from Capes and Smith's auctions are testament to purchases made at the higher-end auctioneers in Manchester, and the auctions were frequently held in different locations, such as the Law Society's rooms in Norfolk Street or the dining room in the Exchange, which appealed to the more refined purchaser of second-hand goods.⁷⁰ The prominent locations of these sale rooms which were located in traditional masculine spaces and close to the centre of business made it convenient for the male-buyer to attend auctions during the working week. In July 1843 Owens purchased five pictures at an auction in Manchester. The cheapest depicted a 'clown playing with children' and cost £1/2s., the most expensive was an

⁶⁴ CL: [Brown/6/8], Diary of Rachel Leech, 23 February 1848; 13 December 1853

⁶⁵ JRL UOM: OWN1/7/3/1/27 – J & T. Galloway 87 Piccadilly Manchester – April 6 1841

⁶⁶ JRL UOM: OWN1/7/3/1/27 – J & T. Galloway 87 Piccadilly Manchester – April 6 1841

⁶⁷ Owens left bequests in his will in 1846 to charities and friends amounting to £52,000 and another bequest of £96,654 to found Owens College, now the University of Manchester. See: NA: PROB 11/2041/36: Will of John Owens, Merchant of Manchester, Lancashire, 1846

⁶⁸ JRL UOM: OWN 1/7/3/5/28 – Thomas Simmons – November 16 1844; OWN1/7/3/4/6 – Joseph England – October 21 1843; OWN1/7/3/5/32 – Tomlinson & Leigh, ironmongers – April-May 1845

⁶⁹ JRL UOM: OWN1/7/3/3/74 – J Chatterton coach builder, 1843

⁷⁰ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 5 December 1846, p.8; *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 12 August 1846, p.8

unidentified landscape at £25. The total amount including duties came to £36/12s./7d., which Owens paid in cash, a requirement when buying at auction.⁷¹ This of course resulted in the additional expenses from adding 'new' items into the household. Owens' accounts reveal in August 1843 he paid to have several pictures cleaned, costing £3/1s. and in September he paid John Slack, a wholesale carver and gilder, 16s./7d. for half a day's work and materials used to fix and hang the pictures in his home.⁷²

Thomas Leech, the cotton mill owner, also made high-value purchases of furniture and furnishings, which he acquired at auction sales. In May 1848 he attended three days of a household sale, from which he purchased a dessert service, three Trent dishes, 11 plates, two glass butter basins, a cream jug, a gold watch and chain for Rachel, a chain for himself, a feather bed and pillows, a wardrobe glass, chairs, a writing desk etc.⁷³ The auction of household goods also offered the aspirational or inquisitive consumer the chance to see how homes were decorated as auctions were frequently held on-site in houses which were to be let or sold afterwards. As Rosie MacArthur and Jon Stobart stated, the eighteenth-century consumer made little distinction between whether or not goods were first or second hand, but they were intrigued by the context of the goods, who had owned them, where they came from and how this could be communicated to the buyers' advantage.⁷⁴

The sale room and household auctions were a popular way of obtaining second-hand goods, which Sara Pennell has shown thrived since the early-eighteenth century.⁷⁵ The auction appealed to a wide variety of individuals who purchased goods for a number of reasons and for the most part, auction sales were a popular way of obtaining goods relatively cheaply and immediately and the merchants discussed here were following consumption patterns atypical of the middle and upper class households, as well as those of lesser means. Thomas Leech

⁷¹ JRL UOM: OWN1/7/3/3/47 – July 20 1843 – Capes & Smith's Sale

⁷² JRL UOM: OWN1/7/3/3/61 – August 26 1843 – Robert Bridgehouse; OWN1/7/3/3/64 – John Slack, wholesale carver and gilder

⁷³ CL: [Brown/6/8], Diary of Rachel Leech, 2 May 1848, 10 May 1848, 11 May 1848

⁷⁴ Rosie MacArthur and Jon Stobart, 'Going for a Song? Country House Sales in Georgian England' in Jon Stobart and Ilja Van Damme (eds.), *Modernity and the Second-Hand Trade: European Consumption Cultures and Practices, 1700-1900*, C Jon Stobart and Ilja Van Damme (eds.), *Modernity and the Second-Hand Trade: European Consumption Cultures and Practices, 1700-1900*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), Chapter nine, pp.175-295

⁷⁵ Sara Pennell 'All but the Kitchen Sink: Household Sales and the Circulation of Second-Hand Goods in Early Modern England', in Stobart and Van Damme (eds.), *Modernity and the Second-Hand Trade*, Jon Stobart and Ilja Van Damme (eds.), *Modernity and the Second-Hand Trade*, Chapter Two, pp.37-56

appeared to favour practical items which presumably were required in his own household, over unnecessary items, thus showing the economic value of second-hand goods. These items could be easily repaired and restored and thus represented practical purchases with long-term investment in mind. Titus Hibbert's careful management of his finances was shown through his desire to repair items where possible and the craftsmen he purchased from he also used to repair items as well. In February 1786 he purchased a mahogany tray from J. Norris and also had some chairs mended by him.⁷⁶ In the same month he also paid Mr Radford to repair a brass candlestick and he purchased a fender at the same time.⁷⁷ These purchases of additional items were likely spontaneous on Hibbert's visit to the showrooms or workshop, however as these transactions are replicated across several years, they highlight the relationship between the customer and the business.

Second-hand dealers also permitted the consumer of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to acquire antique pieces of furniture and furnishings. Deborah Cohen suggested those who sought antique furniture in the nineteenth century displayed more restraint with their purchases, despite the higher expense, as the items were more difficult to source.⁷⁸ Older styles of furniture were popular for their patina, which conveyed true age rather than style, which could be reproduced in modern furniture. Clive Edwards' research has demonstrated that the patina of furniture was valued before and after the eighteenth century and thus was used as a distinguishing feature of antique items across generations.⁷⁹ However, Margaret Ponsonby has shown that by the nineteenth century some auctioneers used unscrupulous methods to make their goods appear older and more valuable than they actually were to appeal to the buoyant market and to take advantage of the unaware buyer.⁸⁰

Despite the popularity of antique furniture in the nineteenth century, Edwards and Ponsonby suggested it became a somewhat polarised commodity in this period.⁸¹ On one hand the furniture conveyed both an emotional and functional status and it spoke to Bourdieu's sense

⁷⁶ JRL, UOM: GB 133 Eng. MS 989: Hibbert-Ware Papers: Account book of Titus Hibbert, 15 February 1786

⁷⁷ JRL, UOM: GB 133 Eng. MS 989: Hibbert-Ware Papers: Account book of Titus Hibbert, 6 February 1786

⁷⁸ Cohen, *Household Gods*, p.146

⁷⁹ Edwards, *Turning Houses into Homes*, p.73

⁸⁰ Ponsonby, *Stories from Home*, pp.86-87

⁸¹ Clive Edwards and Margaret Ponsonby, 'The Polarization of the Second-Hand Market for Furniture in the Nineteenth Century', in Stobart and Van Damme, *Modernity and the Second-Hand Trade*, Chapter Five, pp.94-99

of culture capital which could be obtained from older goods.⁸² Kerr suggested that antique furniture was 'peculiarly suitable' in the hallway, undoubtedly as this would have been most visible position in the home.⁸³ However, the popularity of reproduction styles in the mid-nineteenth century, such as the fashion for Louis XV reproduction pieces communicated culture capital through their imitation of an older style but their newness conveyed modernity and comfort, which created 'an affluent distinction.'⁸⁴

Whilst this may be true of reproduction pieces in suburban villas, the status imposed by the exterior of the house could dictate the interior finish. When Frederick Richard Leyland undertook the lease on Speke Hall in the 1860s the furnishings were left in-situ. Whilst he favoured and appreciated the antique pieces, he actively despised the reproduction tulipwood and ormolu Louis XV style suite of furniture which had been purchased by Adelaide Watt's parents around the time of their marriage in 1856 from a Liverpool-based furniture dealer.⁸⁵ These pieces furnished the blue drawing room, which although conforming to the fashionable trend for ornate, fussy interiors did not reflect Leyland's more simplified tastes or what he thought the Hall should project. Leyland referred to the room as a 'French plum box' and in February 1868 he moved the furniture into storage elsewhere in the house and covered the walls in a grey fluted satin.⁸⁶ Leyland's subtle redecoration of the room allowed him to convey his own personality within the home without great expense or obvious, extravagant displays.

Leyland used a distinct mixture of antiquarian and contemporary styles at Speke Hall, so his restoration was in-keeping with the spirit of the house but also followed the contemporary aesthetic movements. The connection with the Arts and Crafts movement was evident throughout the hall and within Leyland's personal life, as he was close to William Morris and Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Leyland installed Morris and Co. wallpapers throughout the property; the designs and their craftsmanship were influenced by traditional methods, akin to the period of Speke's construction, whilst also highlighting Leyland's personal tastes and

⁸² Pierre Bourdieu (Translated by Richard Nice), *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), pp.18-21

⁸³ Kerr, *The Gentleman's House*, p.162

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* p.107

⁸⁵ Belinda Cousens, *Speke Hall*, (Great Britain: The National Trust, 1994), p.13

⁸⁶ Linda Merrill, *The Peacock Room: A Cultural Biography*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), p.120

influence.⁸⁷ He also introduced 'Sussex' rush-seated chairs into the library and in the corridors he added panelling with decorative friezes and shelves to display his collection of blue-and-white china, suggesting Leyland may have bought into the 'china-mania' craze of the 1860s, which Cohen has shown was popular with both men and women across a wide spectrum of society.⁸⁸

He was respectful of the history of the house and the locality; he commissioned three sandstone chimney pieces for the small dining room, billiard room and oak bedroom, which were replicas of a seventeenth-century design in the ruins of Old Hutt in Halewood.⁸⁹ In the blue drawing room he erected a new marble chimney surround with tiles in a Japanese-style. The brass and iron grate featured a sunflower, the leitmotif of the Arts and Crafts movement, which was also carved into the door surround alongside a carving of the Molyneaux family cross, highlighting Leyland's careful and sympathetic restoration.⁹⁰ His tangible legacy was thus left in the fabric of Speke Hall, as previous manorial families had done. This would have boosted Leyland's sense of importance and he actively embraced his role as de-facto lord of the manor. He donated money towards Garston church, local children were entertained at the hall and his wife, Frances gave boots and frocks to school children on Christmas Eve in 1869.⁹¹ Leyland's final connection between his projected status and the property was demonstrated in his decoration of the Great Hall. He had originally planned to use the space as a dining room but he noted 'the wind *howls* rather dismally.'⁹² Nonetheless, Leyland escorted visitors around this impressive, historic space and in an attempt to forge a connection between himself and the history of the house, he hung a life-size portrait of himself in the hall.⁹³ This clear emulation of aristocratic decoration practices may have subdued Leyland into projecting his sense of self and status but ultimately the sole portrait of himself betrayed his mercantile origins and his lack of an ancestral pedigree. The mixing of sympathetic restoration alongside contemporary designs of the mid-nineteenth century

⁸⁷ A. J. Tibbles, *Speke Hall: A Guide to its History and Owners*, (Merseyside: Merseyside County Museum, 1982), p.17

⁸⁸ Cohen, *Household Gods*, p.149

⁸⁹ Cousens, *Speke Hall*, p.8

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* p.13

⁹¹ Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p.119

⁹² Tibbles, *Speke Hall: A guide*, p.14

⁹³ Cousens, *Speke Hall*, p.11

demonstrated Leyland's personality within the domestic sphere, and this challenges Cohen's claim that personalities were not seen in a domestic setting until the late 1880s.⁹⁴

The motivations behind the industrial elite's acquisition of antique furniture and second-hand goods are somewhat polarised. As seen in the example of Leyland at Speke Hall, the processes of emulation and acculturation were very visible in his choice of house and furnishings, and his rejection of some interior trends. It is possible to ascribe these same status-building aspirations onto antique furniture as with houses and these items were arguably more adept at displaying status amongst the middle and upper classes as the furniture was readily available and it could be transported easily between rooms and between houses to create the desired effect. However, Colin Campbell remained critical of the emulation theory and he suggested these pieces were desirable for their own merits and because they were useful, rather than any connotations they held.⁹⁵ This view was supported by Stana Nenadic, who concluded that the second-hand market in eighteenth and nineteenth century Scotland was popular with middle-class purchasers because of the functional value of the goods.⁹⁶ The case studies in this chapter support this theory given the prevalence of practical items purchased at cheap prices. In general, the second-hand consumer market in nineteenth century Manchester and Liverpool reveals that there was a co-existence of motivations which included emulation, functionality and distinction of cost.

Section II: 'Servants a great plague': Women's Management of the Household⁹⁷

The relationships between the women of the industrial elite and the wider household can be glimpsed in the account books of their husbands and fathers, but their own involvement is often more fully revealed through diaries and letters. Although these records only convey one side of the relationship, they do reveal insights into the daily routines of the household and likewise, they reveal more about the house and the use of space, as discussed in the previous

⁹⁴ Cohen, *Household Gods*, p.125, p.136

⁹⁵ Colin Campbell, 'Understanding Traditional and Modern Patterns of Consumption in Eighteenth Century England: A Character Action Approach', in John Brewer and Roy Porter (Eds.) *Consumption and the World of Goods*, (London: Routledge, 1993), Chapter Three, pp.40-57

⁹⁶ Stana Nenadic, 'Middle rank consumers and domestic culture in Edinburgh and Glasgow 1720-1840', *Past and Present*, No. 145, (1994), p.129

⁹⁷ LRO: 920 KUR/1/3: 9 January 1863

chapter. The presence of servants in the domestic sphere was also telling about hierarchical relationships, not only between master, mistress and servant but also the power dynamic between the married couple themselves. According to Davidoff and Hall, men retained their ultimate authority over the household across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and his wife only acted as 'a deputy'.⁹⁸ They also claimed women found it more difficult to deal with unruly male and female servants, whereas as the patriarchal head of the house men retained this power to control.⁹⁹ However, as Harvey has shown, household management was a joint endeavour and men in the eighteenth-century 'risked the loss of a range of domestic tasks and the status that came from a well-kept house'.¹⁰⁰ This section will return to the management of the household and examine the role that women played in controlling the domestic spheres.

Hannah Greg had displayed her skills as a competent and experienced mistress of a household before her marriage, as she managed her mother's small household in Liverpool. In a letter written to Samuel, Hannah displayed clear notions of her place in society and her expected role in the household: 'Whenever you can spare the maid from Wilmslow [...] I would likewise employ her in doing many little things too insignificant to send out of the house to be done but to which I am too much engaged to do myself.'¹⁰¹ However, upon her marriage and entering a new, larger household which had previously been a bachelor's environment created some blurred boundaries between class and gender roles between master, mistress and their servants and this was likely the basis of tensions within the King Street townhouse. The female servants had been given an amount of freedom and agency over their daily domestic chores by Samuel. The ideal inferred in the works of domestic advice manuals readily available to the eighteenth-century housewife, such as those of Mrs Cole and Mrs Raffald, denoted that the new mistress entered the house as the figure in charge of the domestic domain.¹⁰² In reality, Hannah's situation meant the ideal was difficult to uphold,

⁹⁸ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p.391

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.393

¹⁰⁰ Harvey, *Little Republic*, p.17

¹⁰¹ QBA: QBA765.1/9/6/5: Letter addressed to Mr Greg, King Street Manchester from Hannah Lightbody, Sunday Morning [c.1789].

¹⁰² Elizabeth Raffald, *The Experienced English Housekeeper*, (London: The Author & R. Baldwin, 1776); Mary Cole, *The Ladies Complete Guide*, (London: G. Kearsley, 1791)

given the uneasy balance of power created by her arrival. On her very first morning at King Street Hannah recorded in her diary that she was reproached by a maid:

The Chambermaid gave me warning saying that she thought there were servants enough in the house without my bringing in more, (meaning my Maid who came with me) – I ought to have allowed her to lessen the number, but knowing she had lived there several years, dared not till I had spoken to her Master, who said he should be sorry to lose her and I had better keep good servants &c. My sister P's earnest advice then came to my remembrance and sunk deep into my heart viz: before I married not only to have the servants dismissed but the very house changed in which their Master had so long lived a Bachelor.¹⁰³

Hannah turned to her diary to record other events within the household and the difficulties for all concerned. Her troubles also lay with the male servants, and she recorded instances of insubordination, which included the footman who refused to go behind the carriage until ordered to do so by Samuel, and the groom who was dismissed for refusing to bring coal at Hannah's request.¹⁰⁴ Samuel appears to have also found himself in a difficult position with the disobedience directed at his wife. The dismissal of the groom implies that Samuel was attentive to the situation and that he was keen to support his wife's position within the household. Despite this, his support of the chambermaid who 'he should be sorry to lose' and the footman, who Hannah wished had also been dismissed 'for repeated insolence' highlights tensions between the couple and Hannah's somewhat limited authority and agency in her own home.¹⁰⁵

Samuel's expression of concern that Hannah had 'better keep good servants' reflected his fondness of those servants who had been loyal to him, particularly his female staff who likely managed all his household concerns when he lived as a bachelor.¹⁰⁶ As highlighted by Vickery, the dependence of the master and mistress upon their servants prevented them from making

¹⁰³ QBA: Greg, Diary, Volume Two; 23 November 1789.

¹⁰⁴ QBA: Greg, Diary, Volume Two; Saturday [N. D. November/December 1789]; QBA: Greg, Diary, Volume Two; [N. D. 1790].

¹⁰⁵ QBA: Greg, Diary, Volume Two; [N. D. 1790].

¹⁰⁶ QBA: Greg, Diary, Volume Two; 23 November 1789.

swift, uncalculated decisions which could affect the management of the household.¹⁰⁷ This was particularly important for those households, like the Gregs', located in or near manufacturing towns, where their former servants could easily find employment in other houses or even in the textile industries.

The frequent turnover of lower status servants was a common occurrence in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and this continual cycle of hiring, replacing, and training servants did little to 'liberate their mistress from the pressing demands of day-to-day supervision'.¹⁰⁸ When writing to Hannah in 1801, William Rathbone IV empathised with her situation and his words echoed the sense of physical and mental comfort which could be derived from having a well-ordered household: 'As I well know how much of comfort depends on good servants. I can by feeling enter into all your anxieties, and shall be truly glad if those you have now in prospect prove all you can wish'.¹⁰⁹ Nonetheless, Rathbone's sympathetic tone also alludes to a persistent uneasy domestic atmosphere at King Street likely caused by the stresses of replacing servants. In August 1802, the positions of a coachman and a cook at 35 King Street were advertised in the *Manchester Mercury*.¹¹⁰ Several months later, in April 1803, the cook's position was again advertised, alongside a role for a kitchen maid.¹¹¹

Hannah Greg's experiences at the start of the nineteenth century were echoed decades later in the domestic situation of Rachel Leech, showing that managing the household and finding, training and retaining servants was a continual problem for the wives of the industrial elite, particularly as these women frequently occupied smaller households which did not have a team of senior servants, such as a housekeeper or butler to deal with internal issues. Rachel's diaries cover a decade between 1846-1856 and they reveal that there was an almost an annual turnover of servants at Urmston Cottage, the family home outside of Manchester. Moreover, Rachel's diaries are more detailed than those of Hannah Greg's in the sense that they recorded the lengthy processes required for hiring servants, which included visiting prospective maids, requesting character references from previous employers, and also the difficulties in retaining staff. A typical example of Leech's household troubles comes from

¹⁰⁷ Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, p.136

¹⁰⁸ Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, p.135

¹⁰⁹ UOL: GB141 RP.II.1.47: Letter from William Rathbone IV to Hannah Greg, 8 August 1801.

¹¹⁰ *Manchester Mercury*, 10 August 1802, p.4; *Manchester Mercury*, 24 August 1802, p.4

¹¹¹ *Manchester Mercury*, 26 April 1803, p.4

autumn 1846. Rachel started her search for a servant on 1st September and by 16th November she had engaged a girl after eight visits to and from potential servants.¹¹² The new servant let her down ten days later, but she had found another girl by the end of the month; then four months later, her only other servant left and the cycle started again.¹¹³ By 1855, when her ill-health prevented her from physically going about the process herself, her daughters Sarah and Eliza, acted on her behalf. In some instances, they travelled as far as Pendleton and Bowden, some six and seven miles from their home, in search of servants' character references.¹¹⁴ This does not necessarily mean there was a shortage of local servants, as the general consensus was that country girls were stronger than their urban counterparts and if the servant moved further from home then there would likely be fewer distractions.¹¹⁵ The involvement of the daughters in the Leech household in this process reflects the widespread involvement of women of all ages in the management of the home. The ill-health of the mother, as seen within the Leech household and in Hannah Greg's premarital home, thrust the daughter into a position of responsibility and control and, in theory, prepared the daughter for her eventual future as mistress of a house.

The despondencies and difficulties felt by Hannah Greg and Rachel Leech were not uncommon and they reflected the experiences of elite women in general. For instance, the diaries and pocket books belonging to Elizabeth Shackleton, mistress of Alkincoats Hall in Colne, Lancashire also document the occasional verbal rebuke from her female servants.¹¹⁶ Shackleton deemed one servant to have the 'vilest, most brutish tongue'.¹¹⁷ As demonstrated within the works of Barker and Vickery, diary-keeping was a way of negotiating and recording emotions, thoughts and feelings as well as everyday events.¹¹⁸ The minute details of daily life, expenditure, verbal interactions and thoughts expressed within diaries and pocketbooks of the period offer insights into the experiences of the wives of merchants and manufacturers. The recording of these incidents in the personal diaries of Greg and Leech reveals their

¹¹² CL: [Brown/6/8], Diary of Rachel Leech, 1846

¹¹³ CL: [Brown/6/8], Diary of Rachel Leech, 1846

¹¹⁴ CL: [Brown/6/8], Diary of Rachel Leech, 5 September 1855; 8 September 1855; 29 September 1855

¹¹⁵ Lucy Lethbridge, *Servants: A Downstairs History of Britain from the Nineteenth Century to Modern Times*, (London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2013), pp. 83-113

¹¹⁶ Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, p.14.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* p.142.

¹¹⁸ See: Hannah Baker, *Family and Business during the Industrial Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*

compromised positions of power. They were simultaneously independent of and yet dependent on their servants, and it is likely their personal writings were their only true expression of their feelings in order to preserve the balance and therefore, maintenance of their households.

Self-assurance when dealing with servants appears to have come with age and experience. By the time the Gregs had moved to Quarry Bank permanently Hannah had been managing her own household for around 25 years and she was able to draw upon the apprentices at the mill to support the four permanent paid servants.¹¹⁹ The apprentices were legally bound to the Gregs' employment for a set number of years and this, along with their young age, essentially made them more deferential than the townhouse servants in Manchester. Also, as a family home from its inception, there were clearly defined gendered and status roles and spaces at Quarry Bank House when compared to King Street, which enabled Hannah to meet her expected position there with relative ease. In 1808, Hannah could inadvertently but enthusiastically write about the cheerful domestic atmosphere of her Quarry Bank household: 'instead of singing to my work, as I hear my maidens doing in the next room, I always think to mine.'¹²⁰

Whereas the lack of a firm support network forced Hannah Greg to take control of her household through a process of trial and error, for Anne Gladstone (1772-1835), her contemporary in Liverpool, the transitional period of regaining power and control took longer. Anne had faced a very similar position to Hannah, and she had also been a newly married bride, entering the established household of her widower husband and she also had dual responsibilities of running the household and raising a young family. However, Anne's concerns and issues would have been somewhat eased by the close proximity of her mother and unmarried sisters. They lived next door to the Gladstones on Rodney Street from 1805 and they later moved to the Seaforth Estate at the same time as the family in 1813.¹²¹ However, this familial support network did little to improve Anne's confidence in reapproaching her servants and even after decades in her position Anne still expressed a level of timidity around her household. On one occasion she entered the kitchen at Seaforth House,

¹¹⁹ Manchester Record Office: GB127. C5/6/9; Accounts, 5 April 1815.

¹²⁰ UOL: GB141 RP.II.1.70: Letter from Hannah Greg to Hannah Mary Rathbone, 24 March 1808

¹²¹ Checkland, *The Gladstones*, p.46

and she found a footman leaping from the table to the delight of the maids. As Checkland noted, Anne retreated from the room in confusion without reprimanding her staff.¹²² This was likely because she had crossed the threshold between the family's part of the house and the servants' domain and therefore felt unable to voice any concerns in the servants' part of the house.

Unlike Hannah Greg, Anne could not exploit a child apprentice system and her servants were autonomous adults. Anne did eventually build a relationship with loyal servants based upon her charitable, Christian attitude. The servants' book for Seaforth House is a handwritten notebook detailing the various servants at the property. It contains notes on expenditure and documented when a person started and left service. Although the book was likely kept by John Gladstone, it provides an insight into the role of Anne Gladstone and of countless other wives of merchants and manufacturers in the 1810s and 1820s.

The servants' book records that, typically, Anne was responsible for the hiring of the servants, but she also dealt with the financial side of their employment, with the phrase 'wages left to Mrs Gladstone' frequently appearing in the book. Whilst it was not uncommon for women to submit 'household expenses' to their husbands, Anne's control over wages does indicate a level of trust between the couple, and it demonstrates this was a level of autonomy and influence she held over the household. She chose to increase servants' wages after their first year at her own discretion and she made extra allowances for tea and sugar in the wages of her housemaids.¹²³ Anne also requested that her servants save some of their wages in bank accounts so that they were somewhat prepared for the future. Upon finding out that Mary Shore that not done this, Anne took the six sovereigns Mary had saved and had an account opened for her. Mary was then given 1s./6d. a week of her wage with the rest going into her bank account.¹²⁴ The Gladstones' also rehired four of their former members of staff on the same wages they had previously been paid; forty guineas per year for the butler and eleven guineas for the housemaid, which implies a good relationship between the mistress and her staff. Anne's control of her servants' wages, even after they had been paid, was a form of

¹²² *Ibid.*, p.88

¹²³ GL: GG/2415: Agreements of women servants at Seaforth, wages etc. 1828-1835

¹²⁴ GL: GG/2415: Agreements of women servants at Seaforth, wages etc. 1828-1835

financial power. It simultaneously reinforced her hierarchical position in the household, whilst also reflected her maternal influences and concern for the well-being of her servants.

Anne's role also involved dismissing servants and the following examples of dismissals from Seaforth House show that whilst Anne was personally involved in this formal process, she relied on relationships with trusted servants and household gossip to understand how her house was operating. The dismissal of Margaret Cash, a cook and housekeeper, in 1829 was the result of Anne being informed of Cash's drunken antics by Tiltson, a lady's maid. Cash left Seaforth 'abruptly' after it became known she had set both herself and part of the house on fire whilst drunk.¹²⁵ More sensitive issues, such as illegitimate pregnancies posed a threat to the reputation of the Gladstones, and this brought both Anne and John Gladstone into the situation. In October 1817 a servant's daughter, Agnes, was found to be pregnant with the coachman's child. Anne wrote to her son; 'You can hardly conceive the pain it cost me to be forced to show the afflicted mother that her child was guilty. I named it as delicately as I could, at first she smiled and said: "Oh Ma'am, my Agnes is as pure as your Miss Helen Jane." The speech went to my heart.'¹²⁶ The situation was a serious and emotive enough to even move John Gladstone to tears. Ultimately the constables were called, and the coachman was taken to the House of Correction. Anne Gladstone was able to persuade Agnes's mother not to send her daughter to the Ormskirk Poor House. Although reflective of Anne's concern for Agnes's well-being, this decision was also motivated by containing the scandal to Seaforth House.

The Role of Hostess and Mistress

In line with household management, the wives of merchants and manufacturers were also expected to act as competent hostesses. As discussed in previous chapters, the mercantile home, particularly in the eighteenth century, was physically tied with business premises and as such the wife, daughters and other female relations would have been in continuous contact with business acquaintances of their menfolk. Therefore, their skills as mistress of a household and as a hostess were highly valued as beneficial to her husband and his business. Moreover, the increasing emphasis on the domestic role of elite women in the nineteenth

¹²⁵ GL: GG/2415: Agreements of women servants at Seaforth, wages etc. 1828-1835

¹²⁶ Gladstone Library: GG/404: Anne Gladstone to Thomas Gladstone, 14 October 1817

century as an ideal standard of femininity ensured that their role was confined to the home but also that their abilities as a hostess could be questioned. The judgement of a woman's abilities was not uncommon even among family or friends. Upon the announcement of Samuel and Hannah Greg's son Robert Hyde Greg's betrothal to Mary Phillips in 1824, Robert's future brother-in-law wrote a letter to him questioning his sister's domestic skills:

You will find her a good wife and I wish I could add a good housewife, but as I know that you & I think alike upon the latter point she will improve when she knows that you attach a value to good management in household affairs.¹²⁷

For a newly married bride, the responsibility of acting as a hostess alongside her other duties could be a daunting experience and in the early years of her marriage, Hannah Greg took to her diary to recall her experiences of formal entertaining. Hannah's comfort and command of the situation was related to the nature of the guests and the topic of conversation. The members of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, of which Samuel was a member, would occasionally retire from their meetings to have supper at the Gregs' home on King Street and this allowed Hannah the privilege of joining in the lively discussions of the male-only Society in the privacy of her own home.¹²⁸ In contrast, when conversation was stifled, such as when she entertained Samuel's conservative family members, she recorded that she felt ignorant, oppressed, and anxious; 'Unable to promote conversation from a total ignorance of any current subject and a great fear of introducing any that might displease (general or literary subjects never being referred to in most parties I have been in) the day passes heavily'.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Letter from Mark Phillips to Robert Hyde Greg, April 1824:

<https://quarrybankmill.wordpress.com/2015/01/12/piecing-together-robert-and-marys-romance/> [Last accessed 24 August 2020]

¹²⁸ Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, *Complete List of Members & Officers of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, From its Institution on February 28th 1781, to April 28th 1906*, (Manchester: Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, 1896), p.24.; QBA: QBA765.1/9/79/32, Melly, *Reminiscences*, p.34; Before her marriage, Hannah had been involved with members of the Octonian Society in Liverpool, a group dedicated to discussing literary and philosophical matters. The group had met at her mother's house on Paradise Street. See: Quarry Bank Archives: Hannah Lightbody, *Diary, Volume One*, 3 January 1787, (Item on loan from the Janes family). A full transcript of Hannah's diaries can be found in David Sekers, ed. 'The Diary of Hannah Lightbody', *Enlightenment and Dissent*, no. 24, (2008), pp.1–176

¹²⁹ QBA: Greg, *Diary, Volume Two*; [N. D. 1790].

Hannah was reliant on her network of friends and family members, which largely consisted of the wives and daughters of other merchants and manufacturers, to guide her on the social customs of the town. Her diary reveals she found welcome support from contemporaries her own age, such as Miss Kennedy, who was able to advise her on how to entertain Samuel's male acquaintances: 'Mr G. received Company. Miss K. telling us how to follow the general custom – a long table in the Dining Room – covered with cold Meats, Turkey &c. a Great Bowl of Milk Punch &c. the Plumb Cake and Chocolate on a side – all very new to me – the room full of Gentlemen all morning.'¹³⁰ Growing up in an entirely female household, this would have been an unfamiliar form of entertaining for Hannah, yet her diary entry infers she was eager to support her husband and fulfil her position. However, Hannah had not expected an indifferent relationship with her new family members which would ultimately challenge her emotional state and her skills as a hostess. She had expected her new female family members would 'support me in my new and arduous situation', instead she found Samuel's aunt Mrs Margaret Hyde 'cold to him [Samuel] and anyone belonging to him'.¹³¹ These feelings of alienation permeated Hannah's thoughts and emotions which she conveyed, somewhat unwittingly, into her private and public spheres. She recorded in her diary that Samuel himself was 'displeased at finding me in tears over a letter from home' and she was chastised by an acquaintance, Mrs Hamilton, who stated: 'I think you have no joy with us for you are always wishing to be somewhere else'.¹³² Hannah's reference to Liverpool as 'home' indicate that in the early period of her marriage, she did not feel 'at home' in Manchester.

The somewhat apathetic attitude of the older generation of women towards Hannah's situation, particularly compared with the willingness of her friends such as Miss Kennedy, would suggest they expected Hannah to overcome any adverse domestic situations and settle into her new position by using her own resolve. Hannah eventually wrote to her older sister, Elizabeth Hodgson, asking for recommendations concerning domestic advice literature, particularly around cooking, though it is extremely unlikely Hannah was doing this herself and it was likely to get information about how to direct her servants. Elizabeth's response, which

¹³⁰ QBA: Greg, Diary, Volume Two; November 1789.

¹³¹ QBA: Greg, Diary, Volume Two; 24 November 1789.

¹³² QBA: Greg, Diary, Volume Two; [N. D. 1790].

recommended Mrs Cole's book over Mrs Raffald's, infers that at one time she too had been in need of such publications, as indeed had many women:

I am sorry that you should have wanted Mrs Raffald – I luckily had Mrs Cole which I think a superior Compilation, & send it to you by the Coach, as Mrs Raffald is packed up with the other books [...] What a change diversity of situation makes? That a Cookery Book should be the only one you should wish for – be not ashamed my dear sister, nothing discriminated more justly the excellence of the understanding than adapting judiciously the studies & habits to the differing changes which await you.¹³³

Elizabeth's response also made light of Hannah's change in daily concerns, perhaps in an attempt to put her sister at ease. This is a revealing insight into the social expectations of a married woman in the eighteenth century, particularly a woman who held status. Hannah's intellectual interests which occupied a lot of her time before her marriage, were superseded by domestic concerns. Her daughter later suggested these changes were enforced by the 'surveillance of her husband and aunts, so strict and formal about all the conventionalisms of society'.¹³⁴

Hannah's removal from the confines of society in Manchester to Quarry Bank and the different expectations this had placed upon her status allowed her to cultivate her personal interests, especially those based around her Unitarian and moral beliefs.¹³⁵ The family's rejection of some of the cultural norms of their merchant-manufacturing class and their apparent emulation of an enlightened or romantic, uninhibited lifestyle, adhering to new forms of respectability often impressed visitors.¹³⁶ In contrast to the early years of her marriage, Hannah became more self-assured in her character as she matured and she was often the object of praise. Eliza Fletcher, an English travel writer visited the Gregs at Quarry Bank in 1808 and stated: '[I] admired the cultivation of mind and refinement of manners which Mrs. Greg preserved in the midst of a money-making and somewhat unpolished

¹³³ QBA: QBA: GLB.1.479, Letter from Elizabeth Hodgson to Hannah Greg [N. D. c.1789/1790].

¹³⁴ QBA: QBA765.1/9/79/32: Melly, *Reminiscences*, p.34

¹³⁵ Extract of a letter from Hannah Greg to the Rathbones, N.D. in Peter Spencer, *Portrait of Hannah Greg 1766–1828*, (Styal: Quarry Bank Mill Trust, 1985) p.5

¹³⁶ Woodruff D. Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability*, (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 189-212

community of merchants and manufacturers'.¹³⁷ Likewise, John James Audubon enthusiastically described Hannah to his wife:

Mrs Gregg [sic] is one of those rare examples [sic] of the superior powers of Thy Sex over ours when education and Circumstances are combined – She is most aimiable [sic] Smart, quick, witty, positively Learned, with an Incomparable Memory, and as benevolent as Woman can be.¹³⁸

As illustrated by Clive Edwards, 'a well-established rural family often had little need to demonstrate their position in a hierarchy' and because of their urban and rural connections, the Gregs maintained relationships with both Manchester and Liverpool and the presence of the mill did little to deter visitors.¹³⁹ In 1810, the Gregs had 81 guests to sleep at Quarry Bank and 69 to dine.¹⁴⁰ An impressive figure as this predated both the family's permanent move there and the construction of the service wing with additional bedrooms, and perhaps only noted by the family as it was more an abnormality rather than standard. The family simply adapted their routines around their guests, rather than adhering to strict and formal routines they had experienced at King Street. The relaxed and largely informal daily routines the Gregs were able to cultivate at Quarry Bank were embraced by the family even after Hannah's death in 1828 and they continued to impress visitors, as an account from Catherine Stanley, wife of Reverend Edward Stanley of Alderley, written in the 1830s demonstrates:

Have you ever been to Quarry Bank? It is such a picture of rational, happy life. Mr. Greg is quite a gentleman; his daughters have the delightful simplicity of people who are perfectly satisfied in their place, and never trying to get out of it. He is rich, and he spends just as people do not generally spend their money, keeping a sort of open house, without pretension. If he has more guests than the old butler can manage, he has his maid-servants in to wait [...] A large circle of connections, and literary people, and foreigners, and Scotch and Irish, are constantly dropping in,

¹³⁷ Eliza Fletcher, *The Autobiography of Mrs Fletcher: with letters and other memorials, edited by a survivor of her family*, (Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas, 1875), p.9.

¹³⁸ James Audubon, 6 October 1826, in Daniel Patterson, ed. *John James Audubon's Journal of 1826: The Voyage to 'The Birds of America'*, (Nebraska, USA: University of Nebraska, 2011), p.225

¹³⁹ Edwards, *Turning Houses into Homes*, p.85

¹⁴⁰ QBA765.1/9/6/15: List of Company at Quarry Bank, 1810.

knowing they cannot come amiss. You may imagine how this sort of life makes the whole family sit loose to all the incumbrances and hindrances of society. They actually do not know what it is to be formal or dull: each with their separate pursuits and tastes, intelligent and well-informed.¹⁴¹

This uninhibited lifestyle was more typical than we assume, and likely linked to the freedoms of living in countryside properties away from the close-knit urban communities. For example, a similar sort of practice was also embraced by the Paulets who rented Seaforth House from the Gladstones between 1834 and 1850. The Swiss-born merchant Marc Etienne Paulet (d.1850) and his wife, Elizabeth (1806-1879) ran a similar, loose domestic routine as the Gregs had done earlier in the century. As with the Gregs' visitors to Quarry Bank, this lack of conventional norms and routines greatly impressed visitors at Seaforth, suggesting again that it was a practice adopted by elites in non-urban settings. Jane Carlyle wrote to her husband about the contrast between the Paulet's life at Seaforth and that of urban society in central Liverpool:

I have found Seaforth all that it was last year and somewhat more—a great rehabilitation of the Material has taken place since last year. There is the same unformal speculative, civilized-gipsy [sic] manner of life—the same recognition of humanbeingism [sic] in the Servants—the same “run of the paddock” [...] that is to say; everybody may walk on the turf instead of the gravel walks, may pull flowers as well as look at them, and eat the fruit—even the grapes in the hot house ad libitum one may lie about on all the different sofas in all the different rooms—every where there is freedom and a great big fire. Even in my bedroom I found a fire that might have roasted the fatted calf,—but that after the first day I begged to have discontinued—One puts on ones clothes in the morning—and has nothing more to think about dressing till one takes them off at night—such a blessed deliverance after the three-times-a-day-state-dressings at Maryland Street! [...] I was put in my old “Canning's room” [...] everything was arranged in my bedroom as I had wished it last year—the housemaid “recollected Mrs Carlyle did not

¹⁴¹ John Morley, “W. R. Greg – A Sketch”, *Critical Miscellanies*, Vol. III, (London: MacMillan, 1904), p.219

sleep with the quilt” —“liked a bit of the shutter left open” —recollected every thing—and looked so friendly and glad to see me again.¹⁴²

Carlyle was clearly in awe of the Paulet’s domestic lifestyle and she shared a deep friendship with Elizabeth, whom she referred to in one letter as a ‘dearest friend’ with whom she had sworn ‘everlasting friendship’ for ‘as long as we both live.’¹⁴³ This friendship and admiration of relaxed routines at Seaforth, however, did not protect Elizabeth from Carlyle passing comments about her domestic abilities; ‘It may do Mrs Paulet much good to see her sister-in-laws management of her house and children.’¹⁴⁴ Carlyle’s comments also show of the role of the merchant’s wife as mistress of household and hostess was closely interwoven with her ability to select good servants; ‘Mrs Paulet makes an excellent Hostess, (morally speaking)—Her menage is certainly susceptible of great improvements—especially in the article of cookery’.¹⁴⁵ Despite the meals at Seaforth being prepared by a paid cook, Carlyle blamed Elizabeth as she was responsible for selecting menus and advising her staff and this again emphasises the importance of the inter-dependent mistress-servants relationship.

These condemnations were also experienced by Rachel Leech who was blamed by her short-tempered husband for household issues, especially those which were beyond her control but deemed to be her responsibility. Despite her apparent comfortable lifestyle, her diary recorded the darker side of domesticity, and the volatile relationship between the couple affected the entire household. At Urmston Cottage everyday routines and the smooth running of the household was disrupted by Thomas Leech’s temper and violent outbursts. In March 1854 Rachel recorded that ‘Mr L threw himself into such a pashon [sic]’ after he returned home unexpectedly for his dinner but she had ordered all the carpets to be taken up and cleaned.¹⁴⁶ In December 1855 he blamed the family for nearly missing his train because the parlour window was dirty and he ‘had to clean the window before he went out’ and a few

¹⁴² Volume: 19, Letter: It-18450803-JWC-TC-01: Jane Welsh Carlyle to Thomas Carlyle, 3 August 1845 <<https://carlyleletters.dukeupress.edu/home>> [Last Accessed 28 June 2021]

¹⁴³ Volume: 18, Letter: It-18440717-JWC-TC-01: Jane Welsh Carlyle to Thomas Carlyle, 17 July 1844 <<https://carlyleletters.dukeupress.edu/home>> [Last Accessed 28 June 2021]

¹⁴⁴ Volume: 22, Letter: It-18470915-JWC-TC-01: Jane Welsh Carlyle to Thomas Carlyle, 15 September 1847, <<https://carlyleletters.dukeupress.edu/home>> [Last Accessed 28 June 2021]

¹⁴⁵ Volume:18, Letter: It-18440711-JWC-TC-01: Jane Welsh Carlyle to Thomas Carlyle, 11 July 1844, <<https://carlyleletters.dukeupress.edu/home>> [Last Accessed 28 June 2021]

¹⁴⁶ CL: [Brown/6/8], Diary of Rachel Leech, 25 March 1854

days later he threatened to throw his daughter out of the house 'about his potatoes not being ready'.¹⁴⁷ He was particularly controlling and violent with Rachel and by November 1853 the couple were dining separately.¹⁴⁸ He called her a 'whore and strumpet', wished she would break her neck and refused to allow her to have visitors.¹⁴⁹ The rural domestic ideal was clearly very different for Rachel Leech compared to her contemporaries but her diaries nonetheless highlight the disharmony of some marriages and ultimately how it affected the wider household.

Women and Business

Although the previous case studies here have emphasised the role of merchants' and manufacturers' wives within the domestic setting to show how important they were in creating and maintaining the house, it is equally as important to note the matriarchal influence of wives and women who were unmarried or widowed.¹⁵⁰ Jane Longmore's research has documented the role of Sarah Clayton beyond the domestic sphere. Sarah was the daughter of merchant William Clayton and his wife, Elizabeth and Sarah herself was responsible for major advancements in business and property developments in Liverpool in the 1770s.¹⁵¹ Sarah cast a powerful and influential figure in the mid-eighteenth-century town, though, as a wealthy spinster, her time was arguably less restricted than her contemporaries who were married or had families. The work of Hannah Greg at Styal has also been well documented by Mary B. Rose, Peter Spencer and David Sekers but her involvement in the family business was restricted by the confines of her sex to extending her maternal instincts among the education and welfare of the mill workers, particularly the child apprentices.¹⁵² Therefore, there are very few examples of a woman in eighteenth or nineteenth century

¹⁴⁷ CL: [Brown/6/8], Diary of Rachel Leech, 20 December 1855; 31 December 1855

¹⁴⁸ CL: [Brown/6/8], Diary of Rachel Leech, 17 November 1853

¹⁴⁹ CL: [Brown/6/8], Diary of Rachel Leech, 10 October 1846; 8 April 1854; 8 February 1848

¹⁵⁰ For an analysis of business women in the middling sorts of society, see: Hannah Barker, *The Business of Women: Female Enterprise and Urban Development in Northern England, 1760-1830*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)

¹⁵¹ Jane Longmore, 'Civic Liverpool: 1680-1800', in John Belchem (ed.), *Liverpool 800: Culture, Character & History*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006), Chapter 2, pp.162-163

¹⁵² See: Mary B. Rose, *The Greg's of Quarry Bank: The Rise and Decline of a Family Firm 1750-1914*, (Cambridge: The Press Syndicate, 1986); Peter Spencer, *Portrait of Hannah Greg 1766-1828*, (Styal: Quarry Bank Mill Trust, 1985); David Sekers, *A Lady of Cotton: Hannah Greg, Mistress of Quarry Bank Mill*, (Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2015)

Manchester or Liverpool who was directly involved both in business and the running of a household and family.¹⁵³ One such example of these hidden women is Maria Greenough who lived in Manchester. Greenough is discussed here as she found herself in a remarkable situation and she successfully ran a business but also conformed to gender ideals of the mid-nineteenth century.

In August 1840 Maria (born Mary) was widowed at the age of 41 with three children; Elizabeth aged 4, Peter aged 2 and new-born daughter, Mary.¹⁵⁴ Her husband of six years, Peter died at their home in Higher Ardwick and in his will he left his entire estate and his business, a smallware cotton and umbrella manufactory, to Maria.¹⁵⁵ As John Tosh suggests, a widow who inherited a business likely played a role within it previously, especially so for Peter Greenough to leave his shares in the business to her, rather than his business partner.¹⁵⁶ In 1846 the business partnership between Maria Greenough and Jedidiah John Holland was dissolved by mutual consent of both parties, leaving Maria in sole control of the business.¹⁵⁷ With this came more responsibilities and it thrust Maria into a more public-facing role. This included a court case in 1850, in which Maria's firm was accused of plagiarising the labels on the packets of her knitting cotton, requiring Maria to testify in court to defend her business.¹⁵⁸ Thus placing Maria in a more direct control of her financial management than other elite women in the era, who David R. Green and Alastair Owens documented tended to have fewer formal roles in businesses restricted to investments in bonds, shares and properties.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵³ Some female merchants and manufacturers were recorded in the trade directories. This phenomenon appears in these two Manchester directories and on one occasion in a Liverpool directory for 1800 with the example of Elizabeth & Jane Worrall, cotton dealers of 12 Hunter Street. In the 1800 directory for Manchester, five female manufacturers are listed; three were discernibly married or widowed and all lived on fashionable streets, reflecting their wealth, which would seem to suggest they inherited their businesses. The situation appears similar in 1863, the eight women recorded in the directory all lived in respectable, well-to-do areas. Four of the women in 1863 were manufacturers, the other four were merchants. There undoubtedly would have been many women across eighteenth and nineteenth century Liverpool and Manchester who were involved in business, the unusual situation here is that they were recorded as heads of these businesses in the public directories.

¹⁵⁴ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 15 August 1840, p.7

¹⁵⁵ NA: PROB 11/1939/232: Will of Peter Greenough, Manufacturer of Manchester, Lancashire, 07 January 1841

¹⁵⁶ Tosh, *A Man's Place*, p.15

¹⁵⁷ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 26 December 1846, p.8

¹⁵⁸ *Express London*, 25 February 1850, p.4

¹⁵⁹ David R. Green and Alastair Owens, 'Gentlewomanly Capitalism? Spinsters, Widows, and Wealth-Holding in England and Wales, c.1800-1860', *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 56, No. 3, (August 2003), p.530

Although no personal records survive to illustrate the intimate areas of Maria's life, official records chart her successes in her dual role as a manufacturer and mother. Within five years of her husband's death she had moved from Higher Ardwick to the fashionable gated-community of Victoria Park, renting Park Villa for £120 per year.¹⁶⁰ Maria also appears to have invested her wealth in other business ventures and in the 1861 census she was recorded as a 'braid and umbrella manufacturer, and banker and shareholder' and she had formed a partnership with Occleston and West to manufacture braid.¹⁶¹ The description of her occupation is also revealing about how she wished to be perceived in society. At the time of the census Maria and her daughter Elizabeth were in Southport, where her younger daughter Mary Theresa had died just weeks before the census. The coastal town was popular for its restorative powers for the ill and the family's presence there clearly shows Maria was involved in her domestic sphere and could separate herself from her businesses. Maria continued to rent her house in Victoria Park until 1867 before moving to Southport where she died in December 1870.¹⁶²

Maria also ensured that her surviving children reached the same aspirational standards as other children of the industrial elite. Her daughter Elizabeth was educated at St. Mary's Roman Catholic Priory, a prestigious boarding school in Warwickshire.¹⁶³ However, upon her marriage to Paul de Bastard-St Denis, the Baron de Bastard in 1865, Elizabeth had transcended her roots as the daughter of a manufacturer and she became a member of the French aristocracy.¹⁶⁴ The extent to which Maria was involved in the events of her daughter's life remains unknown, but ultimately her education and movement in social circles was testament to Maria's wealth. Maria could have eked out an existence as an annuitant on her husband's estate, instead she took control of it and developed it to the good fortunes of herself and her family. Whilst somewhat of an anomaly, especially compared to her

¹⁶⁰ MRO: M 10/23/5/18-19: Poor Rate Assessments 1846, p.9; NA: Census of England, Scotland and Wales, 1851: Victoria Park, Rusholme, Reference: HO107; Piece number: 2219; Page: 44

¹⁶¹ NA: Census of England, Scotland and Wales, 1861: Liverpool Road, Southport, Reference: RG09; Piece number: 2762; Folio Number: 91; Pages: 11; *Public Ledger and Daily Advertiser*, 18 August 1869, p.4

¹⁶² MRO: M10/23/5/42: Poor Rate Assessments, 1867, p.9

¹⁶³ NA: Census of England, Scotland and Wales, 1851: St Mary Road, Rugby, Warwickshire, Reference:HO107; Piece Number: 2070; Folio Number : 385; Page: 17

¹⁶⁴ *Morning Post*, 20 December 1888, p.2

contemporaries, Maria Greenough's story illustrates the power, skill and flexibility of the female-manufacturer in the nineteenth century.

Conclusion

The case studies highlighted in this chapter regarding the financial and social management of the industrial elites' households in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have shown for the most part it was a cross-gender collaborative partnership. Whilst there may have been an increasing sense of the physical removal of men from the domestic sphere across the late-eighteenth century and early-nineteenth century - partly due to the distinction of home and work premises and partly due to the increasing feminisation of the domestic sphere - this chapter has demonstrated the ways in which men remained involved in the house and, as such it has gone some way to bridging the gap that exists for this chronological period in the current historiography of masculinity and domesticity. The masculine involvement in the house was largely reflected in his financial records. These valuable sources correspond with the merchant's professional and personal habits, and they highlight the keen interest of men of the industrial elite in their domestic affairs, household concerns and their patriarchal and paternalistic role within the household.

The examples of John Owens, Thomas Travers Hayes and Titus Hibbert have been used to demonstrate that some circumstances made it necessary for men to take responsibility for their domestic sphere and domestic spending. Owens was a bachelor who lived with his elderly widower father, and Hayes and Hibbert were both widowers for a period of time. In these examples the loss of a spouse did not equate with the masculine retreat from the domestic sphere, instead it often necessitated the opposite effect. The various details recorded in these account books reflect both the meticulous nature of some of these men, but they also show a level of interest in the domestic sphere, from children's pocket money to the materials and locations of certain pieces of furniture.

This chapter has also shown the ways in which these men purchased their items, from high-status fashionable pieces to low-value, second-hand goods. It has acted as a continuation of existing research into the prevalence of second-hand goods and auction rooms and situated these trends among this class and within the North West, which has previously been

underexplored. The popularity of the auction room and the accounts relating to the repairing and mending of furniture reflected the common theme of the careful nature of the merchant who made choice preferences based on economies more so than any other reason. Ultimately, the interior of the merchant's house reflected the crossover of their mercantile world with the domestic. This chapter has shown how some men attempted to continue to build status through the acquisition of goods, although the house itself could dictate how this was conducted. John Gladstone was able to purchase fashionable, new suites of furniture from Gillows in correspondence with his new house in the country. In contrast, Frederick Richard Leyland had to subtly mould his interior design tastes in correspondence with the history of Speke Hall and conform to the conditions of his lease. Nonetheless, both men used moveable goods such as portraits and pictures in an attempt to reinforce their positions in society.

Men played an active part in household consumption, albeit with varying degrees of involvement. The analysis of account books, receipts, pocketbooks and diaries belonging to the merchant and his household have proven insightful and they have reinstated the agency of women as agents of domestic consumerism in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Moreover, this chapter has shown that purchasing items for the house could also be a joint effort between various family members as this represented the most practical and convenient method of consumption and thus revokes the idea that men were in sole control of finances.

Although only intermittently revealed through the archival resources, the significance of role women of the mercantile elite played within the management of the household and their role beyond the house within business. The diaries of Hannah Greg and Rachel Leech have been used to illustrate the unspoken and largely neglected roles of the wives of urban merchants and manufacturers played. Their personal writings have personified the daily experiences of women in their position, and they have conveyed and often hidden, emotional response to the frustrations of domestic life. Other examples of writing and documents relating to domestic life have also redefined the link between the mistress and her servants and the nature of the power-balance between the two. The public-facing role of the merchant's wife was ultimately tied to her private domestic life and as this chapter has shown, she often faced criticism and judgement from those closest to her.

The themes explored within this chapter have situated the men of the industrial elite within the domestic sphere, which was a notable absence from existing histories of this group, and this has stressed the importance of house and home amongst the lives of these men. Moreover, this chapter has placed men and women alongside each other and the comparative elements concerning control and household management have revealed new insights into the world of merchants and manufacturers.

Conclusion

The domestic lives of the industrial elites, namely merchants and manufacturers, is an area of study which has received little scholarly attention. This thesis has demonstrated that the house was an integral part of the lives of the industrial elites of Manchester and Liverpool in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Moreover, it has shown that the domestic sphere acted as a microcosm of the merchant's wider world as it was through the house that the merchant was able to communicate his status, his management skills and his control over finances and business. Through the use of detailed case studies of certain individuals and families, a more nuanced insight into the mercantile world have been discussed and analysed, as have new avenues of research into the development of Manchester and Liverpool across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The content of this research has informed three primary research questions originally outlined in the introduction: *What were the residential patterns of the elite communities in Manchester and Liverpool and how did these change across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and why? In what ways was status-building demonstrated in the physicality of the house and what did this do for the industrial elites? How did the industrial elites' domestic sphere operate and how involved was the merchant and manufacturer in this?*

To answer these research questions, four critical areas of analysis were identified, and these were used to form the nucleus of each chapter. The first chapter mapped the residential patterns of the industrial elites across an 80-year period and offered explanations for these changes. The second and third chapters detailed the symbolism of the house, its interior and its exterior as tangible displays of wealth, success, and social aspirations, whilst the fourth chapter analysed the personal documents of the merchant and his household to reveal their domestic lives and routines.

The results of these chapters have revealed merchants' experiences of domesticity and they have reshaped our knowledge and understanding of these themes within existing historiographical discussions regarding the importance of the house for gentry and middling classes. The industrial elite expected their houses to serve as comfortable and convenient

residences, as a status-enhancing display of wealth and power, as a place to enjoy family life, and occasionally as a place of work and business. The case studies used have shown how the industrial elites responded to these changing needs and desires for their domestic spaces and, ultimately, how their use of domestic space conveyed meaning and importance beyond their private lives and how the domestic sphere shaped their public lives too. Essentially the house embodied the character of the merchant as a group and as an individual and this has been revealed at each stage of this project.

The comparative analysis of trade directories has re-shaped our understanding of the residential patterns of the elite inhabitants of Manchester and Liverpool in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Approaching these structural changes through an analysis of residential developments has highlighted the different ways in which the eighteenth-century political institutions in Manchester and Liverpool, namely the Police Commissioners in Manchester and the Liverpool Corporation, sought to control urban redevelopment in this period as each strived to assert their town as a northern powerhouse in direct social and economic rivalry to the other.

Whilst emulation of the rural lifestyles of the gentry may have bolstered suburbanisation across the country in this period, chapter one revealed that this was a relatively minor factor in prompting the movement of people in Manchester and Liverpool. In both locations the elite residents were displaced from the urban environment, primarily as a result of the changes to urban environment, including the expansion of industry and commerce. These pushed the community to the fringes of each town, although this occurred at different rates in the two locations. Manchester spread organically in all directions around the town centre, whereas the location of the port in Liverpool meant developments were more controlled to the north, east and south. A number of enabling factors, including improvements in transport, in particular the omnibus in the 1820s and the railway in the 1830s, further increased the distances between the suburban resident and the town centre and allowed for the population of the suburbs. Changing modes of living, reflected in the architectural form of the house, also served to draw elite populations from the urban centre. The attraction of suburban lifestyles and an increased desire for leisure time and recreation space resulted in garden and landed properties becoming both attractive and functional elements of the house was apparent in the case studies discussed in chapter three. There were many similarities between the

suburban villa garden common around Manchester and Liverpool and the larger, formal gardens of country houses such as those occupied by John Lees at Platt Hall.

The mapping of residential patterns has demonstrated that suburbanisation of areas around Manchester and Liverpool commenced on a significant scale within the first two decades of the nineteenth century and in some instances, earlier in the eighteenth century. These findings are crucial to our understanding of suburbanisation beyond London-centric focused projects, such as those by F. M. L. Thompson and they redefine residential patterns in the North West region as these figures pre-date the existing suggestions within the historiography.

To examine how status was evident in the houses of the industrial elite, material has been analysed and built upon theories in the existing literature regarding elite housing and status-building among the elite and gentry, as seen in the works of Mark Girouard, Stephen Hague, and Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley and they have been applied to the mercantile classes.¹ Status was at the forefront of almost every decision the industrial elite made regarding their houses and the elite was not a homogeneous group. The case studies used within these chapters have shown how it could be an obvious choice or a subconscious decision, especially regarding the architectural features of the exterior and interior of the house itself. This is an important conclusion of this thesis, and it demonstrates that the industrial elites were following prescribed methods of displaying status as other social groups.

The merchant-builder was somewhat of an anomaly in late-eighteenth century Manchester and Liverpool, and as such the construction of his own house was tangible evidence of his status and power which was directly communicated to his peers. However, the analysis presented here has highlighted how the architectural style of the house was ultimately less significant with regards to status building than the location, size, and suitability of a house. This was especially true in the nineteenth century, characterised by a broad range of choice of architectural fashions, but it can also be seen in the architecture of eighteenth-century houses, such as the appeal of vernacular, rural-inspired architecture as seen in the Gregs'

¹ Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978); Stephen Hague, *The Gentleman's House in the British-Atlantic World 1680-1780*, (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley, *Creating Paradise: The Building of the English Country House, 1660-1880*, (London: Continuum International, 2000)

Quarry Bank House, compared to contemporary neo-classical or gothic-revival designs of their contemporaries.

The changing residential patterns across the period c.1780-1860 revealed the significance of location and status. In both towns in the eighteenth-century there was some segregation of elite residents to certain streets and districts, although for the most part the urban sphere remained a social melting pot of mixed-status residents on streets of mixed usage. The distinction between elite and non-elite residential developments became more pronounced in suburban developments in the early-nineteenth century and spatial distance was used to reflect social distance. The formation of the private, gated-park community in the mid-1830s sought to enforce separation and create distinction through residential addresses. Manchester was at the forefront of this innovative development and, even after Liverpool developed its own park-based communities in the 1840s, there was a distinction between the two. In Manchester they were enclosed behind walls and toll gates, all designed to purposely keep the working-classes out and the formation of a Park Trust, consisting of Victoria Park's residents, was to some extent to prevent speculative development which would have permitted entry to the lower-middle classes. In Liverpool the urban residential developments clearly inspired the suburban, and Prince's Park was developed around public parkland, not dissimilar to the elegant squares and communal gardens close to the centre of the town. Some gated-communities were created in the suburbs of Liverpool in the 1860s but on a much smaller scale than Manchester and they did not have the same popularity or longevity. This reveals that the mixing of status, occupation and residential location was more common and accepted in Liverpool, but Manchester's elite took active measures to prevent it.

It is also noteworthy that the creation of the Victoria Park development was a movement led by the industrial elites and not the gentry; using the park-development as a microhistory of the industrial elite serves to reveal more about their wider lives. This mid-1830s mercantile-controlled development was symbolic of the dispersal of social, cultural and political power from the landed gentry to the industrial elites. Their public positions were strengthened by the 1832 Reform Act and the 1835 Municipal Corporations Act, which placed control directly into their hands, and they reflected this in their domestic needs. This is a link between the

merchants' public and private lives which has not been taken into consideration in the existing literature.²

Status and emulation are two corresponding themes throughout this thesis, although the extent to which the industrial elites sought to emulate the gentry, or indeed their own class, was variable. The close-knit residential communities of merchants based upon religion or ethnicity was visible in both Manchester and Liverpool in the nineteenth century and the collective movement of these communities from urban to suburban environments was evidence of community-based aspirations. Despite differences in their residential patterns, this thesis has shown that the industrial elites of Manchester and Liverpool used their houses in very similar ways and there was little difference in their approaches to room use and decorating and furnishing their properties.

The most distinctive example of emulation of the gentry and elites was portrayed in the discussion of the renting and furnishings of country houses and old manorial halls by the industrial elite, which was particularly prominent in both locations from the start of the nineteenth century. This research has greatly informed and added to existing discussions of renting country houses, such as those by Wilson and Mackley, which questioned the motivations of the gentry as landlords and as such did not account for the motivations of the tenant.³ Renting the properties of the absentee gentry was one such way in which the industrial elite could build their status in ways which were either inaccessible to them or without embarking on costly construction projects.

The age and style of the country house and hall was particularly important as a physical symbol of heritage, wealth and social standing which was largely absent from the merchant's own background. As seen with the example of Frederick Richard Leyland at Speke Hall, the age and status of the house could dictate how the merchants chose to furnish these properties. The popularity of auction sales among the mercantile elite was analysed in chapter four and the fashion for second-hand goods and for antiques and reproduction pieces might suggest that emulation of the elite and their arrangement of furniture and space. However,

² Simon Gunn, 'The Middle Class, Modernity and the Provincial City: Manchester c.1840-80' in Alan Kidd and David Nicholls (eds.), *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism: Middle-Class Identity in Britain 1800 – 1940*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), Chapter 8

³ Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, p.349

the purchases of merchants and manufacturers discussed here largely consisted of useful household items, which suggests auctions were prevalent as they represented a balanced and practical approach to shopping. These are testament to the characters of the industrial elite as individuals, rather than as a social group and this approach has expanded the current understanding of second-hand consumer markets to cover a greater cross-section of society.⁴

The acquisition of landed estates by merchants and manufacturers often permitted them to transcend their industrial and commercial origins and to expand their interests into property construction or politics, or in the case of John Gladstone, both. There was a clear emulation of the landed aristocracy's model of estate use by the landed industrial elite. Samuel Greg's erection of worker's housing at Styal confirmed that he was still a man of business but even this was reminiscent of the nobility's development of estate housing. Other examples, such as church building, were pursued under philanthropic guises by the landed industrial elite, but they also served as tangible edifices which reinforced power and influence over the local population, especially among second and third generations of mercantile families, whose lives were more akin to their contemporary landed elite and than the industrial elite of the period.

Conversely, status could also be compromised by the house –an important consideration raised by this thesis. The case studies have demonstrated this on occasions when it was decided among peers that a house did not conform to conventional domestic standards or when it was deemed that domestic comfort had become secondary to status, making an inconvenient home. Nonetheless, the fact these views were only shared privately in letters and diaries highlights the contradictory nature of status in this period, as it could also serve as protection from public scrutiny, thus suggesting there was a solidarity amongst peers. This can be seen in the example of Henry Anthony Bennett's house on Nelson Street, which was criticised for subverting domestic norms, but his long-serving public career meant his house was regarded as little more than an eccentric bachelor's folly. Likewise, the charming personalities of the Greg family and their uninhibited lifestyle at Quarry Bank House, provided a distraction from the cotton spinning mill just feet away. John Gladstone's continual

⁴ Clive Edwards and Margaret Ponsonby, 'The Polarization of the Second-Hand Market for Furniture in the Nineteenth Century', in Jon Stobart and Ilja Van Damme (eds.), *Modernity and the Second-Hand Trade: European Consumption Cultures and Practices, 1700-1900*, Chapter Five; Sara Pennell 'All but the Kitchen Sink: Household Sales and the Circulation of Second-Hand Goods in Early Modern England' in Stobart and Van Damme (eds.), *Modernity and the Second-Hand Trade*, Chapter Two

alterations to Seaforth House may have resulted in an inconvenient layout but this was only demonstrated in personal writings of the family and acquaintances, publicly the house befitting of a man of his status and its appearance in John Preston Neale's *Views of the seats of Noblemen and Gentleman, in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland* affirmed the position of the house and its owner among elite society.⁵

The merchant and manufacturer's involvement in their home was visible at every level of domesticity, from the construction of the house to the financial management of the household. As house building was both a substantial financial investment and in many cases it was symbolic of a dynamic investment for the future of the family. As such, the case studies of Gladstone, Greg, Absalom Watkin and Charles Goore, and their personal, physical involvement in the construction of their houses have supported David Hancock's analysis of mercantile control of housebuilding in eighteenth-century London and expanded the discussion to the North West in the nineteenth century.⁶

Personal writings including account books, diaries and letters have revealed the wider extent to which the merchant was involved in his domestic sphere through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The analysis has also emphasised the important role that women, family members and servants played in the households of the industrial elites in this period. The detailed case studies in chapter four support Karen Harvey's analysis of men and the domestic sphere in the eighteenth century and the case studies of men across two centuries has somewhat bridged the methodological divide which exists in the current historiography between studies of early-modern men and the home, and later-nineteenth century home.⁷ They have shown that elite commercial men in the nineteenth century were not separated from their domestic sphere and their financial records in particular show an awareness of household shopping and routines, as well as paternalistic affection. They also support the findings of Harvey and Amanda Vickery that running the eighteenth and nineteenth century

⁵ John Preston Neale, *Views of the seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen, in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland*, Volume Six, (London: Sherwood, Neely, and Jones and Co., 1820), p.108

⁶ David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London merchants and the integration of the British Atlantic community, 1735-1785*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

⁷ Karen Harvey and Alexandra Shepard, 'What Have Historians Done with Masculinity? Reflections on Five Centuries of British History, circa 1500-1950', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 2, (April 2005), pp.276-279

household was cooperative effort between the husband and wife, or indeed the single man and his servants.⁸

The current historiography has largely overlooked the roles of women connected to the industrial elite or has relegated them to the domestic sphere or chosen to focus on their philanthropic work.⁹ This thesis had redressed this balance, especially with wives such as Hannah Greg, but it also supported the analysis surrounding her life by drawing upon the experiences of her contemporaries such as Anne Gladstone, Elizabeth Paulet and Rachel Leech. The lives of these women have illustrated how the house of the mercantile elites operated in reality and how physical spaces were used in a variety of ways. Crucially, comparisons of these examples alongside floorplans of houses belonging to the industrial elite have challenged the prevailing view imposed in architectural treatises that the family and servants constituted two physically and emotionally distant households. The constrained urban townhouse of the eighteenth century confirmed that such divisions were a luxury rather than a necessity and household practicalities and convenience often created an overlap between the two spheres.

The physical ties between the merchant and manufacturer and his house were clearly visible in the arrangement of domestic space and the workplace in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century house. This use of space, symbolised by the attached or adjoining warehouse, counting house or office, formed a significant part of the industrial elites' daily lives and the lack of separation between the two communicated the importance of the house to the merchant for the convenience of his business and his private domestic life. Such arrangements could display status in the eighteenth-century town, but this custom declined rapidly with the push towards the suburbs. Nonetheless, some men, such as Samuel Greg continued to uphold these values and arrangements of space even in the countryside, showing the uneasy balance between status, the house and the workplace. This research has contributed to the historiographical discussion of the arrangement between domestic spaces and workplaces among the mercantile community discussed by Hancock and by Jane

⁸ Karen Harvey, *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009)

⁹ Richard G. Wilson, *Gentlemen Merchants: The Merchant Community in Leeds 1700-1830*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971); Mary B. Rose, *The Greg's of Quarry Bank: The Rise and Decline of a Family Firm 1750-1914*, (Cambridge: The Press Syndicate, 1986)

Longmore and it has expanded upon the arrangement of domestic and workspace for Manchester's lower classes analysed by Hannah Barker.¹⁰ Moreover, it is the first study to actively compare this practice across two locations and continued this analysis into the nineteenth century. Particularly significant in this respect is the development of a clear format which has measured the distances between the house and workplace and also established a timeframe for the longevity of this arrangement in the region. This is an innovative addition to the literature regarding urban histories, the mercantile community and the relationship between the house and business.

The examination of the houses of the industrial elites of Manchester and Liverpool in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has proven to be an illuminating study into the lives of the socio-economic group. Their houses were used to convey both status and convenience and the case studies within have demonstrated how they achieved this. Moreover, the strengths of the comparative approach used within this thesis has firmly situated the North West as an ideal case study for future comparative work. Future research might compare Manchester and Liverpool with other cities in the North such as Newcastle or Leeds as part of a broader regional study. The value of such a study would highlight whether or not certain residential patterns or domestic behaviour were restricted to the North West, or which were reflective of the community as a whole. The material contained within this thesis also makes it an ideal candidate for future global study. The mercantile communities of Manchester and Liverpool could be compared with contemporary communities in Boston, Kingston or Nantes to assess to what extent the themes discussed here were reflective of British customs or if they were visible among other industrial elites. It is possible that future research might also expand the framework used here within a wider chronological boundary to incorporate a rich variety of resources from the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, particularly contemporary photographs of the interior of the house, which would reinforce the conclusions of this study and emphasise the importance of the house and domestic sphere among the industrial elite.

¹⁰ Hancock, *Citizens of the World*, p.90; Jane Longmore, 'Rural retreats: Liverpool slave traders and their country houses' in Madge Dresser and Andrew Hann (eds.), *Slavery and the British Country House*, (Swindon: English Heritage, 2013), pp.43-54; Hannah Barker, *Family and Business during the Industrial Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017)

The study also informs a number of areas of research initially raised in the literature review. Status, emulation and identity have been predominant themes explored throughout this thesis and, as such, this has contributed to our understanding of the fluidity of status in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The case studies analysed within have shown that a rise in status was usually preceded by the accumulation of wealth. The case studies have communicated the different ways in which this was achieved, and they speak to broader themes as merchants' accrual of wealth was not dissimilar to that experienced by other members of society. It could be attained steadily through business such as in the example of Samuel Greg, through positional marriages such as with John Lees, or even in the case of John Gladstone, through "windfalls" such as the compensation for the emancipation of his enslaved people. How individuals chose to respond to this increase in wealth and status was subjective and it is especially interesting as it reveals a great deal about contrasting identities and masculinity in this period. The examples of Greg, Lees and Gladstone are key examples here. Lees and Gladstone used it as a support to bolster their families' finances which allowed them to retreat metaphorically and physically from their mercantile origins, whereas Greg chose to invest his wealth and his wife's dowry back into his cotton mill, reaffirming his roots in manufacturing. In spite of these differences, and the differences in time period and locations in which these men lived, each adopted a similar approach regarding their domestic circumstances and used their wealth to build their own houses, of course of different sizes and scales, but in a way that emphasises the importance of the house and its links with status in this period.

Emulation was evident in various different formats and the industrial elite both used this as a means of projecting their own aspirations and reinforcing their differences from those lower down the social scale. With regards to emulation and status more broadly in this period, Manchester and Liverpool took relatively similar approaches and the industrial elites across both locations occupied similar positions. This thesis argues that there was a shift in emulation across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and this was largely a result of local power structures. In the eighteenth century and early-nineteenth century there was clear evidence of emulation of the landed elites, their houses and their lifestyles, as these were the only social groups above the rising industrial classes. However, by the 1830s and 1840s emulation turned inwards, and the wealthiest merchants and manufacturers set standards

and precedents within the commercial elite. This was linked to the key political changes in this period, such as enfranchisement and the formation of municipal boroughs which projected the industrial elite to visible positions of power. To an extent, the gradual removal of the influence of the landed gentry commenced much earlier in Liverpool than in Manchester. From the mid-eighteenth century the merchant oligarchy which controlled the Liverpool Corporation sought to physically remove any legacies of feudal power structures during its redevelopment of the town. The local gentry still controlled the development of their estates, until necessity or opportunity enabled them to sell their land, and this offers explanations which justify the changing power structure alongside the start of suburbanisation in the area.

It is also argued that, once the industrial elites had occupied these positions of power and influence, they actively sought to distance themselves from the lower classes. Again, this was most visible in the location of the houses and the continued removal of the industrial elites from the centre of the town to suburbs and the surrounding countryside; the development of private communities highlights this migration. Somewhat contradictorily, this thesis has shown that, whilst the exterior of a house may act as the 'power house' and thus be a visible, public communicator of status, wealth and power, the interior could convey something very different. Subjectivity of individuality and status are again important factors within this. Furnishings did not necessarily distinguish the elites as cheap, practical pieces of furniture were still highly sought after and others followed fashionable trends which meant their domestic furnishings were of a similar quality to those of the lower-middle classes and quite possibly purchased at the same stores.

Finally, the revisionist element of this thesis is within its interpretation of gender and household management. This case studies used have added to our understanding of the role of eighteenth and nineteenth century men within the domestic sphere and re-shaped the character of the merchant and manufacturer in this period. It has shown that men were directly involved in their houses at every level and, whilst the industrial elite may have conformed to many middle-class ideologies and characteristics in their domestic habits, the linking of the spheres of masculinity, femininity, home and business directly challenges the notions of separate spheres in the nineteenth century home.

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