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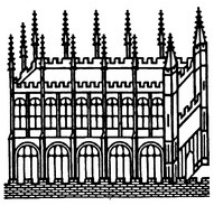

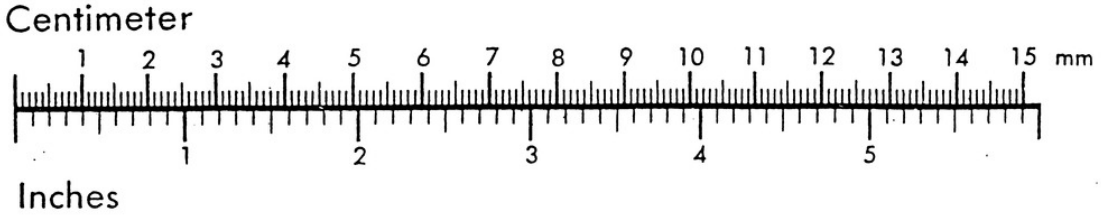

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Civic Image and Civic Patriotism in Liverpool 1880-1914

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Trinity Term 2000

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THESIS

D.Phil Modern History **Trinity 2000**

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Civic Image and Civic Patriotism in Liverpool 1880-1914

The late Victorian and Edwardian period saw ritual become increasingly important in political life. Towns and cities were involved in conscious efforts to construct and project attractive images of themselves. These images were intended to encourage a sense of civic patriotism. Ceremonies, honorific titles, public events and civic architecture were essays in the invention of tradition.

However, historians have applied the concept of the invention of tradition unevenly. Previous research has dwelt on the construction of images. Perceptions of official images and responses to them have been overlooked. This thesis employs a model which recognises images as processes with foundations in human relationships. It evaluates images in terms of intentionality, power, context and participation. The participative dimension is of particular importance, because images aimed to instil a sense of civic patriotism which would encourage citizens to make emotional and financial investments in their communities.

Liverpool attained the status of a city in 1880. The civic ideology of the city was dominated by images of commerce and by notions of Imperial duty and public service which celebrated commercial virtues. Many aspects of urban life were shaped by civic image. This study does not confine itself to public events and pageantry, instead it explores such spheres as municipal art policy, Liverpool's public health record, the attempts to extend the city boundaries, civic hagiography, the foundation of the University, women and the ideal of citizenship and the influence of football on civic identity to demonstrate the importance of images in the city's social, political and institutional history.

The purpose of the thesis is three-fold: to suggest that civic image opens new perspectives on Liverpudlian history, to discover why there were more conscious attempts to construct civic image and to restore participation to the study of civic image by unravelling the connections between image and patriotism.

Civic Image and Civic Patriotism in Liverpool 1880-1914

Between 1880, when it became a city, and the outbreak of the First World War, Liverpool witnessed conscious efforts to construct and promote attractive images of the city. Historians such as Eric Hobsbawm and David Cannadine have applied the concept of the invention of tradition to the growth of municipal ritual during this period. More splendid ceremonies, pageants and civic festivities, honorific titles and a heightened concern with iconography and glamour provide evidence of a resurgence of rites and symbols in late Victorian and Edwardian public life. Asa Briggs' seminal work, Victorian Cities, demonstrated the importance of civic images in fostering civic patriotism- a sense of identity with the city and pride in its achievements.

Although civic image and civic patriotism have been recognised as key elements in the urban experience of the period, previous research has confined the investigation of civic image to narratives of public events, municipal architecture and civic achievements. Civic image has been conceived in unduly narrow terms. Moreover, those who have described the invention of tradition in its urban setting have tended to concentrate on the construction of images and have reified civic image.

This thesis construes image as a process which must be related to individual human behaviour. Civic images aimed to encourage the development of an affective identity with the city through civic patriotism. A model which enables civic image to be more accurately described and more clearly understood is suggested. Civic image and civic patriotism were contested ground at this time. Hence, a model which incorporates intentionality, power, context and participation as explanatory variables is possessed of greater analytical power.

The creation of the Local Government Board in 1871 ushered in a search for a more uniform system of local government. Municipalities were viewed as essential foci of citizenship. Civic patriotism promoted the identification of citizens with their communities which would secure their participation and emotional and financial commitment. English notions of self-government relied on the consent and moral involvement of the governed, and civic images encouraged a sense of ownership of civic achievements.

Rivalry was one means by which civic patriotism could be promoted. The foundation of the Association of Municipal Corporations, the growth of publications such as the Municipal Journal, which compared the work carried out by local authorities, and the proliferation of professional bodies for municipal officials, all occasioned more frequent and more thorough examinations of civic image. Towns and cities assumed the administration of tramways, electricity, gas, education, child welfare and housing, partly as a result of national legislation, and partly to express and display the civic virtue of the community. Many municipalities sought to enlarge their geographical boundaries, too. The notion of civic patriotism, instilled through images, would predispose ratepayers and philanthropists to meet the additional financial challenges which such demonstrations of civitas necessitated.

Liverpool is particularly suitable for an investigation of civic image and civic patriotism. The city aspired to recognition as the 'second city of the Empire' and was engaged in intense rivalry with Glasgow and Birmingham in claiming this distinction. The cities strove to outstrip one another, not only in absolute measures of population, size and rateable value, but also in civic virtue. There was also a long-standing contest with Manchester within Lancashire and the north-west. Assertions of Liverpool's pre-eminence were phrased in the vocabulary of images of commercial success.

This aspect of Liverpudlian history has been overlooked. Liverpool's experience of civic image has been omitted from such surveys as Briggs' Victorian Cities. Liverpudlian historiography has concentrated on sectarianism and strikes, Tories and trade and industrial relations and the Irish; civic image, which illuminates power structures, social relationships and ideological contests, has been neglected. This thesis seeks to open new perspectives on Liverpudlian history. In addition, it aims to restore participation and ownership to an analytical framework of civic image to rediscover the significance of civic image and civic patriotism in the dynamics of late-Victorian and Edwardian municipal government. Civic image encompassed much more than official ceremonies and civic architecture, and the ten chapters of the thesis survey a wide thematic and chronological cross-section of evidence.

Chapter One- Civic Ceremonial

Royal visits and coronations were marked by essays in the construction of official images of Liverpool. The ceremonial which attended the royal visits in 1881, 1886 and 1906 expressed the city's commercial confidence and restated its position as the foremost port in the Empire. The coronation festivities of 1902 and 1911 communicated images of the Imperial mission of Liverpudlian commerce. The festal element to these events was needed to encourage participation in these images. The use of school children in ceremonial was a means of enforcing participation, which also countered portrayals of Liverpool as an unhealthy city.

The Conservatives, who governed the city throughout the period save between 1892 and 1895, met with opposition to these displays. Liberals confronted them on questions of expenditure, while Labour argued that the pageantry was a sham which concealed social problems. Irish Nationalists and suffragettes discerned civic ceremonial as a prop to the status quo and attacked it still more forcefully.

Chapter Two- The Liverpool Pageant of 1907

The septcentenary of the civic charter was celebrated with a pageant in 1907. This was one of a number of pageants which took place throughout the nation between 1905 and 1914. These pageants strove to use festive images from municipal history to instil civic patriotism. Considerable resources were invested in the Liverpool pageant, but it failed both commercially and as a didactic and normative exercise.

Liverpool's history proved contentious. The project suffered from functional ambiguity since it was unclear whether entertainment, education or making a profit was its central purpose. There was a severe participation deficit and the messages of commercial glory and civic pride were not communicated to a mass audience.

Chapter Three- Municipal honours

Honorific titles provided images of patriotism and established image building as a demonstration of patriotism. The mayoralty was a key office in the communication of Liverpool's image. Mayors were expected to entertain on a grand scale and they were judged on their ability to conduct ceremonial. The wives and daughters of mayors did much to organise ceremonial occasions.

The freedom of the city was a reward added to the gift of the Corporation by the Municipal Corporations Act of 1885. The title bestowed civic recognition on individuals and was therefore an important channel through which behaviour might be modelled. The ceremonial

at the conferral of the award became increasingly lavish and the acceptance speeches provided platforms for the construction and propagation of visions of municipal life. These honours became politicised for they commanded strategically important political territory.

Chapter Four- Civic Hagiography

Biographies of leading citizens emerged as a literary genre. The works advanced different virtues, but shared certain stock themes. They were hagiographic in tone, for they portrayed their subjects as exemplars of civic virtue and depicted civic patriotism as a holistic moral approach to urban existence. Nonconformity did not acknowledge a litany of saints but Nonconformist ministers were to the fore in the development of the genre. Businessmen such as Alexander Balfour and William Rathbone served as exemplars of the ideal of the Christian merchant- a figure who allied commercial ability to a strong moral sense. Directories of Liverpool worthies, of which Liverpool's Legion of Honour was the most famous, also paraded the civic virtue of the city's elite. A canon of citizenship was forged, defined by commercial achievement and loyalty to Liverpool.

Chapter Five- Civic Blame

Assertions of virtue and allegations of blame were vehicles for the expression of social and political conflict. Groups which were portrayed as having damaged the city's reputation were accused of showing a lack of civic patriotism and could be excluded from the privileges of citizenship. Public health was one of the most serious threats to the civic image of a city denigrated as the 'Black Spot on the Mersey'. The evaluation of the municipal health record involved attributions of responsibility and blame. Scapegoating was not a novel feature of urban life, but in this period it acquired an added ideological edge. Private lifestyles might damage Liverpool's public image, so citizenship encroached into domestic life.

As the private/public distinction was blurred, the 'separate spheres' division of gender roles became increasingly untenable. The role of the woman as home-maker was becoming an aspect of civic duty. In consequence, some women, such as Eleanor Rathbone, found avenues into public life opened to them. However, the extended scope of municipal administration was not a universally empowering experience for women. Working-class lifestyles, and the mores of the Irish in particular, came under attack. Depravity and deprivation were linked in a dialectic which absolved the Corporation from blame for Liverpool's social problems.

Chapter Six- Liverpool's M.O.H.s and the doctoring of civic image

In the field of public health, Liverpool's image was bifurcated. The city could boast a number of pioneering achievements. It was the first city to have a medical officer of health, for instance. However, the city continued to suffer from death rates which were amongst the highest of any British municipality. The slums which lay within minutes of the Exchange Flags at the centre of commercial Liverpool undermined the image of a prosperous and progressive city.

Attacks on the Corporation's public health record began to multiply during the 1880s, putting M.O.H.s in an unenviable position. The post of M.O.H. was a Corporation appointment, so both professional pride and self-interest demanded skills of image management from the incumbent. E.W. Hope was Liverpool's medical officer for five decades and demonstrated an awareness of the importance of image management. At times, this duty ran counter to the M.O.H.'s statutory brief to discover and publicise the causes of disease. Hope appeared before government commissions, medical conferences and local societies to champion Liverpool's

achievements and to argue that the headline death-rate was a misleading measure. He did not always reconcile statistical accuracy with presentational concerns.

Chapter Seven- Carthage, Venice and the Liverpool School of Painters

Municipal art policy in Liverpool was dominated by a few self-proclaimed aesthetes, of whom Philip Rathbone was the most influential. Wealthy ports such as Carthage, Venice and Florence had established the patronage of the arts as one of the civic duties of commerce. In the early nineteenth century, William Roscoe had formulated a vision of civic virtue which combined commerce and the arts. Roscoe was universally revered as a paragon of Liverpudlian citizenship. The late-nineteenth century witnessed a fascination with the decline of empires, and cultural production was viewed as part of Liverpool's imperial mission. Local artists did not welcome municipal intervention in the arts. They questioned the authority of the Corporation's aesthetic judgements and argued that municipal interference was damaging local cultural production. H.C. Marillier's work, The Liverpool School of Painters, postulated that local artists had been neglected by the Corporation.

Chapter Eight- Liverpool's attempted incorporation of Bootle

As Liverpool and Glasgow competed for recognition as the 'second city of the Empire', civic aggrandisement became one expression of civic rivalry. The Conservatives sought to follow a policy of expansion which was informed by the notion of 'Greater Liverpool'. In this conception of the community, commercial interests were dominant. Robert Hampson, the leader of the Parliamentary Committee on the Council, intended to incorporate the borough of Bootle into the city to strengthen Liverpool's claims to precedence over Glasgow.

Bootle successfully resisted the scheme by undermining Liverpool's civic image. The Bootle Corporation argued that there were social and spiritual aspects to municipal life which a commercially oriented definition of a community overlooked. Whereas Bootle exploited the symbolic power of its civic charter as a focus for loyalty, the Liverpool Corporation failed to win support for a case which merely asserted the city's commercial glory.

Chapter Nine- The University of Liverpool

In 1881, University College, Liverpool was founded as part of the federal Victoria University. The campaign for a university college in the city proposed that such an institution would demonstrate that learning and commerce could enjoy a mutually profitable relationship. The new college would mute criticism of the materialism of Liverpool and would bring academic theory to the conduct of business at a time when international competition was intensifying.

The institution had been conceived in terms which related it to the hegemonic image of commerce. Both the college and individual academics prospered by portraying their work as a strain of civic patriotism. The federal framework of the Victoria University was ill-suited to a college founded on commercial specialisation and fierce civic pride. The case for an independent university centred on the need for administrative arrangements which could channel civic patriotism as effectively as possible. In 1902, the City Council and University College successfully campaigned for an independent University of Liverpool.

Chapter Ten- Emotional Communities and Football in Liverpool

Football clubs were important in encouraging a sense of civic identity and were recognised as civic institutions. However, football identities were more than reflections of wider socio-economic patterns. The Liverpool and Everton clubs were emotional communities forged by participation which exerted an enormous influence over the lives of their supporters. The bond between supporter and club had an emotional resonance which has been understated. This was no less true of middle-class than of working-class supporters, for the commercialisation of leisure was only one aspect of middle-class involvement in football.

Where loyalty to club and city coincided, civic patriotism was powerfully restated. Yet, civic and club identity sometimes bisected. The history of Liverpool and Everton football clubs illustrates the importance of participation and emotional ownership in defining communities.

In this thesis, it is argued that official images of civic glory and of civic patriotism were rooted in a municipal ideology which placed commerce at the centre of Liverpudlian identity. Although not all of Liverpool's elite were merchants, their status was exalted by association with these images of commercial grandeur. Commerce offered a means of relating personal, civic and Imperial ambitions. It is harder to unravel the attitude of the working-classes to the elite's pretensions to be citizens of the 'second city of the Empire.'

Participation is a crucial aspect of the relationship between image and behaviour. In order to understand why certain images were more successful than others in winning participative support, historians must do more than narrate the story of how images were constructed. The affective potential of images must be evaluated if the imaginative landscape of the working-classes is to be charted accurately.

Civic Image and Civic Patriotism in Liverpool 1880-1914

Introduction

> *APRIL 30. Perfectly astounded at receiving an invitation for Carrie and myself from the Lord and Lady Mayoress to the Mansion House, to 'meet the Representatives of Trade and Commerce'. My heart beat like that of a schoolboy. Carrie and I read the invitation over two or three times. I could scarcely eat my breakfast...*
>
> *MAY 2...Told Gowing not to call next Monday, as we were going to the Mansion House. Send similar note to Cummings...*
>
> *MAY 9...Gowing entered the room, without knocking, with two hats on his head and holding the garden-rake in his hand, with Carrie's fur tippet (which he had taken off the downstairs hall-peg) round his neck, and announced himself in a loud, coarse voice: 'His Royal Highness, the Lord Mayor!' He marched twice round the room like a buffoon.*[1]

The diary of Charles Pooter, the Grossmiths' tragi-comic 'hero', serves as a reminder of the diverse individual responses to civic image. The connections between images and behaviour were not unidirectional; yet the links between civic image and civic patriotism have been underexplored. This thesis examines civic image and the responses to it in late Victorian and Edwardian Liverpool. The introduction will discuss the theoretical and methodological premises on which the research has been conducted. The decision to focus on Liverpool between 1880 and 1914 is explained, and the merits and limitations of the episodic approach which has been employed are evaluated. Finally, the themes of each chapter will be related to these overarching concerns.

In1982, David Cannadine stated that

> *in the period from circa 1880 to 1914...the British ruling elite...was greatly concerned with the creation and production of spectacle, pageant and 'public theatre' to an*

[1] G. and W. Grossmith, The Diary of a Nobody, London, 1892, (1971 edn.) pp.49, 51 and 61.

extent which has rarely been appreciated, and for reasons which, at a general level, remain unexplained.[2]

This study documents the extent of the creation and production of civic imagery in Liverpool and sets it in a local and national context. As well as explaining why there were more conscious efforts to construct and project civic image, the thesis argues that historians must pay greater attention to how these images were received. If civic pride is not to be reified, or depicted as an unduly monolithic emotional response, there must be analysis of how images were communicated and of how a sense of ownership of these images was instilled, too.

In Eric Hobsbawm's judgement, political life in the late nineteenth century 'found itself increasingly ritualized and filled with symbols and publicity appeals...the **invention** of tradition.' He argued that there was 'a silent war for the control of the symbols and rites.'[3] Cannadine, too, has recognised that Victorian civic leaders were

concerned to proclaim the greatness and unity of their communities by appealing to history, to pageantry, and to glamour. They built elaborate town halls rich in civic iconography; they were greatly concerned with municipal etiquette and ceremonial; and they acquired aldermanic robes, coats of arms, maces and regalia. After the royal family, these city fathers were the greatest inventors of tradition between the 1880s and the 1930s.[4]

Yet, the concept of the 'invention of tradition'[5] has been applied rather unequally to the study of civic image, and there are few accounts of the battles in Hobsbawm's 'silent war'. The means by which images were communicated and the reasons for emotional investment and participation in such images have constituted a field largely characterised by both a paucity of

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[2] D. Cannadine, 'The Transformation of Civic Ritual in Modern Britain: The Colchester Oyster Feast' in Past and Present, No.94, (1982), p.129.

[3] E. Hobsbawm, The Age of Empire, London, 1987, pp.105-6.

[4] D. Cannadine, The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy, New Haven and London, 1990, p.564.

[5] see E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds.), The Invention of Tradition, Cambridge, 1993.

empirical research and a poverty of theory. Even seminal works, such as Briggs' Victorian Cities[6] and Cannadine's article on 'The Transformation of Civic Ritual in Modern Britain', have chronicled the construction of image far more thoroughly than they have explored how image was received. Winning commitment is as integral to image-building as is the creation and production of images.

E.P. Thompson once cautioned that historical relationships are marked by 'a fluency which evades analysis if we attempt to stop [them] dead at any given moment...The relationship must always be embodied in real people and in a real context'[7]; and Antoine Roquentin, the historian protagonist of Sartre's Nausea, confided in his diary, 'I don't think the profession of historian fits a man for psychological analysis. In our work, we have to deal only with simple feelings to which we give generic names such as Ambition and Interest.'[8] The workings of civic imagery must be placed in a 'real context' and be subjected to analytical tools which are more precise than simple feelings and generic names.

In his psychological critique of imagination, Sartre concluded that an image is best understood as a process, for 'an image has no reality functionally speaking...it is never independent.'[9] Geertz also insists that images are not autonomous. He reasons that 'culture is public because meaning is' and steps must be taken to evaluate the 'imaginative universe'. As an 'intertwined system of construable signs...culture is not a power, something to which social events, behaviours, institutions or processes can be causally attributed, it is a context, something within which they can be intelligibly- that is, thickly- described.'[10] Images must be

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[6] A. Briggs, Victorian Cities, Harmondsworth, 1963.

[7] E. P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, Harmondsworth, (publ. 1963) 1991 edn., p.8.

[8] J.P. Sartre, Nausea, Harmondsworth, (publ. 1938) 1987 edn., p.13

[9] J.P. Sartre (trans. F. Williams), Imagination, Michigan, 1962, p.119.

[10] C. Geertz, The Interpretation of Cultures, London, 1975, pp.12-14.

related to human experience. This is affirmed by Blabock and Wilken who, in considering some of the challenges to the construction of theories of complex social processes, warned that 'macro level theories will tend to be inadequate to the degree that they ignore the fact that human motivations and behaviours constitute important driving forces of social phenomena.'[11]

Cannadine has suggested that a fruitful methodological approach to the investigation of the transformation of civic ritual between 1880 and 1914 would be to ally 'thick description' to a chronological perspective.[12] The present study proceeds from such a standpoint, but aims to employ concepts such as ownership and participation to assess the social, political and ideological dimensions of civic image more fully by according human motivations and behaviours their due explanatory power. Civic patriotism was the behavioural response which civic image sought to provoke.

Images helped to construct the paradigms within which urban experience was interpreted. Richard Sennett contends that in 'the projection of a rigid group self-image...there lies a way of denying the dissonance and unexpected conflicts of a society's history...an attempt to build an image or identity that coheres, is unified, and filters out threats in social experience.'[13] Ideology and image are frequently contiguous and the place of participation as a variable in models of ideology has long been assured. As Ashford comments, 'the legitimacy of nations rests on achieving some acceptable overlap between the leaders' purposes and the citizens' perceptions of these purposes...[the] analysis of ideology should concentrate on the ways by which individuals and groups adjust to the differences between their ideas and their circumstances.'[14]

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[11] H. Blabock and D. Wilken, Intergroup Processes, London and New York, 1979, p.3.

[12] Cannadine, op. cit.

[13] R. Sennett, The Uses of Disorder: Personal Identity and City Life, Harmondsworth, 1973, pp.18 and 19.

[14] D. Ashford, Ideology and Participation, London, 1972, pp. 20 and 24.

The current study examines these processes of adjustment by focussing on the contested terrain of image and patriotism. Civic images and strains of civic patriotism were multiple and often exclusive in a pluralist urban society. Participation was a key element of such competition: image makers vied to secure affective attachment to the images which served their ends.

The dynamics of this contract between image makers and citizens can be more precisely described and understood if the concept of image is dissected. A theoretical framework must encompass intentionality, power, context and participation. Hence, a model based on four chief components of image is suggested:

i) the intended image- the image as conceived by the image maker.

ii) the communicated image- the process by which the image is transferred to the recipient. Access to means of propagation, the quality of these means and the possession of adequate resources to exploit these means relate this process to prevailing power structures.

iii) the perceived image- wider socio-cultural values constitute the context within which the communicated image is appraised. The credibility and consistency of the image (both internally and historically) determine the probability of particular perceptions, as do pre-existing affective identities shaped by religious and political affiliations, socio-economic status, race and gender. The power of an image is located in the attitudinal shifts which occur here.

iv) the participated image- the image in practice. The behavioural responses to any attitudinal shifts which may have taken place at stage (iii) are registered in

participation. The notion of civic patriotism overlaps stages (iii) and (iv) since it entails an attitudinal position and a resultant behavioural response.

This model does not pretend to perfection. The very conduct of the historian's research is evidently subject to the logic of this model. It is difficult to penetrate to the intended image by interrogating the accumulated layers of communicated and perceived images. Evidence of group and individual perceptions of image and of group and individual behavioural responses is scanty.

The four components cannot be divided neatly into a linear progression. The intention behind an image, for instance, may change during the process of communication. Moreover, there are circular elements to the model, for the image maker's conception of the image will itself be shaped in response to developments at the other three stages. Nonetheless, this model does offer insights into how contracts are negotiated between individuals and images and why some images are more successful than others in inspiring commitment and promoting particular behaviours.

The story of Liverpool provides a suitable backdrop to explore these issues and to demonstrate how a more rigorous analytical approach to civic image adds greatly to an understanding of urban history. The establishment of the Anglican see of Liverpool in 1880 elevated the town to the rank of a city, and encouraged the projection of images commensurate with this status. The chronological span of this study is bounded by this event, and, by chance rather than by design, coincides with the period which Cannadine identified as of particular interest. Civic image was a matter of importance in the social and political life of Liverpool because of civic rivalry. Nationally Liverpool, Glasgow and Birmingham aspired to be recognised as the 'Second City of the Empire'; within Lancashire and the north-west there was a long-standing contest with Manchester.

Official images of Liverpool were rooted in visions of a city of commercial grandeur. Liverpool was to be ranked with the great merchant cities of the past, such as Tyre, Corinth, Venice and Florence. Commerce glorified both the city and the Empire. Liverpool was Britain's foremost port in terms of exports, and in import trade was exceeded only by London. Liverpool's aspirations to be the 'Second City of the Empire' were inextricably linked to the Imperial significance of commerce. Liverpool's civic mission was commercial in inspiration.

Despite the size and importance of Liverpool, the history of its civic image remains unwritten. Asa Briggs included Manchester, Leeds and Birmingham in Victorian Cities, but omitted the larger cities of Glasgow and Liverpool. A recent collection edited by Fraser and Maver[15] has done much to fill this gap in Glasgow's story. Liverpudlian historiography, meanwhile, has been dominated by studies of sectarianism and its socio-political impact,[16] and work on industrial relations and labour history.[17]

An episodic methodology has been employed in this thesis, in order to draw on a wide chronological and thematic cross-section of evidence. There was more to civic image than public ceremonies and civic architecture and, as Georg Simmel has argued, 'we shall discover the laws of social forms only by collecting...societary phenomena of the most diverse content, and by ascertaining what is common to them in spite of their diversity.'[18] However, precisely because of the variety of means by which civic image was forged and civic patriotism expressed, there must be some prioritisation in thematic selection. The Vrynwy water supply,

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[15] W.H. Fraser and I. Maver (eds.), Glasgow Vol. II 1830 to 1912, Manchester, 1996.

[16] P.J. Waller, Democracy and Sectarianism: A political and social history of Liverpool 1868-1939, Liverpool, 1981 and F. Neal, Sectarian Violence: The Liverpool Experience 1819-1914, Manchester, 1988.

[17] For example E. Taplin, Near to Revolution: The Liverpool General Transport Strike of 1911, Liverpool, 1994 and J. Belchem, Popular Politics, Riot and Labour. Essays in Liverpool History 1790-1940, Liverpool, 1992..

[18] quoted in G. Hillery, Communal Organizations, Chicago, 1968, p.vi.

the Liverpool International Exhibition of 1886, the new Adelphi Hotel, the construction of the Anglican Cathedral, the remodelling of the waterfront and the erection of the Liver Building, the Liverpool Overhead Railway, the municipalisation of the tramways, the City Beautiful Conference, the Liverpool School of Architecture and the strikes of 1911, are all aspects of the 1880-1914 era with implications for Liverpudlian civic image which have been excluded from the purview of this thesis.

Nevertheless, the ten chapters embrace a range of experiences. The first two assess the imagery surrounding royal visits and coronations and the septcentenary of Liverpool's charter in 1907. Such public events were conscious exercises in the construction and projection of official images of the city. Municipal office and honorific recognition similarly shaped a canon of civic virtue by rewarding and promoting particular activities. Chapters three and four demonstrate that titles and ceremonies commanded politically contested ground. The religious and political dimensions of civic hagiography are explored.

Civic recognition was accompanied by civic blame. The rights of citizenship were accessible only to those who performed the duties which civic patriotism demanded. Rivalry with Manchester and Glasgow made the maintenance of a favourable civic image a proof of good citizenship. The dialectics of civic imagery and civic patriotism expressed the power structures of the city, as chapter five illustrates. Chapters five and six both argue that Liverpool's public health record was a crucial element of its civic image. As a consequence, public health was a key arena in which both the Corporation and private citizens found their civic patriotism tested.

The next three chapters evaluate the impact of competing civic images and civic patriotisms in different contexts. Chapter seven, which examines Liverpool's municipal art policy, and chapter eight, which casts the story of the attempted incorporation of Bootle in a new light, indicate that images of civic grandeur and aggrandisement were not always sufficient to win participative commitment. The penultimate chapter contrasts the successful foundation of the

University of Liverpool with the failure to incorporate Bootle. It proposes a reading of the University's history which recognises how civic rivalry, civic image and civic patriotism were harnessed to foster an independent institution.

The last chapter details the experiences of two other Liverpudlian institutions which originated during this period- the Everton and Liverpool football clubs. The two clubs were emotional communities, capable of winning levels of commitment which other civic institutions could not match. Supporters evolved identities which simultaneously challenged and reinforced civic loyalty.

The concluding section suggests why there was a growing concern with civic image in this period. The Liverpool experience is set in a national context. As M.J. Daunton insists, 'the variations between towns...must be placed within a framework which can establish where a community stands in relation to others.' Daunton suggests three main questions: 'who held power in the town; what was the nature of its social relationships; what was the dominant ideology?'[19]

This thesis is founded on a conceptual definition of image as a process in which participation was a vital component. Such a definition is at once broader and more precise than one which restricts itself to the act of construction. The latter approach runs the risk of envisioning images as constructs disembodied from human relationships. The former expedites a more sophisticated model for describing and understanding the relationships between images and responses to them. An enquiry which is conducted in terms of civic image and which employs more powerful analytical tools will yield new answers to Daunton's questions. The connections between commercial glory, civic pride and corporate and individual ambitions are thrown into sharper relief once the workings of civic image are illuminated. When these

[19] M.J. Daunton, Coal Metropolis: Cardiff 1870-1914, Leicester, 1977, p.147.

facets of municipal life are seen more clearly, more enlightened reflection about power structures, social relationships and competing ideologies is made possible.

This study explores how civic image was created, communicated, perceived and participated in. It assesses the connections between civic image and civic patriotism to draw attention to the part played by these two concepts in enlarging the scope of municipal government and in attracting the emotional and financial commitment which such an expansion demanded.

Chapter One- Civic ceremonial in Liverpool 1880-1914

Royal visits and coronation festivities were significant occasions for the projection of a civic image of Liverpool. Between 1880 and 1914, a number of royal visits focussed national attention on the city. Such occasions formed the backdrop for conscious exercises in the construction of image. Nevertheless, the decorations and rituals which marked these events cannot be dismissed as mere facades. The debates which surrounded civic ceremonial involved questions of expense, appropriateness and participation. For the success of any public event, it was imperative that there be a crowd. The festal and the spectacular were central to participation.

Royal visits attracted national attention. They must, therefore, be set in a national, as well as a local, context. The images projected were intended for internal and external constituencies and these different dimensions must be considered. In an age of intense municipal rivalries, of which Liverpool's jockeying with Manchester was not the least bitter, the grandeur of these occasions was as much a reflection of the city as of the monarch[1]. Display had to be commensurate with civic aspirations. Although some might express reservations about the concealment of social problems, such legerdemain was necessary to uphold civic pride.

[1] R.H. Trainor has noted how royal visits and civic ceremonial focussed attention on Glasgow's elite and provided platforms for paeans of municipal achievement. R.H. Trainor, 'The Elite' in Glasgow Vol. II 1830 to 1912, W.H. Fraser and I. Maver (eds.), Manchester, 1996.

The external/internal duality was particularly significant in Liverpool, a city which depended on commerce for its livelihood. The connections between commerce and confidence invested Liverpool's civic imagery with particular responsibilities. The severe depression of the late 1870s had punctured the bullish mid-Victorian mood. The reverses inflicted on Beaconsfieldism at Kabul and Isandhlwana had similarly tarnished a forward Imperial policy. In 1881, when the Prince and Princess of Wales opened the new North Dock system and christened the Alexandra Dock after the Princess, the issues of commercial confidence and the Imperial mission were to the fore. This was evident from the ceremonial attending the visit.

Tony Lane has noted that 'major additions to the dock system appeared always as extensions of Liverpool's grandeur, as opportunities to reassert the role of the city as a world scale port and trading centre.'[2] Such an opportunity was taken in 1881. The Liverpool Echo quoted the Globe's opinion that the visit

> *interested not only Liverpool itself, but the Empire, inasmuch as it was a sign that, in spite of a long period of depression, trade was reviving, and that Liverpool, as hitherto was ready to map the advantage of the revival...Liverpool proves the confidence of its belief in the future increase of our imports and exports by constructing a dock of more than a hundred acres in area...The celebration was a formal sign of our commercial pre-eminence and Liverpool was the most fitting place to hold it.*[3]

The souvenir programme concurred. It was noted that

> *Lately royal visits have been the order of the day in other parts of the country, where imposing demonstrations have attended...but it is doubtful if any of these have been*

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[2] T. Lane, Liverpool: Gateway of Empire, London, 1987, p.26.

[3] Liverpool Echo, 10 September 1881.

fraught with more important results...it will not only affect the city...but also extend its commercial effects on the whole empire and its dependencies.
[The visit was] the celebration of a great work completed which marks a new epoch in the onward progress of Liverpool...The Docks at the North end are tangible evidence that Liverpool is determined...to retain and develop the commanding position she occupies in the peaceful arts of commerce.[4]

The 'peaceful arts of commerce' combined commercial confidence with Imperial duty. The Empire's purpose was to be trade rather than conquest. Liverpool was a Tory city, but the Liberal credo of 'Peace, Retrenchment and Reform' fitted its commercial interests. Raised to the rank of a metropolis in 1880, Liverpool could aspire to the title of the 'Second City of Empire' and this display of commercial might underscored the city's Imperial pretensions. The souvenir programme explained

John Bright once sagely remarked, 'Those who forward in the smallest degree one branch of commerce add to the amity of nations,' and their Royal Highnesses...must have had the double satisfaction of knowing that the loyalty of Liverpool was as true and sincere as ever, and that they were most materially helping in the increase of good feeling with other nations, which has its firm foundations on good commercial principle.[5]

It depicted the display of merchant shipping arranged for the visit in similar terms.

The broad bosom of the Mersey, swollen by a flowing tide and lighted by a radiant sun bore upon its waves some of the stateliest craft that ever graced the sea...in their gay attire of bunting they offered a sight more welcome than the warlike navy of any ambitious state. They are the messengers of peace and the carriers of prosperity and happiness to the nations of the world.[6]

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[4] A copy of the souvenir programme is held by the Local History section of the Liverpool Central Library, William Brown Street, Liverpool 1.

[5] ibid.

[6] ibid.

The moral dimension to Liverpool's commercial endeavours formed a central theme of the decorations and ceremonial. The Corporation had decorated some of the main streets with

> *lines of handsome Venetian masts of various heights [which] bore upon their summits gilded crowns and cushions...Upon each mast were affixed circular shields with Prince of Wales plumes, crowns,...the Liverpool coat of arms etc. with rich trophies of national flags.*[7]

The official programme presented to the royal couple had a shield of Liverpool 'supported by elegantly modelled figures of Peace and Plenty, and surmounted by the terrestrial globe and other attributes of commerce'[8] on its front cover.

As well as these official decorations, there were other displays which followed the international theme but from other motives. 'The leading tradesmen of Lord Street, Church Street, Bold Street, Elliot Street and Parker Street arranged for the due and uniform decoration of the thoroughfares in which their places of business were situated.'[9] Tradesmen were bound to decorate the city as an exhibition of civic patriotism, and clearly they would reap the benefit of customers who might be attracted. Lewis' department store took out a front page advert in the Liverpool Echo which argued that, since many Liverpudlians could not provide decorations themselves,

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[7] ibid.

[8] ibid.

[9] ibid.

all those who have the 'will and the way' should do their utmost to make this red letter day one of the most unmistakeably brilliant on record as a Royal Reception. To this end, Lewis's premises in Ranelagh Street will be lavishly decorated with flags of all nations and various devices, all forming a tout ensemble worth seeing. In the evening the outside of the entire building will be illuminated with gas...[and] still more brilliant effects of electric lights, variegated illuminations etc.[10]

Despite Lewis' efforts, 'probably the finest display in the town was that on the frontage of the Reform Club'. In addition to the array of national shields and flags, the Club was adorned with the arms of the Earl of Sefton and the Earl of Derby who had recently joined. The heraldic emblems of Liverpool's aristocracy were particularly suited to such ceremonial display. Aristocrats commanded iconography which could enrich civic imagery and, as David Cannadine[11] has suggested, this ceremonial role added to their importance.

Decorations were central to encouraging and proving participation. Liverpool had to demonstrate that it could compete in loyalty with other cities. Moreover, such affection must be seen to be 'genuine' in contrast to the manufactured acclaim of Imperial France and Prussia. The editorial in the Liverpool Echo claimed

Civic dignitaries and officials are today but the final representatives of the community; the city speaks for itself more eloquently than they, and by its crowded streets, profusions of decorations, vast array of shipping and spontaneous enthusiasm pronounces a welcome which autocratic power would seek in vain.[12]

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[10] Liverpool Echo, 5 September 1881.

[11] D. Cannadine, 'The British Monarchy' in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds.), The Invention of Tradition, Cambridge, 1993.

[12] Liverpool Echo, 8 September 1881.

According to the souvenir programme, 'dignitaries prepared the train and set it in motion with skill and good taste; but it was the masses of the people who, by their cordial and hearty participation gave the celebration its true grandeur and significance.'[13] The colourful decorations in the city centre served to attract crowds and the informal displays elsewhere attested to the depth of patriotic feeling. In the Kensington district, which was on the route of the royal progress, there were festoons of paper flowers and flags and banners wishing 'Peace and plenty to the Queen.'

The Council could employ the city's school children to bolster the crowds and inject enthusiasm into the visit. In the Haymarket 25,000 children from sixty schools were assembled. The souvenir programme suggested that Liverpool was a pioneer in this field.

> *The Prince and Princess of Wales who were obviously interested at the novelty and magnitude of the sight of such an immense gathering of school children, all cheering heartily, bowed graciously in acknowledgement of the loyal and exuberant enthusiasm of their future subjects.*
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> *Both the Prince and the young Princess seemed to take the greatest interest in the appearance of the children of the Orphanage who were drawn up in line along the garden slope...The moment the carriage moved to depart amid the clang of the troopers' accoutrements there arose...a ringing silvery cheer that would have made a patriot of the greatest misanthrope...that striking spectacle which appeals to the ear as well as to the eye, but above all the mind, when young children sing in unison or join in the vocal expression of their feelings.*[14]

The programme remarked that the organisation of such a mass of children had required 'perfect prior arrangements' and 'very efficient management.' In his autobiography, Sir William Bower

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[13] Royal Visit to Liverpool Souvenir Programme

[14] ibid.

Forwood, who had been the Mayor at the time of the visit, revealed that he had still been concerned about the reception which would be bestowed upon the Prince on his way through the Irish quarter.

> *We decided to quicken the pace of the carriage procession and to instruct the outriders to close in to the wheels of the royal carriage. These precautions were however unnecessary for right along Scotland Road the Prince and Princess had the heartiest reception, and when we turned out of Byrom Street into Dale Street it was with a sense of relief that I turned to the Prince and said, 'Sir, you have passed through the portion of Liverpool in which 200,000 Irish people reside.' He replied, 'I have not heard a "boo" or a groan it has been simply splendid.'*[15]

The royal visit did not pass without criticism. The decorations had been costly and objections, though muted, had centred on two issues. The first was raised by a correspondent to the Liverpool Echo who professed to be 'an advanced Radical in politics'. He did 'not object to all the fuss about to be made over the visit' but to 'the Town Hall being set apart for a privileged few. Cannot the ratepayers in general be permitted to have a look at the interior of the Town Hall after the Royal visitors have left?...even if they made a small charge for admission and handed the proceeds to the Infirmary.'[16]

The Town Hall had been extensively refitted for the visit. On viewing the refurbishments, the Prince was reputed to have ranked the Town Hall next to the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg as 'the best proportioned rooms in Europe'.[17] The alterations had been funded from the rates and

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[15] Sir W.B. Forwood, Recollections of a Busy Life, London 1920, p.91.

[16] Liverpool Echo, 5 September 1881.

[17] Forwood, Recollections of a Busy Life, p.97.

thus it was claimed that ratepayers had a right to view them. Forwood's response at a City Council meeting was to open the hall. Nevertheless, this was only a gesture, for admission was by no means available to all, but only on presentation of 'members' cards or by an order signed by a member'.[18]

The Liverpool Echo broached the second question on the day of the visit.

> *To day the city puts on its gayest appearance to welcome its future King and Queen...What needs dwelling upon at such a time is that the brightening of the city is so temporary, and that behind it all is so much squalor and ugliness...it is right to make a brave show of gay bunting and scarlet cloth. But behind all our social problems press for solution, and it is a question if they are all credited with due importance.*[19]

For the Echo as a Liberal paper, the colourful celebrations should not be allowed to mark a triumph for the Conservative administration. Externally the city should present a splendid image, but this must not be unquestioningly accepted within the city. Civic imagery performed vital functions in raising the city's profile and in stimulating commerce, but glorification of Liverpool and of its administration must be kept separate.

The themes of expense, participation and suitability which can be distinguished in the 1881 visit, can be traced through subsequent visits. Hence the dynamics of the relationships between civic imagery, civic patriotism and political allegiance can be charted.

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[18] Liverpool Echo, 7 September 1881.

[19] Liverpool Echo, 8 September 1881.

When the Prince of Wales next visited the city, in January 1886, unease about decorations had deepened. The Liverpool Review noted

> *The authorities provided a series of very effective pitfalls for pedestrians in the leading thoroughfares on Tuesday night. The pitfalls in question were the holes dug in the pavement for the planting of Venetian masts...The ratepayers have the consolation of reflecting that the pavement will probably retain uncomfortable signs of its disturbance until the whole of it is completely relaid. This may perhaps lead them to reflect that Royalty and loyalty are expensive luxuries.*

The attack on the cost of civic display was linked to the question of how far it dignified both the monarchy and the city.

> *How awfully tired the Prince of Wales must be of the decorations which follow him about wherever he goes and with which he must be wearily familiar. Those Venetian masts and trophies must be as the decorations of a circus are to its principal performers, and he must sorely long sometimes that people would only allow him to come and go in peace and quietness without surrounding his progress with theatrical trumpery as tawdry as that of the stage.*[20]

The Review justified its attack by questioning how popular the visit had been. This paper did not have the circulations of the Liberal Liverpool Daily Post, or the Tory Liverpool Courier, but its weekly publication allowed it time for reflection and independence:

> *Of course the daily papers have spoken in glowing periods of the enthusiasm of the people...In such matters the daily papers are not reliable guides. But the truth is that the people were nowhere enthusiastic. Even in the Town Hall, the attempt at applause upon the entrance of the Royal party into the Council Chamber, where the address was presented, was ludicrously weak.*[21]

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[20] Liverpool Review, 23 January 1886.

[21] Liverpool Review, 23 January 1886.

The expense of civic decorations could be defended only while it reflected the popular will.

In May 1886, when the Queen visited the city to open the Liverpool Exhibition, such objections were revived with yet greater force. The occasion was of particular significance because it was the first time that a ruling British monarch had been the guest of the Corporation.[22] The inauguration of the International Exhibition of Navigation, Commerce and Industry occurred on 11 May, the sixth anniversary of the sealing of the Letters Patent which had elevated Liverpool to the rank of a city. In his address at the opening of the exhibition, the Mayor exclaimed 'within these walls, the City of Liverpool, the greatest seaport of the greatest maritime nation of the world, has gathered together a collection bearing the stamp of its own individuality, and seeking to illustrate the art and science of navigation in ancient and modern times.'[23]

The Times was swift to divine the resonance of the ceremony.

> *In population and importance Liverpool is the second city of England. Its commerce spreads into all lands. Its shipping and its docks are unrivalled in the world...Liverpool therefore is fully entitled, above all places in the kingdom outside the metropolis, and indeed in no unequal rivalry with London itself, to hold an International Exhibition...and to invite the august Ruler of the Empire to inaugurate it....*
> *Liverpool has been threatened of late with enhanced competition in its commercial and even in its maritime supremacy...Manchester has watched its vigorous and unchecked growth with undisguised jealousy and has determined to enter upon a rivalry with its maritime advantages by means of the Manchester Ship Canal. The International Exhibition...may be regarded in some sort, and however undesignedly, as Liverpool's answer to this challenge.*[24]

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[22] It was usual practice for royal visitors to stay as guests of the Earl of Derby or the Earl of Sefton on their visits to the region.

[23] Liverpool Review, 15 May 1886.

[24] The Times, 12 May 1886.

The Times also reported the preparations for the visit. It claimed that there were to be twelve miles of decorations and that the city was largely to observe a three day holiday for the visit. A nation-wide audience was informed that

> *The corporation have appointed a special committee to make suitable preparations; as regards expense they have received carte blanche for the decoration of the principal streets and...nothing that money and good feeling can provide will be wanting...Private citizens are also vying with each other in erecting triumphal arches, decking their premises with bunting and ornamentation, and at night there will be an almost universal illumination of the business quarter of the town.*[25]

This portrayal of the preparations was highly misleading, for the questions of loyalty and expense had provoked embittered clashes within the City Council. Irish Nationalist councillors found support from Liberals in resisting expenditure. At a Council meeting on 5 May, during discussion of the proceedings of the Finance Committee, the Nationalist Pat Byrne asked how much the decorations and illuminations were going to cost. The Mayor ruled that this was not a question for the Finance Committee. The Liberal leader, Robert Holt, sympathised with Byrne and noted 'When the special committee with reference to the decorations was appointed he thought it would have been discreet to have placed a sum of money at their disposal.' He suggested that the Council should take steps to do so.

The Town Clerk and the Mayor were joined by Conservative councillors in insisting that such steps would be out of order. The Town Clerk pointed out

> *[Town Clerk]- The whole question of the arrangements for her Majesty's reception has been delegated to a committee...it is not competent without notice to place any limit on such a reasonable amount as the committee think proper to spend...*

[25] The Times, 5 May 1886.

[Byrne]-And can they spend as much as they like- perhaps £100,000 of the ratepayers' money?
[A Member]-Yes.[26]

The Mayor, David Radcliffe, ruled Byrne's interruptions out of order, but Byrne raised the question again later in the same meeting. The Mayor assured the Council as the chairman of the committee that

Every care will be taken not to do anything unnecessary. but to do everything in a proper manner suitable to the occasion. I suppose that was the wish of the Council when they instructed the committee to take the necessary steps to give her Majesty that welcome which it is the duty of all loyal citizens to give her, and I am sure that this Council will be fully satisfied with what the committee have done and the way in which they have looked after, not only the object which the Council had in view- to give her Majesty that suitable reception which is due to her, and also suitable to the dignity of this city-but at the same time they have taken care that nothing is thrown away unnecessarily.[27]

Radcliffe's speech is revealing. It maintained that civic decorations were not only a test of loyalty, but furthermore a test of civic patriotism. Expenditure on civic ceremonial was as much owed to the dignity of the city as to the person of the monarch. In addition, Radcliffe argued that the priorities of the committee were clear. Firstly, care should be taken that the decorations assured civic reputation, and only then should the question of cost be considered.

Byrne skilfully repackaged the loyalty arguments as he redoubled his attacks.

So long as it was the wish of the majority of the people to pay homage...let them do so by all means...He thought the Queen would get quite as loyal a reception if the decorations were left to the people themselves. Some of the streets through which the

[26] Liverpool Echo, 5 May 1886.

[27] ibid.

Queen would pass were being decorated by the Corporation and some were not, and the arch at the bottom of London road was, he was told, to cost £500 at the expense of ratepayers.
[Mr. J.B. Smith]- Do you rule this in order Mr. Mayor?
[Mr. Mayor]- The Town Clerk advises me it is not.[28]

In spite of these attempts to curtail further discussion, Holt suggested that £10,000 be placed at the disposal of the committee. The Mayor ruled this out of order, but promised to have Byrne and Holt placed on the special committee. Both strenuously rejected this invitation since this might circumscribe their opposition.

Sir James Picton, a celebrated antiquarian and Independent councillor closed the debate by restating some of Radcliffe's arguments. Where civic image and civic dignity were at stake, conflict within the Council was unbecoming. The city's reputation could therefore be used to quash opposition.

If there had been meetings of the Council to wrangle over every item he wished to know whether the credit of the city would have been maintained or whether they would not have been degrading themselves (hear, hear)...Loyalty to the Queen was loyalty to themselves because she was the embodiment of their ideas of government and the head of the nation...He was glad to know the Queen would be welcomed in a noble and liberal spirit of which they would not be ashamed.[29]

The Liverpool Review, as an independent Liberal paper, leapt to Holt's defence, maintaining that his views had been 'heartily sympathised with by the general public.' It floated a figure of £50,000 as the amount to be spent on decorations and calculated that this would cost a shopkeeper rated at £60 the sum of £1 10s. 'Now not a few will ask, is the game worth the

[28] ibid.

[29] ibid.

candle?' The Review concluded that 'Mr. R.D. Holt and gentlemen like him are more truly loyal than are the tuft hunters who imagine that they are behaving "nobly" when they spend other people's money.'

The expenditure on the visit ultimately cost the ratepayers £12,000.[30] The arch on London road was certainly impressive. It was built of wood coloured to imitate stone and was emblazoned with the Royal Standard, the arms of Liverpool and gold inscriptions of 'Our Queen Empress', 'Prosperity' and 'Loyalty'. The arch measured twenty-six feet across, the crown of the central arch was forty feet high and the highest point was eighty feet high.[31] On the day of the Queen's arrival however, a gale was blowing and the arch toppled, injuring four people.

Elsewhere the decorations were similarly lavish. The entablature of St. George's Hall was surrounded by jets of light and on the main cornice 'Welcome; God Bless our Queen; Welcome' was spelt out in letters ten feet high.[32] Even the Liverpool Review was overwhelmed by the illumination of the Town Hall which attracted the crowds.

> *The appearance of the Town Hall afforded every excuse for the block in front of it. Outlined in fire and with every detail of architecture visible in the blaze of light it looked like the fairy palace of a dream than anything more mundane (sic)...Dale Street was like an avenue of flame culminating in the Town Hall blaze of triumph...This was in fact the people's real part in the entertainment provided and they entered into it with a gusto which no discomfort could affect in the least.*[33]

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[30] This sum was granted to Mayor Radcliffe to cover the expenses of entertaining the Queen in June 1886. See Council Proceedings 1885/86, 2 June 1886

[31] Liverpool Echo, 4 May 1886.

[32] ibid.

[33] Liverpool Review, 15 May 1886.

The illuminations were one means of encouraging mass participation in the visit. Another was a grand trades procession which 'paraded the principal streets with bands of music, banners and other decorations to the number of about five thousand'.[34]

Once again, school children played a prominent part in the festivities. A parade of happy, healthy school children was a valuable asset in civic image building. Arguably the greatest threat to Liverpool's progressive image was its reputation for disease which had earned it the tag of 'The Black Spot on the Mersey.' The Bitter Cry of Outcast London had caused an outcry with its bleak picture of the social conditions in the capital and there had been similar investigations in Liverpool.[35] The most damaging had been Hugh Farrie's Squalid Liverpool and its sequel Toiling Liverpool which had been serialised in the Liverpool Daily Post- the city's leading Liberal paper. The Liverpool Review had joined in the declamations against Tory administration which followed. With national attention turned to the city in 1886, the Review took up a different stance.

> *The school children, organised largely through the activity of Mr. William Oulton J.P. were marching soon after twelve o' clock and very pretty they looked- clean, neatly dressed and well behaved. Their appearance made it evident that, in spite of the revelations of 'Squalid Liverpool' and 'Toiling Liverpool' the working classes are not all in a condition of abject poverty.*[36]

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[34] ibid.

[35] It would be wrong to conclude that social investigation in Liverpool arose simply in emulation of London. As editor of Porcupine in the 1860s and 1870s, Hugh Shimmin had done much to raise awareness of the city's social problems.

[36] Liverpool Review, 15 May 1886.

A dinner in St. George's Hall 'provided at the expense of the Mayor for 700 poor men and women, none under the age of her Majesty'[37] was a further, high profile, indication that the municipality was not shirking its social responsibilities. Civic charity had long been a proof of civilisation in the Ancient World and such conspicuous alms-giving continued a tradition of civic virtue.

The Mayor himself, recently accused of 'tuft hunting', found his reputation rehabilitated after the ceremonies. The Liverpool Review contrasted Radcliffe with the sixty-four mayors who had been invited. They 'did not make a pretty picture...they felt themselves to be of importance. They were the centre of the show.'[38] Whereas Radcliffe's deportment

> *was admirable...and when at the conclusion of the inaugural ceremony, the Queen touched him...and he arose Sir David Radcliffe the cheers were more hearty and spontaneous than at any other time of the day. The vast concourse of people felt with one accord that Her Majesty had fittingly honoured an energetic and worthy citizen and their plaudits came naturally and with unbounded enthusiasm.*[39]

The internal and external dimensions of image are striking. Radcliffe might be derided for his activities on the Council, but was to be honoured as the representative of Liverpool. Sir David Radcliffe had been transformed from a 'tuft hunter' to 'the best loved public man in Liverpool'[40] within the space of a week.

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[37] The Queen, born on 24 May 1819, was approaching her 67th birthday. Liverpool Review, 15 May 1886.

[38] ibid.

[39] ibid.

[40] ibid.

When the Queen died, fifteen years later, the coronation of Edward VII was accompanied by extensive civic celebrations. These were as much an opportunity to review Liverpool's growth and reassert its economic position in the Empire as to acclaim the new king, since the festivities in the parks went ahead even though the King's appendicitis postponed the coronation. Indeed, Richard Holt, son of Robert, recorded in his diary

> *The public seem to me to have taken the news rather coolly. The truth is that the King is not respected on personal grounds + the coronation ceremonies + rejoicings have been arranged for the idle + thoughtless rather than for the more serious minded.*[41]

The official programme, rather stiltedly, expounded on comparisons between the extent of the dock estate at the King's birth (in 1841) and his coronation (1902). This was a stage for a tale about the rise of Liverpudlian power. Reviewing the 'progress made during the sixty years completing the lifetime of the King', the programme stated

> *Undoubtedly no port in His Majesty's dominions can, within the period named, furnish stronger proof of energetic effort to meet the requirement of every branch of trade than may be instanced at Liverpool...it must be acknowledged by every impartial observer that in this direction Liverpool is superior to all others...The trade and wealth of Liverpool have increased as time has advanced until it has become in many respects the* ***foremost port*** *in the Empire.*[42]

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[41] Diary of Richard Holt in the Holt Papers, 27 June 1902.

[42] City of Liverpool. Celebration of the Coronation of King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra. Souvenir Programme.

To mark the occasion, sports days were held for children at Newsham, Stanley and Sefton Parks and at Wavertree Playground, thus providing events throughout the city and not just at the civic centre. In addition to the cricket, rounders and races, there were bands and marionettes. Corporation commemorative medallions were presented to 130,000 school children and special booklets were published for distribution at schools. These booklets celebrated Liverpool's civic life, as well as the coronation. They included pictures of the Mayor (in full regalia), the Town Hall, St. George's Hall, the Museum, the Picton Library, the Walker Art Gallery and an Atlantic liner.[43]

The week-long programme of events was varied and provided entertainment for all classes of citizens. Conspicuous charity was to the fore again. St. George's Hall, the city's finest public building, was the venue for a dinner of veterans of the Indian and Crimean campaigns, a distribution of sweets to poor children and a tea party for old people. As in 1886, there was a Trades procession, illuminations and fireworks. Nurses, municipal officers, telephone assistants and Hospital Saturday[44] women-workers were treated to trips to see the marine display of decorated steamers. A Working Men's Garden Party was given by the Lord Mayor[45] in the Botanic Gardens. There was a separate garden party and official ball which the Lord Mayor also hosted to which Liverpool's elite were invited.

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[43] The labels for these presentation booklets are shown in Coronation of King Edward VII. Souvenir Programme., p.18.

[44] Hospital Saturday was a civic charity.

[45] From 1892, Liverpool's chief magistrate was raised to the rank of Lord Mayor.

Kept separate from the elite, Liverpool's working men and their wives could not claim civic entertainment as a right; it had to be won by proofs of civic duty. As the official programme explained, 'the invitations have been issued mainly to the firms whose employees have contributed above a certain sum of money to the Hospital Saturday Fund.'[46]

The new King's only visit to the city was on 19 July 1904, when he laid the foundation stone of the Anglican Cathedral. The creation of the bishopric of Liverpool[47] had promoted the town to a city. The cathedral was of great significance for Liverpool's image and was intended as the crowning glory of civic architecture. At a Council meeting on 1 June 1904, a motion to provide £6,000 for the visit was discussed. The motion passed by a majority of twenty-six against variegated opposition. For the Irish Nationalist councillors and Non-Conformist Liberals such as Robert Holt, religious motives were added to their former grounds for resistance.[48]

Holt wrote in his diary that many had thought the grant to be excessive, but had voted for it

> *so as not to appear what they call 'disloyal'. The Visit, it is felt, is not to the City, but is an invitation from the Cathedral Committee...therefore many contend sectarian in its aspect and not municipal. Money however voted.*[49]

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[46] Coronation of King Edward VII Programme.

[47] For the background to the creation of the bishopric, see P.S. Morrish, 'The Creation of the Anglican Diocese of Liverpool' in Northern History Vol. XXXII (1996), pp. 173-194.

[48] Notwithstanding, Holt and the Nationalist Alderman Commins were members of the special committee charged with making arrangements for the visit.

[49] Diary of Robert Holt in the Holt Papers, Liverpool Central Library, 1 June 1904.

Councillors Skelton and Utley, both Tories, opposed the motion, pressing an amendment to increase the grant to £7,000. Their amendment was lost. An attempt by ultra-Protestant Tories to secure the appointment of George Wise, the uncompromising and inflammatory anti-ritualist pastor, to the committee was similarly defeated. [50]

The question of expenditure was thus viewed differently in 1904 than it had been when Queen Victoria visited. For Edward's visit, a sum was fixed where it had not been in 1886. Although the King's visit was only for one day, the expenditure was half that of 1886. The Liverpool Review detected signs of economy.

> *I fancy- I would not like to say so on oath- but I fancy that a number of old Coronation decorations were being pressed into the service of Berry and Great George Streets...The finest example of individual decoration, and in this comparison I include all the city's public buildings, was that of Messrs. Cooper and Co., Church Street.*[51]

Sir William Bower Forwood gave an address as the Chairman of the Executive Committee in which he set the cathedral against the context of Liverpool's commercial life. The siting of the cathedral had been a divisive issue, and those who insisted that it should be an important maritime landmark had carried the day.[52]

> *Men looked for a stately building worthy of this great community with its stores of wealth, its world wide connections, its untiring industrial activities and its manifold interests, which should be reared by all and for all...The Cathedral, standing on St. James' Mount, 155 feet above the river, will be seen at once from every vessel*

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[50] Council Proceedings 1903/04, 1 June 1904.

[51] Liverpool Review, 23 July 1904.

[52] see P. Kennerley, The Building of Liverpool Cathedral, Preston, 1991 for an account of the proposed schemes for the Cathedral and of how the design evolved during construction.

approaching the Mersey. Its two great towers[53]*, by far the highest objects in the city, will rear their lofty heads 415 feet above the level of the sea.*[54]

The laying of the foundations occasioned high ceremonial, but where the Liverpool Review had praised the arrangements of 1886 and recognised the participants as representatives of the community, a more jaundiced view was taken in 1904. Civic ceremonial was no longer sacrosanct, but was open to ridicule.

At St. George's Hall,

At last a fanfare of trumpets...told of the approach of the King and Queen. First came the indispensible regalia, and then preceding their Majesties, the Lord Mayor bearing a white wand of office like a billiard cue. He was like Polonius in the play[55]*...Alderman Bowring on being presented almost forgot to leave the Royal presence backwards. In fact he had turned and was beginning to walk away when he suddenly remembered...the Lord Mayor suffered from the most abject nervousness...his expression was often rapt and trance-like...Principal Dale also suffered from stage fright and, in spite of the Earl of Derby's hints, was quite some time before he had plucked up enough courage to read the address...At the instigation of the Earl of Derby, who was like a father to all of them, the Lord Mayor flopped on his knees at the feet of the King, a bundle of crimson cloth and fur, to receive the knighthood...after he received the accolade he arose with a face so radiant that it looked like a rising sun.*
You should really have more command of your feelings Sir Robert[56]*- or shouldn't it be Sir Alfred- since the King so called you?...The King and the new Knight chatted for quite a minute over the pieces of plate presented to his Majesty by the Corporation...as though they were negotiating a bargain.*[57]

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[53] The original concept of two towers was later abandoned in favour of the single central tower as executed. In the light of the frequent glorification of Liverpool as the new Venice, one of the designs submitted to the competition had been for a Byzantine edifice modelled on St. Mark's. Edwin Lutyens also chose a Byzantine design for his Roman Catholic Cathedral of which only the crypt was built.

[54] Liverpool Cathedral- Souvenir of the Laying of the Foundation Stone, Liverpool, 1904.

[55] Polonius was the Lord Chamberlain in Shakespeare's Hamlet, Prince of Denmark.

[56] Robert A. Hampson was the Lord Mayor.

[57] Liverpool Review, 23 July 1904.

The difference in tone from 1886 is partly attributable to the more satirical style which the Liverpool Review had adopted since it changed format in 1900. However, Edward VII did not inspire the same respect as his mother. Similarly, it was evident that the Lord Mayor was not seen to be as judicious in striking a balance between dignity and pomposity as his predecessor, Radcliffe.[58] In contrast, aristocrats such as the Earl of Derby were particularly suitable for public office because they were at ease in performing ceremonial. (Derby had been Lord Mayor in 1896 and his son would follow him in the office in 1911. Both served as Chancellors of Liverpool University.)[59]

On the Saturday following the King's visit, a number of children's festivals were held in the municipal parks. As well as sporting events, other attractions were on offer, which did not escape the attention of the Liverpool Review correspondent.

> *Flaring posters in oils depicting an Australian gold miner being torn to death by seven South African lions amidst the icy mountains of the North Pole...I saw a lady in spangled sheen enter the cage of a lion who looked as though he were dying of old age and who had to be whipped into a show of fierceness and stirred into action with long poles...A boxing booth in which an anti-prepossessing lady of formidable appearance lifted huge weights and two other ladies, clad in pink and green tights respectively had a real good set-to with the gloves, a sight fully worth the twopence for admission, although scarcely an entertainment to elevate and instruct the rising generation, for which, it was, to all intents and purposes, provided.*[60]

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[58] This was further illustrated by the furore surrounding Augustus John's mayoral portrait of Chaloner Dowdall with his valet in 1909. The Lord Mayor's heroic posture in civic regalia led to unflattering comparisons with Don Quixote and Sancho Panza.

[59] See David Cannadine's chapter on 'Ornamental Mayors' in D. Cannadine, The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy, London and New Haven, 1990.

[60] Liverpool Review, 23 July 1904.

There was indeed a certain incongruity in the connection of such amusements with civic ritual and celebration, but the festal element of celebration could not be overlooked if participation was to be secured. For civic festivities to attract crowds, popular tastes and civic dignity had to be reconciled, at times with uneven success. At each of the venues, the Lord Mayor crowned a Rose Queen providing a civic climax to the celebrations.

> *A pompous march by the band heralded in each park the approach of the Lord Mayor and his gracious Lady Mayoress. They were preceded by the full strength of the Civic Regalia, and there were so many strange new emblems that they might have been taken out of pawn in honour of the occasion. They were all- the Lord Mayor and the Regalia bearers- heavily clad in furs and crimson, and Sir, if you will kindly throw your memory back to the climactic conditions of last Saturday, you will agree with me that office has its drawbacks.*[61]

Two years later, the Prince of Wales visited the city to open the new Cotton Exchange. A comparison with his father's visit as Prince of Wales in 1881 is instructive. The vast crowds and elaborate decorations were gone. Although the Lord Mayor was present at the ceremony, the Corporation was not officially involved. The Liverpool Daily Post identified the visit as of a 'semi-private character'.[62] It reasoned that this was to avoid envy on the part of other cities.

> *The Prince had visited the city twice within recent years, and his Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, her Royal Highness the Duchess of Connaught, and her Royal Highness Princess Louise had each officiated at respective local functions within the past twelve months. Efforts are being made to honour provincial cities and towns with the favour of Royal presence in a proportionate equality that will cause neither jealousy nor complaint.*[63]

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[61] ibid.

[62] Liverpool Daily Post, 29 November 1906.

[63] Liverpool Daily Post, 1 December 1906.

Hence, although there were 'thick lines of spectators' in some areas, 'the immediate concourse usual on state Royal visits was absent.' The lack of enthusiasm for the visit seemed to indicate a certain fatigue with royal visits which outstripped official expectations. The police were 'present in strong force...but their duties were not of an exacting nature.'[64] As though to corroborate the claim that civic rivalry had determined the scale of the visit, the Manchester Courier contemptuously noted

> *In Liverpool itself, save for scores of Union Jacks on the flagstaffs there was little to show the presence of the royal visitors until Old Hall Street was reached. Here the rather narrow thoroughfare was bedizened in the conventional manner...the scene was not a very brilliant one, save as regarded the splendid proportions of the hall.*[65]

The Liverpool Courier was as ungenerous about Manchester. It related the new Cotton Exchange to the Manchester Ship Canal, musing 'it is one of the curious facts of Lancashire history that just as the Ship Canal became an actual fact, so our cotton brokers became more rooted in our midst.'[66] As Marriner has suggested, the Ship Canal was viewed with pride by Mancunians since 'they could simultaneously undermine the monopoly positions held by both the railways and the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board.'[67] (It was more than aesthetic preferences that led both Manchester City and Manchester United football clubs to incorporate the image of the Ship Canal in their crests.) At first 'the Canal did not exert severe competitive

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[64] ibid.

[65] Manchester Courier, 1 December 1906.

[66] Liverpool Courier, 30 November 1906.

[67] S. Marriner, The Economic and Social Development of Merseyside, London, 1982, p.97.

pressure on the existing Mersey docks...but gradually it was established and from 1906 Manchester ranked as the U.K.'s fourth port.'[68] Liverpool remained defiant.

> *Some people imagined years ago that the trade of Liverpool had reached its highest altitude and must prepare to dwindle in favour of Manchester and other competing ports...[but] the trade of what the Prince of Wales very properly calls our 'world renowned port' is still developing and the splendid new Liverpool Cotton Exchange affords very tangible evidence that in the realm of King Cotton this Mersey port still holds its own and is in no danger of being superceded.*[69]

Despite such civic rivalry, the Prince of Wales' visit had not been marked by Corporation ceremonial; yet for his coronation as George V in 1911, the city provided entertainment more extensive than in 1902.

Civic charity was on an unprecedented scale. A total of 169,200 people (out of a total population of nearly 750,000) were estimated to have been entertained by gifts or festivities, excluding members of the general public who attended the entertainments in the parks. The bulk of this figure comprised of 137,000 school children and nearly 18,500 other disabled or disadvantaged children.[70] The Lady Mayoress distributed gifts in the main hospitals, and St. George's Hall witnessed treats for 1,100 aged poor and 600 adult blind. The entertainment in the municipal parks included conjurers, ventriloquists, fireworks, bands, marionettes and crayon cartoonists.

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[68] ibid., pp.97 and 98.

[69] Liverpool Courier, 1 December 1906.

[70] See Waller, Democracy and Sectarianism, p.252.

Frank Leslie, the leading figure in the organisation of the Liverpool Pageant of 1907, had arranged a tableau of historical coronations which formed a didactic centre-piece to the festivities. In the souvenir programme, Leslie outlined the lessons which he believed could be drawn from the examples of Charlemagne, Elizabeth, the Mikado, Peter the Great and Victoria whose achievements were dramatised. 'To consecrate a life in devotion to a high ideal is at all times noble, but surely most of all when that ideal is the progress and prosperity of an Empire.'[71] Leslie had not abandoned his hopes of employing imagery to stimulate patriotism after the problems he had encountered in 1907. The festivities which accompanied the 'Pageant of Coronations' eased some of the challenges of participation which had proved so intractable four years previously, not least because a coronation entailed a more lavish exposition of loyalty.

As Pat O'Mara recalled,

> *On the morning of the great day, Mr. McGinnis handed each of us schoolboys four shining halfpennies with the dramatic announcement 'These coins are the gift of their most gracious Majesties to you- see that you keep them all your lives!' Mr. McGinnis was that unusual being: a zealous British patriot of pure Irish stock.*
> *It was rather strange, too, to see the snooty bourgeoisie and their children for once mingling with the slummies- being British one and all for the afternoon.*[72]

The monarch paid his first visit to Liverpool in 1913, when he opened the Gladstone Dock as part of his tour of Lancashire. The Liverpool Echo was in no doubt that 'from a spectacular point of view, Liverpool's function will surpass in picturesqueness anything seen in the other parts of the country through which their Majesties have passed this week.'[73] Although the King came to

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[71] King George V Coronation 1911. Souvenir Programme, Liverpool, 1911.

[72] P. O'Mara, The Autobiography of a Liverpool Irish Slummy, London, 1934, pp. 93 and 94.

[73] Liverpool Echo, 10 July 1913.

open a dock, as his father had done in 1881, international developments invested the occasion with a very different significance.

Reference was made, as on that earlier occasion, to the

> *place of the port amid the ports of the world and to that policy, of which the new dock is striking evidence, which brought it to the van and is determined to keep it there...In the great work of keeping intact the links that bind his Majesty's scattered peoples, Liverpool has for centuries played a leading part. To an increasing extent every year her ships maintain that flow of trade which means so much to the whole Empire.*[74]

Circumstances had changed the tone but not the theme of the festivities. Liverpool's trade still underpinned the Empire at a time when pressure for self-government was growing in South Africa, Canada, Australia and Ireland. At the opening of the dock, the King recognised Liverpool's Imperial mission

> *The trade of Liverpool and my overseas Dominions is an important factor in our Imperial development and I am confident that the completion of this and other new docks will extend and strengthen your relations with all parts of the Empire and secure the commercial pre-eminence on which our common well-being so largely depends.*[75]

Martial virtues were extolled, too. The review of the merchant fleet of 1881 was replaced by night time illuminations of HMS Lancaster, HMS Liverpool and the vessels of the Channel Fleet. The Territorial units of the city marched past the King on church parade.

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[74] Liverpool Echo, 11 July 1913.

[75] Liverpool Echo, 12 July 1913.

Once again, children were central to the ceremonial. The King visited the Liverpool Exhibition, where he was met by 10,000 elementary school children who sang the national anthem. It should not be forgotten that school children were performers who could be trained and employed in civic ceremonial to achieve massive effect at little cost. Later on in the itinerary, the Royal Procession made its way to the Everton football club ground, Goodison Park. Inside the stadium were

> *ninety six drill squads...[who] have spent weeks in practising the physical exercises and marching and have attained a high pitch of efficiency...*
> *4.45 assembly for massed drill display: to the strains of a stirring quick step 1,920 costumed boys and girls will march on to the arena; few in the crowd will witness the initial movement without a thrill but should there be any still left cold there is more to stir the emotions in the precision of the drill and the cadence of the movements and the obvious keenness of every boy and girl.*[76]

Lest the martial element of this display of drill had escaped any observer, the grand finale involved the children forming a living Union Jack and singing 'Rule Britannia'. Leslie and Legge (the Director of Education) who had envisaged the 1907 Pageant as a means of inculcating children with the lessons of civic patriotism, co-operated again on the Display Committee for the drill, with Leslie chairing the committee.

The royal visit was attended by the familiar displays of civic largesse. About 134,000 children and 10,000 adults received municipal 'treats'. As they had been in 1881, the Town Hall state rooms were refitted. However, in 1913 the scale of the refurbishment and the access enjoyed by the public evidenced shifting attitudes towards ratepayers' rights concerning ceremonial. The Deputy Chairman of the Finance Committee, Alderman Cohen, admitted

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[76] Liverpool Football Echo, 5 July 1913.

> *He would not say that the price of the alterations had been no object, but that the object was worthy of the price (hear, hear). The money had been spent with the greatest discrimination and economy, efficiency however being the first consideration. The Lord Mayor was giving the public an opportunity to see everything, and if they could not all put their knees under the mahogany, they could walk over the carpets and see the renovated suite of rooms.*[77]

Where Radcliffe had set out the priorities of ceremonial expenditure in 1886 as display first and economy second, Cohen emphasised that the reverse held in 1913. The arrangements for public viewing were also more extensive than in 1881, with two sessions open at an admission charge of threepence which was to go to charity. Attendance at the most prestigious events was, however, strictly limited, as the symbolic function of ritual in expressing social status was not overlooked. St. George's Hall was filled by 'a company of ladies and gentlemen representative of all that is best in the civic, literary, artistic, educational, philanthropic, commercial and social life of the city.'[78]

Admiration of the Town Hall was not universal. A letter to the Liverpool Echo bewailed

> *the eyesore which was once our Town Hall...At the first rumour of Royalty a horde of Corporation hirelings swarm over our public edifices, bandage them round with crepe, and plaster them with gilt and tinsel until they have the appearance of glorified sixpenny bazaars.*
> *The King is coming to Liverpool the port and home of industry and maritime enterprise, not to a provincial Fun City.*[79]

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[77] Liverpool Echo, 10 July 1913.

[78] Liverpool Echo, 11 July 1913.

[79] Liverpool Echo, 10 July 1913.

Nor was such cynicism an isolated opinion. The Labour Party shared this belief that rich display was an affront to the dignity of the city. The secretary of the Liverpool I.L.P., Mr. Higenbottom echoed the discomfort voiced in 1881- that decorations and grandeur were designed to sweep social problems out of sight. In protest 850 members or associates of the Liverpool Labour party chose the day of the royal visit to organise an outing to Llandudno. Just as in 1886, care had to be taken that such objections could not be labelled as disloyalty.

> *It had been said that the Labour party in leaving Liverpool on the day when the King came to the City was disloyal...[Higenbottom] did not think there was any member in their party who would go out of his way to disparage the present head of state. They recognised that he was head of state by the will of the people, and if the people chose to have a monarchy that was the people's own affair. But they did say that the enormous palaver and decoration and fuss was overdone, and that it had been organised by Lord Derby as a political move to rouse feeling for Toryism in Lancashire...the great Barnum and Bailey show in Liverpool had been organised for the purpose of bolstering up the Tory party, and while the King was supposed to be coming down to Lancashire to study the industrial conditions there...he did not go down to the docks at Liverpool and investigate the conditions in which the seamen had to live...The members of the Independent Labour Party did not like all the flummery and they claimed that their patriotism went far deeper than the patriotism of the Jingoes and Bungs of Liverpool.*[80]

If one approach was to ignore the celebrations, another was to disrupt them. The Liverpool Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) had already disrupted a number of public events. Lloyd George's rally in 1908, Haldane's speech at Sun Hall in 1909 and Churchill's visit of the same year had witnessed window smashing or heckling. During the King's visit in 1913, local suffragettes started a fire on the promenade in nearby Southport and burnt down Sir William Lever's holiday home at Rivington Pike.[81] Krista Cowman has shown that Liverpool

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[80] Liverpool Echo, 12 July 1913.

[81] M. van Helmond, Votes For Women: The Events on Merseyside 1870- 1928, National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, 1992, pp. 35-41 and 80-81.

suffragettes 'continued to devise increasingly imaginative ways of stretching the boundaries of political action.'[82] On 12 July, the King's arrival in the city met with 'a curious exhibition of militant suffrage tactics.'

> *A band of suffragettes had gathered to witness the proceedings which were evidently not to their taste...one of the suffragettes, Miss Jollie...armed with a poker...flew across the street to the shop of Messrs. Werner and Co. a side window of which is in South John Street. She deliberately smashed the glass with the poker...Her object accomplished, the enraged suffragette rushed back to headquarters.*[83]

In a separate incident, a bouquet of flowers attached to a note addressed to the King was thrown at the royal carriage.

The responses of the Labour movement and the WSPU to civic ceremonial sheds more light on the paradigm within which these events, and the debates which accompanied them, were conducted. Throughout the four decades of visits and festivities considered, the concept of loyalty had set the boundaries for criticism of civic imagery. Loyalty and patriotism had been contested ground. Those who sought to oppose the ritual adopted by the Corporation had to define their relationship to the city and to the state lest their attacks be misconstrued.

As Sir James Picton had perceived in 1886, loyalty and display for the monarch were really loyalty and display for the city and social order. Hence, Liberal attacks were generally limited to the issue of expense since they fundamentally shared the Tory world-view of loyalty. Irish

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[82] K. Cowman, '"The stone-throwing has been forced upon us": The function of militancy within the Liverpool W.S.P.U., 1906-14' in Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, Vol. 145, 1995, p.191.

[83] Liverpool Echo, 12 July 1913.

Nationalist and Labour councillors, however, could be more radical in their opposition because of other nationalist or internationalist ties. Similarly, the WSPU's militant suffragism challenged the legitimacy of the established order.

Loyalty also helps to explain why coronation festivities were so lavish when the visits of 1906 and 1913 indicate tighter financial constraints on civic ceremonial. Since the 1880s, as David Cannadine has demonstrated, royal visits were more commonplace.[84] R.C.K. Ensor commented that where Queen Victoria had shunned publicity, her son revelled in it. 'Along with his frank amiability went a genial delight in display, a passion for uniforms and decorations, for sumptuous entertainments and processions, and big shows of every kind.'[85] The demands which more frequent display made on ratepayers, the decreasing scarcity value of royal visits and the Labour campaign against 'junketing' instigated by John Morrisey as a municipal auditor in 1902, all contributed towards efforts to rein in expenditure. Coronation festivities, however, were extremely potent expressions of loyalty which demanded ceremonial to match other cities since direct comparisons were possible.

The importance of royal visits and civic ceremonial is in the analytical perspective which they open on civic image. The statements of Liverpool's commercial mission were as central to such events as the acclaim for the monarchy. In association with the loyalty owed to the state, the imagery of Liverpool and Empire legitimised commercial endeavours. The hegemonic image of Liverpudlian commercial grandeur and progressive administration was thus reaffirmed.

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[84] See Cannadine's essay in The Invention of Tradition.

[85] R.C.K. Ensor, England 1870-1914, Oxford, 1988, p.342.

Chapter Two- Whose birthday is it? The Liverpool Pageant of 1907

In 1907, the Corporation of Liverpool organised a pageant to commemorate the septcentenary of the granting of the city's charter. Liverpool was not alone in such an enterprise. Philip Waller has identified a 'craze for historical pageants...between 1905 and 1909'[1]. Indeed, between 1906 and 1913, pageants were held in Bath, Bury St. Edmunds, Chelsea, Chester, Colchester, Coventry, Dover, Gloucestershire, King's Lynn, Lancaster, London, Oxford, Pevensey, Reading, Ripon, Romsey, Saffron Walden, St. Albans, Sherborne, Scarborough, Warwick, Winchester, West Dorset and York. Education and entertainment were combined in the depiction of colourful episodes from the civic past.

Louis Parker was the most celebrated of the pageant masters who organised such events. His pageant at Sherborne in 1905 signalled the start of the pageant craze. R.C.K. Ensor, who wrote Parker's entry in the Dictionary of National Biography, believed that his pageants 'essentially expressed the settled prosperous life of the historic England as it was before the world wars.'[2] In his autobiography, Several of My Lives, Parker set out his precepts for 'pageanting'.

> *A Pageant is...a Festival of Thanksgiving in which a great city or a little hamlet celebrates its glorious past, its prosperous present and its hopes and aspirations for the future. It is a Commemoration of Local Worthies. It is also a great Festival of Brotherhood in which all distinctions of whatever kind are sunk in a common effort. It is, therefore, entirely undenominational and non-political...It is the great incentive to the right kind of patriotism: love of hearth; love of town; love of country; love of England.*

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1 P.J.Waller, Town, City and Nation: England 1850-1914, Oxford, 1983, p. 314.

2 R.C.K. Ensor, 'Louis Napoleon Parker' in Dictionary of National Biography 1941-1950, Oxford 1959, p.652.

Parker's retrospective was a vision of the ideal type of pageant, yet the reality was much harder to achieve. He confessed 'if I were asked to indicate the ideal Master of the Pageant, I should unhesitatingly point to Signor Benito Mussolini.'[3]

Parker was not alone in his faith in the power of festive images to spur patriotic feeling. The programme for the Pageant of London, staged in 1910, explained that its aim was not for 'a pictorial and dramatic display which will please the eye and pass without leaving any lasting impression, but to stimulate thought and imagination and to demonstrate and remind us of the closeness of the associations which link the overseas dominions to the centre of British Imperial rule.'[4] The Liverpool pageant was one instance of a wider movement which explicitly linked civic imagery and civic patriotism.

It was claimed that 'the modern revival of the Pageant in England, which may be said to have had its birth in the Sherborne Pageant of 1905, is essentially historical in character.' The London programme commented, 'no small part of the charm of the Pageants which have been held at places like Warwick, Oxford, Bath and Winchester was the presentation of episodes in the history of those places in a setting where historical associations of romantic interest were linked to scenery of great natural beauty.'[5] Parker agreed, declaring that 'the impressiveness of a Pageant depends largely on the place in which it is performed. This should be a historical site: a ruined castle; the site of a monastery etc.'[6] Liverpool would not be a propitious site.

The few medieval buildings of note which there had been in Liverpool, such as the castle, had been demolished as the town prospered and grew. The city's history presented particular

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[3] L.N. Parker, Several of My Lives, London, 1928, pp.279 and 284.

[4] The Pageant of London, London, 1910, p.15. Celebrations in Canada commemorated the tercentenary of Quebec in 1908.

[5] ibid., pp. 16 and 17.

[6] Parker, Several of My Lives, p.279.

challenges. Unlike the other towns mentioned, Liverpool had not been noteworthy in the Middle Ages. The settlement on which King John had bestowed a charter in 1207 was barely more than a fishing village. Apart from the brief siege of the town by Prince Rupert during the English Civil War, Liverpool had played no discernible role in the nation's story. When it did come to prominence in the eighteenth century, Liverpool's fortune had been built upon the slave trade- hardly promising ground for edifying lessons in civic virtue. Sectarian divisions also demanded particular sensitivity. Scenes such as William of Orange's forces driving off drunken Irish looters, which heralded the arrival of Reading's civic insignia in that town's pageant, would be as likely to excite mob violence as civic pride in Liverpool.

The septcentenary pageant was an exercise in the construction and communication of civic image on a grand scale. The City Council's grant to the Pageant Committee of £2000 was the same amount as was usually granted to the Lord Mayor to support civic receptions and ceremonial for a whole year.[7] The cars, banners, trophies and costumes cost almost £2500.[8] Robert Holt recorded in his diary that it was a 'splendid show', but added, 'whether you might think the event of sufficient importance to celebrate by such a display is an open question.'[9] The purpose of the expenditure was unclear. The competing, albeit not exclusive, claims of entertainment and education were not convincingly reconciled and this uncertainty of direction was further clouded because the festivities were run as a commercial enterprise.

Consequently, the pageant suffered from a participation deficit; subscriptions were low, voluntary assistance from Liverpudlians was slow to materialise and fears were frequently voiced about how popular the events would be. The story of the Liverpool pageant suggests the need to include participation in any theoretical framework of civic image and civic

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[7] W.B. Forwood, Recollections of a Busy Life, Liverpool, 1910, p.98.

[8] '700th Anniversary of the Foundation of Liverpool. Celebration Fund.' in Council Proceedings 1906/7, pp. 2260 and 2261.

[9] Diary of Robert Holt, 3 August 1907 in Holt Papers at Liverpool Central Library.

patriotism. There was no inexorable connection between a grandiose narrative of civic achievement and an increased affective investment in the city by citizens. The septcentennial pageant failed to generate civic patriotism and made a loss because its organisers neglected to foster participation. They believed instead in a rather crude, deterministic link between the images of triumphant Liverpool and a growth of civic patriotism.

In a report to the Finance Committee of Liverpool City Council on 4 January 1907, the Town Clerk, Edward Pickmere related proposals for the celebration of the sevenhundredth anniversary of the grant of the civic charter. Pickmere had discussed the matter with Professor Ramsay Muir, who held the Chair of Modern History at the University of Liverpool, on 10 August 1906. Pickmere explained

> *Two kinds of celebration are suggested- (1) Exhibitions running throughout the summer; (2) festivities on the actual date elected to celebrate the foundation of the old borough.*
> *(1) Three or four Exhibitions of distinct types...are suggested...the Exhibitions suggested below would serve a double purpose. They would stimulate civic pride and patriotism and (especially in the young) encourage the growth of a higher citizenship, and they would bring Liverpool more prominently to the notice of other countries and be the means of inducing visitors to the British Isles to spend some time in the City.*[10]

Attracting trade to the town was an important justification for staging a pageant. The programme for the Bury St. Edmunds pageant, also held in 1907, advertised that it was the only pageant conducted by Louis Napoleon Parker that year and offered details of railway connections from as far afield as Southport, Liverpool and Manchester. In 1910, tickets for the London Pageant could be booked at Thomas Cook agents world-wide. The accounts for the Liverpool Pageant record that advertising (at £1223 6s 6d) made up over a tenth of the

[10] 'Report of the Town Clerk on the Proposed Celebration of the 700th Anniversary of the Foundation of Liverpool' appended to Council Proceedings 1906/7.

total pageant costs of £11358 12s 9d.[11] Pickmere's initial report had identified a double purpose for the pageant, and, with the Corporation acting as impresario, commercial imperatives and civic patriotism did not mesh smoothly.

A number of proposals were adumbrated in Pickmere's report. An exhibition of ancient Liverpool with reconstructions of the castle and the tower; a modern exhibition of both municipal government and trade and industry; an exhibition of the Liverpool School of Painters and an educational exhibition which would be 'of great value to teachers' were all advanced. Ramsay Muir suggested that the Schools of Local History and Architecture at the university would help with the design and construction of the castle and tower.

Under the separate heading of special festivities, Pickmere included 'a pageant or pageants like that of Warwick, illustrating episodes in the history of Liverpool. For this the proposed models of castle and tower would form the appropriate background.'[12] Other, more familiar, proposals made were for a public service of thanksgiving, a visit by the Channel Fleet, games for school children in the parks, an illumination of the river and a commemorative medal.

Pickmere was unequivocal in his statement that the scheme should be conducted under the municipal aegis. Perhaps fearing a lack of support, he suggested that the calling of a Town's Meeting was not advisable.

> *As the matter...is principally one affecting the Municipality,...if the scheme is at all desirable, it should be initiated and carried out by the Council...If this course is adopted, the funds required for the celebration could be obtained by an addition from the Lord Mayor's allowance.*[13]

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[11] Council Proceedings 1906/7, p.2261.

[12] Report of the Town Clerk on the 700th Anniversary

[13] ibid.

The staging of civic festivities clearly touched closely on civic pride. Pickmere's forceful recommendation that the Council should take full responsibility for participation and fund-raising left no doubt that he believed that the event should be accorded the status of civic ceremonial. Nonetheless, he recognised that expertise would be essential in the management of image which lay at the heart of such an enterprise. He advised the Council to consider

> *obtaining the services of some person who has been accustomed to organise Exhibitions and Pageants of this kind. Similar celebrations have already been held...and others are contemplated...special Masters of the Ceremonies were appointed to arrange and conduct the proceedings.*[14]

When the report was discussed by the full Council on 13 February 1907, the questions of purpose, cost, responsibility and pride to which Pickmere had alluded proved to be disputed ground on which party political lines disintegrated.

The Conservative councillor and M.P. for Everton J. Harmood Banner, argued that Liverpool 'should not consider itself so full of commerce and business that it should never have time to play'; and he pointed to the examples of 'Warwick and other places giving celebrations for the edification of their own populace.' Indeed, he insisted that

> *the citizens had a right to some species of entertainment on such an occasion...if the citizens did desire that the 700th anniversary of the charter should be celebrated...they, as a Council had no right to refuse such a reasonable request (hear, hear).*[15]

Sir Charles Petrie, former leader of the Conservatives in the Council, concurred, adding that the celebrations would not only interest the citizens, but also 'attract thousands of strangers for whom, in the summer especially there was a lack of entertainments'.[16]

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[14] ibid.

[15] Liverpool Echo, 13 February 1907.

[16] ibid.

Others, however, did not accept the provision of entertainment as a proper municipal concern. Alderman Salvidge rejected this 'silly proposal', confessing that he did not see 'the necessity for Liverpool to advertise itself like a seaside place with processions, cocked hats and gold braid.' Furthermore, he 'did not think the smaller shopkeepers and the working men would welcome a celebration at their expense in increased rates and enforced idleness.'[17] Salvidge was able to claim some authority in speaking for the working man from his chairmanship of the Liverpool Workingman's Conservative Association.

John Morrissey[18], a Labour councillor who had campaigned vigorously against Corporation junketing during his time as the municipal auditor, also claimed to voice the concerns of the working classes. The Labour Party in Liverpool had previously opposed expenditure on civic decoration and pageantry during royal visits. As on these occasions, the Labour resistance to civic ceremonial was not exclusively based on the cost involved. Morrissey questioned whether civic triumphalism was justified by Liverpool's social problems and warned that working men

> *were not animated by the mere spirit of local patriotism as some members of the Council seemed to imagine. With all our greatness he did not think we had a good deal to boast about during 700 years of so-called progress. They had today a larger proportion of citizens down in the depths of poverty than at any time in the history of the city ('oh oh' and 'shame').*

Morrissey addressed the question of an enforced holiday which Salvidge had broached reminding the Council that working men did not always welcome holidays being 'thrust upon them without the asking.'[19]

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[17] ibid.

[18] Morrissey's suspicions of the realities behind Liverpool's civic image had also surfaced during the attempts to annexe Bootle and are discussed in the chapter dealing with the proposed extension.

[19] ibid.

Salvidge's reservations were echoed by Dr. Permewan, too. He was troubled by how such an event sat with civic dignity and maintained that Liverpool's importance was 'entirely modern'.

> *What remained of medieval Liverpool? Nothing at all...There would be nothing more absurd than to be asked to go in state to a pasteboard castle on a conjectural plan (laughter) and hold a celebration of thanksgiving for 700 years of prosperity in or near that castle (laughter). 'I suppose my Lord Mayor' Dr. Permewan continued 'would be King John' (laughter)...It might be said that the celebrations would advertise the town and bring strangers into it. They might as well have a zoological gardens or a menagerie...Were we to hold ourselves out as givers of entertainment for the purpose of bringing people into the town? It was most undignified...What the effect would be was to advertise a local school- if there was one in the city- of local history; and he was not prepared to vote £2000 to advertise such a school.*[20]

Permewan's insinuation that Ramsay Muir's involvement was not entirely disinterested deserves consideration. Muir's History of Liverpool was to be published in 1907, and would clearly benefit from any upsurge of interest in the city's history. In his autobiography, Muir recalled that he had spent seven years researching and 'the last section...needed a good deal of extra labour, for it had been hastily written. But it had to be out in time for the seven hundredth anniversary of King John's Charter in 1907.'[21] When the book was published it sold out.

The resistance to the pageant by Permewan and Salvidge was not based on a belief that civic image was a trivial issue. On the contrary, they believed that civic gravitas would be dented by the provision of entertainment and must be protected. In the face of such arguments, Frank Leslie[22], a leading member of the Education Committee who was also to become the chairman

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[20] ibid.

[21] R. Muir, An Autobiography and Some Essays, S.Hodgson (ed.), London, 1943, pp.65 and 66.

[22] Leslie's connection with civic image-building was of long standing. In 1886 he had served as secretary to the committee for the Liverpool International Exhibition of Shipping, Commerce and Navigation.

of the Pageant Executive Committee, rallied to the pageant's defence. He 'did not advocate the celebrations as an advertising medium for Liverpool but he would put the celebrations on a higher plane...a means of popular education.'[23] The inconsistency at the heart of Pickmere's 'double purpose' for the pageant was beginning to widen.

Not all recognised the purpose of the pageant as being to stimulate civic patriotism. Some thought of the pageant as a municipal entertainment and welcomed it or were wary of it on these grounds. The concern for civic dignity had been met by a denial that the pageant was a commercially motivated attempt to attract trade. However, even if the pageant had educational aims, its administration and ultimate financial success would have implications for perceptions of Council efficiency, since the project had been so firmly identified as a municipal one. Moreover, doubts had been aired as to whether working men and shopkeepers would welcome the undertaking.

The Council's decision to proceed was far from unanimous. An amendment to refer the recommendations back to the Finance Committee for further consideration was defeated by 63 votes to 31. Misgivings about the nature and purpose of the pageant were not confined to the Council chamber. On 7 March, less than a week after the Lord Mayor had issued an appeal to Liverpool citizens for subscriptions to the celebration fund, the leading Congregationalist minister Stanley Rogers wrote to the Liverpool Daily Post. The lack of facilities at the north end of the city had been highlighted by the Bootle Corporation in 1903 as evidence of the shortcomings of Liverpool's municipal government and Rogers seized the opportunity presented by the pageant to revive the grievance that the northern districts were neglected.

> *Honours no doubt will be freely distributed to the few, and festivities, more or less private, fully enjoyed by the same. But what about the people?...We at any rate in the north end may reasonably ask for our share of the spoil. Imagine a district with 60000 inhabitants, having no public hall or assembly!...There could be no more fitting*

[23] Liverpool Echo, 13 February 1907.

celebration of the anniversary of the founding of our city than the erection of such a people's hall.[24]

The subscriptions as of 11 March confirmed that enthusiasm for the pageant was confined to the upper echelons of Liverpool society. The total of £1791 1s 6d might have seemed impressive, but the Liverpool Daily Post was convinced that 'to carry out the celebrations successfully and on the scale contemplated, as well as to provide a suitable memorial of the historic occasion, larger contributions must be received from the public.' On analysing the list of subscribers, the paper calculated that there were 'only 168 subscribers out of a community within the city boundaries of over three-quarters of a million and more than half the total sum received from the public has come from nine subscribers.'[25] Twenty-one subscribers accounted for 72% of the total.

At a meeting of the general committee for the pageant on 15 March, it was estimated that the total cost of the pageant would be £6500. D'Arcy Ferrars, whose credentials were ascribed vaguely to previous experience 'in organising a number of pageants in Ripon and elsewhere'[26], was appointed to superintend the pageant.

With numerous costumes and banners to be made for the pageant, female involvement in the preparations was imperative. A Ladies Committee was appointed which included the Lady Mayoress, the Countesses of Derby, Latham and Sefton and the Ladies Alice Stanley, Petrie, Russell and Hampson.[27] This list of titled ladies was, perhaps, intended to attract funds and participation to the pageant, for only the Lady Mayoress and Lady Petrie were named as members of the Ladies Executive Committee in May.[28] The appointments of Mrs. Pickmere

[24] Liverpool Daily Post, 7 March 1907.

[25] Liverpool Daily Post, 11 March 1907.

[26] Liverpool Daily Post, 16 March 1907.

[27] ibid.

[28] Liverpool Daily Post, 11 May 1907.

and Mrs. Legge as Honorary Lady Managers, ensured that their spouses, the Town Clerk and the Head of the Education Board respectively, were kept closely informed as its work progressed.

By 16 May, subscriptions had advanced to £2703 17s. When this was added to the £2000 voted by the Council and £625 3s from concessions, a total of £5328 was reached. More detailed information emerged about ticket arrangements and the scale of the pageant. Admission was priced at 6d but seats were to cost 5s. Five performances were planned; two on Saturday 3 August, two on 5 August and one on 6 August. There would be a procession of fourteen cars (costing £500) and 900 people. In addition there would be a thousand-voice choir and a display of physical drill by between three and four thousand children[29] 'such as has never been performed on a large scale before in this country.'[30]

The wide disparity between ticket prices and the arrangement of three of the five performances on weekdays indicate that the pageant was not conceived in terms of a mass spectacle to appeal to the working classes. Indeed, the plans for a commemorative medal outlined gold, silver and bronze versions. A 'cheaper metal for the public who desire to purchase them' was deemed only a possibility.[31] The rhetoric of the pageant however, continued to be framed by aims of mass education. Frank Leslie rapidly assumed the role of apologist. On 3 May, he delivered a lecture on 'Seven Hundred Years of Liverpool Life' at Liverpool College in which he

> *alluded to the anniversary festivals of this year, which would, he hoped, dispel a large amount of ignorance about Liverpool's past and quicken and deepen the affection and*

[29] The significance of drill in the light of Liverpool's health record is explored in more detail in the chapter on royal visits.

[30] Liverpool Daily Post, 16 May 1907.

[31] ibid.

regard of every citizen for the great city of which he formed a part and give him a stronger interest in its welfare.[32]

For such an ambitious vision connecting civic image and civic patriotism to be realised, broad interest and participation were prerequisites.

Leslie's article in the Liverpool Daily Post on 24 May returned to the themes of his lecture. He wrote

The poorer classes in our great cities lead lives as grey and dull as the wearily monotonous streets they live in and the Festival in August will have done much if it only brings to their unaccustomed gaze a living spectacle, splendid in grouping, gorgeous in colour and telling at the same time a story of absorbing interest. And its historical side must give some food for thought, even to the most ignorant. An unforeseen but very encouraging result of the project is that, ever since it was announced, every book in the free libraries bearing on local history has been in constant demand.

Despite Leslie's hopes that the pageant might uplift the lives of the poor and stimulate historical interest, it remained a commercial event. The cost of admission might prevent these benefits from being reaped, but if entry charges were waived, the committee would once more be open to criticism of the pageant on the grounds of the cost to ratepayers. By appealing for the Liverpool Daily Post and the Liverpool Courier to 'try to outdo each other in providing admission for the greatest number of poor citizens'[33], Leslie hoped to escape this dilemma. Neither paper took up his challenge.

Enthusiasm was in short supply. On 6 June, it was reported that the prize for competitive odes or songs was not to be awarded since no entries had been received which were both suitable and able to be set to music. Furthermore, 'the finding of ladies and gentleman to take characters in the Pageant was at first somewhat difficult. Timidity and reluctance to be seen in

[32] Liverpool Daily Post, 3 May 1907.

[33] Liverpool Daily Post, 24 May 1907.

a new role at first prevented many offers being made but considerable advance has been made during the past week.'[34]

Attempts to ensure the presence of the poorer classes at the pageant continued. The Lord Mayor intended 'inviting gentlemen to contribute to a fund to be raised for the purpose of giving admission to the Pageant to the poor of the city.' Under the scheme a subscription list would be established to buy tickets for the poor at a cost of 4d each rather than 6d. Civic patriotism was subject to financial constraints. An Advertisement Committee and a Traffic sub-Committee 'mainly composed of representatives of the railway companies' were 'busily occupied in arranging for the public of Liverpool and elsewhere to know of the Pageant'[35] as steps were taken to bolster the celebration's commercial prospects.

Anxiety about attendance mounted as the pageant drew nearer. In an article of 11 June, Leslie blustered

> *it is safe to prophecy that those good citizens who will not set aside even one opening day of their August holidays to see the pageant of Liverpool's 700 years of glorious life will regret their neglect when it is too late to correct it. That there are very many who do not intend to miss it is shown by the hundreds of seats already taken on the grandstand.*[36]

The grandstand had a capacity of 3500 per performance, so hundreds of seats did not constitute overwhelming advance bookings for the five performances. It is unlikely that many of the seats for this 'living spectacle' had been taken by the 'poorer classes', for grandstand seats cost 5s.

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[34] Liverpool Daily Post, 6 June 1907.

[35] ibid.

[36] Liverpool Daily Post, 11 June 1907.

Leslie suggested that there was an unwillingness to spend a holiday at the pageant, yet for many the lack of a holiday prevented them from visiting the site. Frank Sugg, who owned an athletic goods shop, called for a holiday to allow working people to see the pageant. He noted

> *Many of our leading aldermen and councillors are...taking...a fat place all through these celebrations, therefore it is evident their local patriotism, their pride in the good old city, and their public spirit cannot fail to prompt them to close their premises for at least one day.*[37]

There was no coherent strategy as to whether the pageant was aiming for a mass audience or how this might be secured.

The Historical Exhibition at the Walker Art Gallery had been the first of the festivities to take place. It opened on 15 July, and as late as 26 June an appeal was printed in the Liverpool Daily Post for more exhibits. Lord Stanley's speech at the opening insisted that the exhibition had been

> *gathered with no purpose of ostentation. It had been promoted through a desire to show to Liverpool people what their forefathers had done for the city, and how much it behoved them in turn to do...what they could for future generations...citizens of every shade of politics and creed could come to learn or to enlarge that love which ought to exist in the breasts of everyone for the place of his birth and for the county and country of his kith and kin.*

To cultivate such civic devotion the exhibition was open to the working class at a lower charge in the evenings. Notwithstanding, Leslie remained anxious. He confessed, 'his only fear was that during the three weeks season of the exhibition, big Liverpool would not awaken to the interest of the exhibition (laughter and applause).'[38]

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[37] Liverpool Daily Post, 11 July 1907.

[38] Liverpool Daily Post, 16 July 1907.

Leslie's fears were not groundless. A letter to the Liverpool Daily Post from the pen of an 'Old Citizen'[39] urged Liverpudlians to visit the exhibition. The author confided, 'so many persons have surprised me by saying they did not recognise that the Historical Exhibition was of any particular interest and had not given any attention to its existence.' Just under 21,000 people visited the exhibition. The ordinary tickets, at 6d, cost the same as admission to a football match. A total of 19,106 were bought over the three weeks.[40] At this date both Everton and Liverpool F.C.s could expect similar crowds at each home game.

At the Town Hall on 25 July, a large gathering assembled for an exhibition of the banners and flags which the women had made. Ramsay Muir was unable to attend, but the letter which he sent betrayed his lack of confidence in the prospects for the pageant. He believed that the celebrations 'would doubtless bring a new note of dignity and pride into the civic life of the venerable city.' However, he added the caveat that

> *should the worst misfortune attend them, they had already achieved magnificent results...to have set thousands of the most active and public spirited citizens at work...was already to have achieved something that would leave a mark upon the present year of civic life.*[41]

The lowest price for admission to the pageant had risen from sixpence to a shilling. The increase revealed that there was something of a financial crisis, since Leslie's comments at the display made it apparent that the lack of popular enthusiasm was a cause for alarm. He made the vague promise that 'the general public would have the opportunity of witnessing it [the pageant] for a small charge, and even those unable to pay the sum of one shilling were being considered, and something would probably be done for them.' Putting up admission charges

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[39] It is possible that the letter was written by Leslie himself, or another member of the Exhibition Committee, to provoke interest.

[40] Foundation of Liverpool 700th Anniversary. Historical Exhibition of Liverpool Antiquities, Liverpool, 1907, frontispiece.

[41] Liverpool Daily Post, 26 July 1907.

would scarcely attract an audience. The pricing policy for the pageant was foundering on the rip-tides of mass participation and commercial success.

Moreover, as one shopkeeper argued in the Liverpool Daily Post, closing the shops to allow Liverpudlians to attend the pageant would project the wrong image of the city to visitors from elsewhere and entail missing out on increased trade. He inquired 'is any "pleasure" more sad than that of walking about the streets of a town with the shops closed?'[42]

The issue of admission charges was aired by other correspondents. 'Fairplay' pondered 'Is the Pageant for the Rich only?' and concluded that a good view would cost at least five shillings because there would be so much jostling for position in the shilling enclosure.[43] Allan Ward agreed. He highlighted the inconsistency that those whose 1/- tickets were for Wavertree Park would only see the half-hour procession, whereas the same outlay in the Exhibition Ground would secure a view of the pageant itself for two hours.[44] The pageant organisers would have to adopt a more populist approach to selling the pageant.

The front page advert in the Liverpool Daily Post on 29 July seemed to confirm Salvidge's and Permewan's worst fears of how the pageant would sit with civic dignity. Far from reflecting Leslie's lofty statements on civic patriotism and the need to nurture a due sense of history, the advert used the marketing techniques of the music hall. Pageant-goers were promised

> *4,500 PERFORMERS 400 BEAUTIFUL BANNERS AND TROPHIES*
> *THE SEALING OF THE CHARTER*
> *STIRRING FIGHT BETWEEN THE STANLEYS AND THE MOLYNEUXS*

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[42] ibid.

[43] ibid.

[44] Liverpool Daily Post, 27 July 1907.

QUEEN ELIZABETH AND HER COURT

MOLLY BUSHELL AND HER EVERTON TOFFEE

SIEGE AND DESTRUCTION OF THE CASTLE

and, most tantalisingly of all,

THE FUNERAL DANCE OF SIR RICHARD MOLYNEUX[45]

Evidence of a conscious shift to a mass marketing approach is also found in the Official Medals. It has been noted already that the initial proposals for such medals were not aimed at the poorer classes. By 29 July, however, the adverts for the medals listed a 'white metal' medal, available for 1d. The medals depicted a ship, seven laurel wreaths (one for each century) and the civic motto.

Although such commercial initiatives could plainly augment civic patriotism, the overall direction of the pageant was confused. From a commercial standpoint, a broadly targeted advertising campaign was accompanied by a rise in admission charges which was part of a poorly thought out pricing structure. If access to the pageant were denied, the event's affective potential as a participated image would be lost.

A meeting of the City Council on 1 August took up the issue of admission charges. Councillor Kelly contended that 'prohibitive charges had been fixed for witnessing the Pageant'. A fellow Irish Nationalist, Austin Harford, suggested that there should be a parade through the streets. Sir Charles Petrie, formerly the Conservative leader on the council, claimed that such a parade was impossible because the high banners would not pass under the electric tram wires. Councillor Joseph explained that 'the general body of the public would be admitted to the dress rehearsal tomorrow evening at a charge of 1d for children and 5d for

[45] Liverpool Daily Post, 29 July 1907.

adults who accompanied them. They would see the whole performance just as it would be gone through on Saturday and following days.'[46]

The tension between encouraging civic loyalty and ensuring the financial success of the pageant remained unresolved. Children had been identified by Leslie as the key constituency to which the message of civic virtue should be attuned and it is noteworthy that this reduced entrance was open only to those adults who accompanied children. Whereas conspicuous charity had long been an integral part of civic festivities on occasions such as royal visits, provision for charitable institutions in 1907 was intended to be limited to the dress rehearsal, rather than to include the event itself.

On 2 August, it was reported that, 'the majority of the onlookers at tonight's rehearsal will be nurses from most of the charitable and fostering Institutions and the inmates of some of the workhouses and of many of the charitable institutions of the city.'[47] Thus, charity was excluded from the pageant proper, reinforcing the message that this was a profit-making enterprise. As the Liverpool Daily Post related,

> *The newspapers have during the last day or two contained correspondence from working men complaining of the high prices of admission to be charged. It should not be forgotten that the Pageant is entirely a voluntary effort, supported by public subscriptions. The whole cost will probably run to £10,000.*[48]

The description of the pageant as a 'voluntary effort' was misleading. The £2000 contribution voted by the Council in February would ultimately be charged to ratepayers, and there was no charge for the use of the Edge Lane estate because this was owned by the Council.

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[46] Liverpool Daily Post, 1 August 1907.

[47] Liverpool Daily Post, 2 August 1907.

[48] ibid.

Furthermore, on Pickmere's insistence, the project had been firmly identified as a municipal undertaking from its inception.

Nonetheless, the high prices for admission to the grandstand and the exclusion of charitable bodies from the pageant attested to its importance as a social function for Liverpool's elite. The plan of the pageant grounds (*figure 1*)clearly illustrates that those in the grandstand were favoured. The grandstand monopolised the best views of the arena. No-one paying less than 5/- would have enjoyed a frontal view. The edifying celebration of the city's mercantile achievements would be played to the civic elite.

Many of the significant roles in the pageant were taken by councillors and members of their families. In the seventh scene for instance, the Midsummer's Eve Pageant saw the Rose Queen played by Olive Japp (the Mayor's daughter), Queen Elizabeth played by Councillor Patterson's wife and Sir Francis Bacon played by Councillor Paris. It is possible that the problems of finding actors had been solved by pressing councillors into service, but the pageant was attended by a series of parties. The most brilliant of these was held by Lord Derby at Knowsley Park. 'The leaders of Liverpool's public life, its councillors and magistrates, and its most distinguished exemplars in "arts and learning, law and commerce"'[49] were counted among the guests. The pageant had become an addition to an exclusive social circuit.

The challenge of inspiring civic patriotism through appropriate historical images was added to the problems of attendance and finance. Leslie attributed the flurry of pageants to

> *a general and almost unconscious expression of a revived general interest in the past...a man who through mental affliction has lost his memory is a pathetic object and we, whether as a nation, or as a city, have in our preoccupations been in danger of losing all memory of our own past.*[50]

[49] Liverpool Daily Post, 8 August 1907.

[50] Liverpool Daily Post, 3 July 1907.

Liverpool's lack of physical reminders of its past exacerbated this danger. Leslie explained in his foreword to the 700th Anniversary Festival Programme

> *a great commercial city has but little time for historical research, and thus generations of Liverpool people have trodden its familiar streets...knowing nothing of these long stored up traditions, and so, to their own loss, feeling none of the respect and affection which such knowledge alone can bring. The ambition of every true citizen must surely be to leave the dignity and worth of the City higher than he found it, and to aid him in this a knowledge of the past is essential. This Pageant will help to show us all that Liverpool has a history of which her citizens may justly be proud...It is well for us to remember all this, and to realise the responsibilities which it lays upon us; it is better still for our children to do so.*[51]

The Liverpool Daily Post's 'Woman's World' column for pageant week concurred with Leslie's analysis. A more proactive approach should be taken in inculcating civic patriotism, and historical imagery could form a valuable part of such a strategy.

> *The vogue for pageants which latterly has spread throughout the land must indicate some sort of reaction from the blight that has for a long time past fallen upon historical studies...rightly taught, would there be a more fascinating study than...to learn by what strange process of development our national life has reached its present form...*
> *A good result of the forthcoming celebrations will perhaps be to make citizens take a more individual pride in the prosperity of their native or adopted city, and a more individual concern for its continued and increased well being.*

Civic patriotism's emphasis on the individual's relationship with the community represented a resolution of the tension between personal freedom and communal efficiency.

> *We English people are only beginning to realise the importance of teaching patriotism in its highest sense to our children. Hitherto we have taken such a sentiment for granted and our innate horror of expressing anything in the nature of deep feeling has prevented our discussing such matters as love of country and pride in the honour of one's native land or city. Abroad they do things differently...In American schools...children are taught to salute the flag, and a passionate patriotism*

[51] 700th Anniversary Festival Programme, Liverpool, 1907.

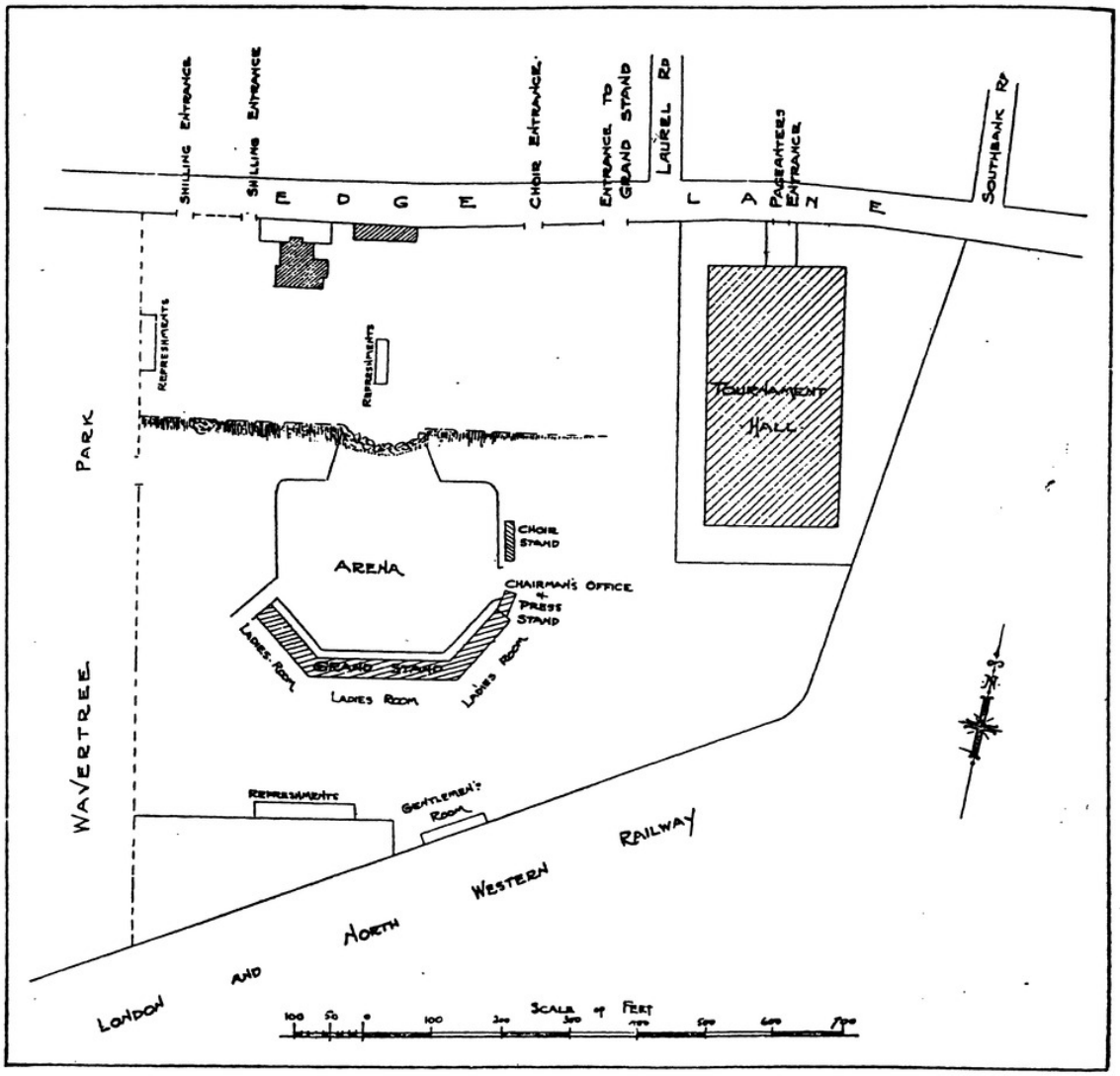

Figure 1- The Grand Stand monopolised the best views of the Pageant arena.

is one of the sentiments which is inspired and fostered in the heart of every American child.[52]

The implications for women, as the educators of children, were clear. Women should take responsibility for the development of civic patriotism. Emotional attachment to the city could be taught.

This rationale for the pageant and the role of education in civic patriotism was bound up in the backgrounds of Muir, Leslie and Legge. The three men were to the fore in organising, defending and executing the pageant. Leslie and Legge were key figures in education policy on the City Council. Muir, as Professor of Modern History at Liverpool University, 'held that one of the services which a university ought to render to its community was to make it aware of its history. As soon as I settled in Liverpool, I set to work on this subject.'[53]

Derek Heater has identified the civic function of history in providing a collective memory for a society. This function is performed by creating a repository of facts and by shaping myths.[54] Muir's view of history embraced such a civic dimension. He took William Roscoe as the subject for his inaugural lecture at the university. The Historical Exhibition also accorded Roscoe an exalted place in the pantheon of civic worthies. His memory was treated with cultic reverence. The exhibits included a 'snuff box made from oak taken from the house in which William Roscoe was born', a 'picture of the home where William Roscoe was born...framed in a piece of oak from same' and Roscoe's walking cane and gold pencil case.'[55]

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[52] Liverpool Daily Post, 1 August 1907.

[53] R.Muir, An Autobiography, pp.44 and 45.

[54] D. Heater, Citizenship- The Civic Ideal in World History, Politics and Education, Harlow, 1990, p.184.

[55] Historical Exhibition Catalogue

Muir corresponded in the Liverpool press on a number of occasions to defend the historical accuracy of the pageant, and eventually took the role of King John, the only speaking part in the whole pageant. The festivities followed the historical perspective of Muir's History of Liverpool. It was his belief that the city suffered from the abnormally large number of clerks amongst its citizens, because their work tended to limit their individuality and imaginative capacities. Liverpool owed its progress to the outstanding abilities of its merchant families.

> *Great merchants and shipowners...are rendered by the character of their work...alert, open-minded, hospitable to big ideas, accustomed to and tolerant of the widest divergences of view. For this reason it is that great trading centres have so often been, like Athens, Florence, Venice, Amsterdam, also centres of vigorous intellectual life. One of the greatest interests in the study of Liverpool...must be to see how far the vigour and enlightenment of the directing classes in this great seaport community have been able to counteract the depressing tendencies, in other directions, of the remarkable material progress of this period.*[56]

The pageant opened with the banner of Liverpool ushered in by three marshals in Venetian heraldic costumes. The songs which narrated the episodes of the pageant were similarly inspired by commercial glories. The Song to Liverpool extolled the 'Queen and Goddess of our City, nestling on seven hills and ruling Mersey's tides...Seven oceans read her name, bend in homage to her fame, rise to kiss the titled sterns with eager grace.' The rather strained references to Liverpool's topography elevated the city as a new Rome, based on commerce. The Song of the Charter echoed this.

> *Great and white the walls shall stand,*
> *And the rising waves command;*
> *Ships upon the waves shall ride,*
> *And the people's wants provide.*
> *They shall come from east and west,*
> *Bringing treasure goodliest.*
> *Hope within our hearts has thrilled;*
> *Here a city shall we build.*[57]

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[56] R. Muir, History of Liverpool, Liverpool, 1907, p. 308.

[57] Words and Music for the 700th Anniversary Pageant, Liverpool, 1907, p.18.

Leslie wrote the lyrics to The Blue Coat Hospital himself. This song enshrined the connection between merchants and civic virtue. The founder of the famous school, Bryan Blundell, was portrayed bestowing Christian charity in the manner of King Wenceslas.

> *Good Bryan Blundell safely home had brought*
> *Rich merchandise, o'er many a stormy sea*
> *And now, his ship at anchor in the port,*
> *He stood, with thankful heart, upon the quay.*
>
> *The urchins playing by the river side*
> *Came thronging round him as he stepped ashore,*
> *Hungry and cold, yet smiling, open-eyed,*
> *And happy, caring nought for ills in store.*
>
> *And as he gazed on them, unkempt, untaught,*
> *His loving pity shaped itself to this,*
> *'God has been good to me, and shall I not*
> *Do good to these poor little ones of His?'*[58]

The final scene of the pageant was the triumph of Liverpool.

> *The Goddess of Liverpool bore a liver bird sceptre...[and] an orb with a ship. Beneath her, on the pedestal, were four other goddesses, those of Literature, Science, Art and Music, each with an emblem of her mission. The base of the column was surrounded by ladies' characters arranged in couples in the four corners to depict the industries of the town.*[59]

The Goddess of Liverpool's regalia invested her as the Goddess of Commerce. There was no need for a separate deity, for Liverpool and commerce were indistinguishable. The apotheosis of Liverpool was a symbol of how other virtues sprang from commercial pre-eminence.

However, the generation of civic feeling through a heightened sense of history was no simple process. Louis Parker's maxim was that a pageant should be kept free from political and

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[58] ibid.

[59] Liverpool Daily Post, 5 August 1907.

denominational wrangling, yet the contested nature of history ensured that it could not easily be kept free from such conflicts in Liverpool. In addition, it sometimes proved difficult to find appropriate texts for civic virtue.

The story of the pageant was that of Liverpool's progress towards its destiny- to become the greatest port in the world. In the eighteenth century, however, 'the opportunity came to it of making money quickly in a traffic of which we cannot now be proud- the buying and selling of slaves.' The cult of William Roscoe was significant because he had been Liverpool's most prominent abolitionist. Leslie's regular column in the Liverpool Daily Post revealed the discomforted efforts made by the pageant's organisers to reconcile pride in the commercial achievements of the city with shame at the slave trade.

Leslie reminded his readers that

> *Many of the old Liverpool merchants who built up vast fortunes in this way seem to have been very worthy and highly respected citizens, examples of all the virtues which go to the making of God-fearing, clean living Englishmen. They were generous of their wealth, and to them some of Liverpool's noblest charities owe their beginning. It was not easy to find a distinctive title for this somewhat mixed and perplexing period of our Pageant, and it was the ingenuity of Mr. Legge, our new director of education, which coined for us the descriptive and comprehensive heading of 'The Beginning of Wealth, well gotten and ill gotten, and of charity which covereth a multitude of sins'.*

Because the wealth of some of Liverpool's leading families had originated in the slave trade, such associations could destroy their moral right to leadership. If the pageant were to be a commemoration of local worthies, this episode would need careful management. As the author of a pamphlet of 1884 entitled Liverpool and Slavery had admonished

> *the slave trade laid the foundations of fortunes of a great many of the existing families who are now richly enjoying their wealth...Is there a troubled conscience somewhere when they think of the past? Does the coin cry out with a truthfulness that cannot be silenced?...All the great Liverpool families were more or less steeped in the slave trade.*[60]

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[60] Anon., Liverpool and Slavery, first published Liverpool 1884, reprinted Liverpool 1969, pp.14 and 15.

The presentational strategy adopted at the pageant reflected the concern to limit criticism of the city's merchant elite. The Blue Coat Hospital which commemorated Blundell's civic virtue was the song written for this period of Liverpool history. There were two banners of the docks and one of them depicted slaves and a driver, but this banner was not accompanied by actors playing slaves. Instead, it was escorted by actors in the roles of the Reverend John Newton 'a well known and much respected divine, who actually commanded a slave ship and read for the ministry at one and the same time' and 'Captain Hugh Crow, another much esteemed citizen, who spent much of his life in command of slaves'. Such an arrangement reinforced the lesson that those whose wealth had been founded on the slave trade had also been exemplars of civic virtue. The pageant was fortuitously ordered, for after these 'themes of horror and pathos, the lighter touch afforded by Molly Bushell, the illustrious founder of Everton toffee will be doubly welcome.'[61]

Civic history was to inform civic pride. The didactic and normative power of history could draw more partisan conclusions from the past. The Protectionist question was of particular relevance to Liverpool as a great port, and Liberals were eager to 'point out how thoroughly the enrichment and growth of Liverpool have been identified with Free Trade.'[62]

An editorial which appeared in the Liverpool Daily Post[63] on 5 August, when the pageant was being performed, found parallels between Protectionism and the activities of the Elizabethan Merchants' Gild (sic). The Gild

> *did not encourage trade with 'foreigners', that is with people from Ireland, or Bristol or from other Lancashire towns. Produce brought into the town was first to be*

[61] Liverpool Daily Post, 21 June 1907.

[62] Liverpool Daily Post, 3 August 1907.

[63] The Liverpool Daily Post and its sister paper the Liverpool Echo were the most widely read papers in the city. Both were Liberal in outlook.

offered to 'the Mayor and town' and there were officials whose duty was to put a price upon it. At this price it could be bought and equitably distributed among the merchants of the Gild, but if not bought by the town the importer had to pay the town for permission to sell openly at the best price he could. Our modern Fiscal Reformers would take us back to a weak imitation of this protective system. But it did not promote trade. It was when the whole system was revolutionised that Liverpool's prosperity began.[64]

The 'Political Letter'[65] in the Daily Post of two days previous offered a reading of Liverpool's history which was unmistakably informed by the Whig tradition. It identified the Glorious Revolution as not only establishing 'the Protestant Constitution about which also the nation is practically still unanimous' but as ushering in Liverpool's greatness.

From that point in our history there have been no retrogressions...We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that at the present moment there is a question upon which retrogression is threatened, so that we must not assume that advance upon the lines of the country's general course is always permanent.[66]

The Whig interpretation of history depicted Protectionism as a retrogression which would run counter to the progressive logic of the past. The pageant's glorification of Liverpool could provide a historical justification for arguments which might embarrass the Conservative Corporation.

If Liberals did hope to employ historical trends to score political points caution was required. Liverpool's spectacular growth had taken place under Conservative hegemony. The author of the 'Political Letter' confronted this problem by advancing a revisionist view of the city's political history.

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[64] Liverpool Daily Post, 5 August 1907.

[65] Although the authorship of this letter cannot be proved definitively, the paper's proprietor, Sir Edward Russell, frequently wrote this column himself.

[66] Liverpool Daily Post, 3 August 1907.

Although there have always been, and no doubt always will be Conservatives, our Conservatives have not been reactionaries.
A curious feature in our political history as a city has been the identification of great Conservatives with us, and the fact that these Conservatives were extremely Liberal...while Mr. Canning and Mr. Huskisson came here as Tories and made no suggestion of secession from their party, they really represented coming doctrines of Liberal policy. Both were Free Traders. Both were in favour of Catholic Emancipation.[67]

Religious denominations also advanced their own interpretations of Liverpool's pageant. St. George's Hall had been chosen for the official thanksgiving service, instead of St. Peter's pro-Cathedral where Liverpool's mayors (whether Anglicans or Dissenters) attended in State following their election. In addition to this more neutral venue, the Bishop of Liverpool was to preach, the Rector was to read prayers and Rev. Alexander Connell, a Free Churchman, was to read the lesson. Rev. T.E. Ruth, who preached at the Baptist church at Prince's Gate, remained unimpressed. He dismissed the service as 'purely Anglican'. He argued that Connell's presence was no real concession since 'the function assigned to him is frequently discharged by laymen in the Established Church.' Ruth maintained 'that one sect should be selected and all others ignored is a violation of the canons of common courtesy and common citizenship, to say nothing of cosmopolitan Christianity.'[68]

Ruth did not limit his ire to the press, but preached a sermon on the New Jerusalem at his church. He

described the pageant as a pictorial representation of the past. The Apocalypse was a pictorial representation of the future...The pageant programme itself was a powerful parable- a parable of the progress of Liverpool in seven centuries from an insignificant village to the mightiest seaport in the world...The Liverpolitan literature which the septcentenary had inspired would certainly tell for a truer conception of civic service...But...one great disappointing thing in the pageant was the exclusive character of the religious service...after the protest had been made, the Roman Bishop

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[67] ibid.

[68] Liverpool Daily Post, 26 June 1907.

refused to unite with Protestants in a religious service...the Anglican Bishop refused to equal prominence to the Free Churchmen.[69]

During Pageant Week, the Anglican bishop of Liverpool, Dr. Chavasse, preached a sermon on 'Civic Greatness'. He portrayed the city as 'entering at the Reformation upon a new era uplifted with the opening of direct trade with the American colonies and with the West Indies; confirmed in its right to self government by a Charter of William of Orange.'[70] The pageant organisers had not included a charter trophy to commemorate this charter in the festivities; despite its significance in restoring rights granted to the town by Charles I, but later rescinded by a charter which James II forced on the Corporation. The charter trophy of James II was accompanied by the infamous Judge Jefferies in the pageant, but William's charter was overlooked.

Parades and images had long been flashpoints for sectarian strife in Liverpool. In 1886, Catholics had burned effigies of William and Mary while whole streets had revealed their Orange allegiances by their decorations on 12 July[71]. As both Frank Neal and Philip Waller[72] have demonstrated, processions and symbols expressed denominational differences. Consequently, there were large numbers of people in Liverpool with a sophisticated understanding of the relationships between image, ideology and participation.

Pat O'Mara remembered that a fight had been sparked at a Protestant parade by a woman who 'held her skirts sky high (disclosing a fine pair of green drawers)...[and] danced slowly and defiantly backward.' Similarly he recalled violence which erupted at another Orange parade

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[69] Liverpool Daily Post, 30 July 1907.

[70] Liverpool Daily Post, 5 August 1907.

[71] F. Neal, Sectarian Violence: The Liverpool Experience 1819/1914, Manchester 1988, pp. 187 and 196.

[72] P.J. Waller, Democracy and Sectarianism: a social and political history of Liverpool, Liverpool, 1981.

when 'the little child who impersonated King Billy on his white charger had his head staved in with a brick, falling off the horse bleeding and screaming with pain.'[73] In a city where such visual statements had been assimilated into a vocabulary of image, the staging of a pageant could hold its own terrors.

Although the pageant organisers seem to have been aware of these dangers, the festivities encouraged historicism. Chavasse's sermon clearly identified Christianity as the cornerstone of all civic patriotism.

> *A municipality cannot legislate successfully in advance of public opinion. We must educate the conscience as well as the mind. We must form the character. We must leaven the people with the spirit and truth of Jesus Christ if our city is to fulfil her great destiny. Change men's hearts by the power of the Gospel and you will change their laws and lives.*

Chavasse delineated a vision of Liverpool as the New Jerusalem of Revelation. He drew on the building of the city's Anglican Cathedral for inspiration and concluded his oration with a plea for financial support.[74]

> *On the summit of St. James' Mount- the Mount Zion of our forefathers- are slowly rising the lofty walls of our future cathedral...Let Liverpool lay its culture and wealth at the feet of the Christ...Then the vision of the Apocalypse will find one of its fulfillments on the banks of the Mersey. Our city shall be a holy city, for 'the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be therein, and his servants shall do him service.'*[75]

Thus a combination of civic patriotism and Christian duty would command financial support for the new cathedral.

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[73] P. O'Mara, The Autobiography of a Liverpool Irish Slummy, London, 1934, pp. 87 and 89.

[74] The foundation stone of the Anglican Cathedral had been laid by Edward VII in 1904.

[75] Liverpool Daily Post, 5 August 1907.

The Roman Catholic Church also employed the image of the New Jerusalem, but to quite a different purpose. At a separate Catholic celebration, attended by a number of Irish Nationalist councillors, Father James Hughes 'delivered a striking discourse based on the text "And the angel that spoke with me had a measure of a rod of gold to measure the city and the gates thereof and the walls." Apoc. xxi. 15.'

Hughes offered a Catholic reading of Liverpool's history. He expounded on the role which the Catholic Church had had in resisting unjust rule. The appeal which this would have had for Nationalist ears is obvious. More subtly, Hughes indicated the Church's involvement in securing the constitutional rights of Englishmen and suggested a continuity of tradition between Catholics and Liverpool's earliest citizens.

> *[Liverpool's] birth was in days when men strove for freedom. Resistance to oppression was in the air. Men of middle age could remember Thomas a Becket's death for justice sake...the Roman cardinal was the mastermind who led the barons of England...to force the King to sign the Great Charter of English liberties. To the first burghers of Liverpool as to us, the Bishop of Rome was Christ's own Vicar whose laws even monarchs must obey.*

The contributions of other faiths were not denied, but Hughes' list of great Liverpool families; the Holts, Horsfalls, Bowrings, Cohens, Roscoes and Rathbones, comprised five Unitarians and a Jew, but no Anglicans. Hughes' ecumenicalism was one of Catholic supremacy. He ended his homily with a picture of a city

> *whose churches will not voice the cries of warring sects, but, as in days of old, will join in teaching that there is but one shepherd who longs to see his sheep in but one fold; a city shadowing forth on earth the vision of St. John in Patmos, the New Jerusalem.*[76]

The symbols and images employed in the pageant had not been overtly sectarian, and attempts had been made to make the thanksgiving service more inclusive, but the very act of evaluating the city's history had encouraged more partisan readings. The Nonconformist

[76] Liverpool Daily Post, 5 August 1907.

minister, H.D. Roberts concluded his history of Nonconformity in Liverpool, which was published in 1909, with some remarks on the religious dimension of the Pageant. He noted the case of Henry Finch, a dissenter who was vicar of Walton until being forced from his parish in 1665. 'He did not feature in our Pageant, for the "under-side" is not usually represented in the scrolls of honour.' Roberts pondered

> *When we hear the Catholic bishop asserting 'Our principles debar us from any religious service with those not one in faith with us'; when we see the antagonism existing still between Anglican and Dissenter...we wonder how long after our triumphant Septcentenary will come the day when we...shall bow our heads together.*[77]

Although Liverpool's clerics may have been moved to thought, Pageant Week continued to be marked by a lack of enthusiasm for the festivities. During royal visits, private residences and businesses were swiftly adorned with decorations. In contrast it was the Town Hall which gave 'the lead in the matter of external decorations in honour of the septcentenary celebrations. "Other buildings, please copy" is no doubt the implied request of the Lord Mayor and Pageant Committee...citizens would be lacking in patriotism if they failed to exhibit some approval and support of the sentiment to be expressed in the pageant. Today we expect to see the whole city in festive array.'[78]

Festive feeling was hampered because 'the employees of the principal shops of the city' were not given a holiday 'in connection with the Pageant.' The Liverpool Daily Post reported

> *In Bootle...the day is to be observed as a general holiday; but in Liverpool so far as can be gathered, the holiday- if there is to be any holiday at all- will be anything but general. A situation which may prompt the visitor from a distance to inquire: Whose birthday is it- Liverpool or Bootle's?*[79]

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[77] H.D. Roberts, Hope Street Church, Liverpool and the Allied Nonconformity, Liverpool, 1909, pp. 490, 491 and 495.

[78] Liverpool Daily Post, 3 August 1907.

[79] Liverpool Daily Post, 3 August 1907.

The Pageant was a commercial failure. The account closed with a 'surplus' of £366 5s 1d, but if the £2000 grant from the City Council is deducted, the project can be seen to have lost £1634 14s 11d.[80] L.N. Parker had been convinced that a properly run pageant should always turn a profit. Indeed, the mayor of Oxford claimed that the pageant held in that city in the same year would make several thousand pounds.[81]

The pageant had not succeeded as a participated image either. In Models and Mirrors, Handelman has argued that public events may incorporate elements of statement, change and entertainment. He distinguishes between a 'mirror', which presents aspects of the real world, and a 'model' which presents aspects of the lived-in world to be operated on and changed by participants acting with intentionality and consequentiality. His thesis is that 'the mandate of public events' is to 'engage in the ordering of ideas, people and things' through 'devices of praxis that merge images of the ideal and the real, to bring into close conjunction ideology and practice, attitude and action.'[82]

The Liverpool pageant suffered from functional ambiguity. To adopt Handelman's terminology, Leslie's vision of the pageant was as a model. Participation in a celebration of Liverpudlian achievement would encourage a new sense of civic duty. However, there was no concerted attempt to win the necessary participation. The dictates of municipal finance and the arrangement of the pageant as an exclusive social event placed further obstacles against such a didactic and transformational direction. Admission charges and the social gradations symbolised by the grandstand resulted in the pageant becoming a mirror, reflecting a hegemonic image of Liverpool. In 1907, the pageant offered a restatement of Liverpool's image which was poorly suited to winning the popular participation on which any normative shift would be founded. As in 1903, when Bootle had tested Liverpool's civic image, the

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[80] City Council Proceedings 1906/7, pp.2260 and 2261.

[81] Oxford Historical Pageant, Oxford, 1907.

[82] D. Handelman, Models and Mirrors, Cambridge, 1990, pp. 4-16.

pageant demonstrated that the city's commercial might would not form the basis for a widespread civic patriotism.

Chapter Three- Civic Office and Honour

Civic gospel gave rise to a litany of municipal saints. Civic hagiography took a variety of guises, but the closing years of Victoria's reign witnessed more conscious efforts to bring exemplars of civic virtue to the fore. Biographies of leading Liverpool figures, almost all identified as 'merchants', presented model lives to be emulated. In addition, a number of works, of which B. Guinness Orchard's aptly titled Liverpool's Legion of Honour was the most comprehensive, acclaimed those noteworthy for their sense of citizenship.

To these works, which are the subject of a separate chapter, must be added other forms of a more official nature. The freedom of the city, a reward in the Corporation's gift after 1885, was one means of recognising outstanding contributions to the community. Another title of longer standing was that of the mayor (Lord Mayor after 1893) who was symbolically the first citizen and who was central to the processes of ritual and ceremonial which helped to forge civic image.

These hagiographic and honorific devices clearly linked civic image to civic patriotism, yet image and patriotism were not neutral concepts. Consequently, the creation and maintenance of civic hagiography was a political process. The vocabulary of civic imagery, structured by the syntax of civic patriotism, shaped political discourse. The elements of power and intentionality involved in the construction of a canon of civic virtue must be considered.

The mayoralty was obviously a politicised office even though the mayor's ceremonial function was as the representative of the whole community. In Liverpool the role of the mayor in image management was unusually taxing.

> *Excepting the metropolis, no city in the Empire receives so many distinguished visitors as Liverpool does, and these are almost invariably the guests of the mayor , who thus has to entertain, and maintain the reputation of the community before native*

and foreign persons of the greatest note. To do this, tact, judgment, adaptability and other uncommon qualities are requisite at all times.[1]

The visit of King Kallikahna of the Sandwich Islands, which took place during Sir William Bower Forwood's mayoralty of 1880/81, illustrates the finesse that entertaining might demand.

At the banquet in the evening I was warned by his equerry that I must prevent His Majesty imbibing too freely. It was not an easy thing to do, but to the surprise of my guests I stopped the wine and ordered cigars; this had the desired effect. I believe this was the first time that smoking was allowed at a Town Hall banquet.[2]

The failings of those who did not meet the required high standards of deportment were noted. In 1884, the Liverpool Review criticised David Radcliffe's early performances as Chief Magistrate

As host at the Town Hall he was not the success which was expected, His manner was genial but superficial and somewhat deficient in grace, and his speeches were worse than his manner. He had not taken the trouble to think of something to say, and therefore he said nothing and said it very badly...If he had provided himself with a few pleasant nothings to say and had fired them off gracefully and easily he would have made the evening more pleasant and have enhanced his reputation considerably.[3]

After such an inauspicious start, Radcliffe paid more attention to this aspect of mayoral duties. The improvement was so marked that he was reappointed mayor for a second year in 1885/86 and was widely praised when he was knighted by the Queen for being her civic host during a visit to the city in 1886. Experience was invaluable in hosting civic receptions. Lord Derby, as Lord Mayor in 1911/12

delighted in arranging banquets at the Town Hall and was in his element at such gatherings- full of humour and engaging in badinage...the simple jests which on

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1 Lancashire Leaders. Social and Political. Vol. II, Exeter, 1895, p.21.

2 Sir W.B. Forwood, Recollections of a Busy Life, Liverpool, 1910, p.90.

3 Liverpool Review, 22 November 1884.

another man's lips would scarcely have provoked a smile, aided and transmuted by his exceptional bonhomie, charm and abundantly genial presence seem to have dissolved the company in laughter at almost every sentence.[4]

Yet not all were born to the role- for some expertise was hard won. Robert Holt's final Town Hall function as Lord Mayor was the visit of the American ambassador. He confided in his diary,

The best thing of the sort we have ever done. About 500 people attended it. This is our best function at the Town Hall and it is pleasing to know that everyone speaks of it as the best. The fact is we are just beginning to understand how to do high class entertainments. Another 12 months and we should be quite...!![5]

Holt had come to understand the problems of staging civic receptions. He commented on a function hosted by his successor as Lord Mayor, 'dinner very fair for Town hall, but it is almost impossible to give a good hot dinner there.'[6]

Apart from such culinary anxieties, mayoral duties could be a two-fold burden. One concern was the sheer quantity of time taken up by meetings, receptions, prize-givings and dinners. In his evidence before the Royal Commission on the Amalgamation of London in 1894, Liverpool's Town Clerk, Harcourt Clare, stated that the mayor's time was

so taken up with his official duties at the Town hall that he really has very little time for any municipal work...his duties consist in being in the Town hall, I think, pretty well from 10 until 4 every day, to be at the beck and call practically of everybody who goes there, but his duties are very largely composed of acting in connexion with charities and public matters, entertaining etc.[7]

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[4] R. Churchill, Lord Derby: 'King Of Lancashire', London, 1959, pp. 135 and 136.

[5] Diary of Robert Holt in Holt Papers, Liverpool Central Library, 6 November 1893.

[6] Holt's Diary, 15 November 1894.

[7] Royal Commission on the Amalgamation of London (1894), p.374.

In Holt's diary for his year in office there were 137 days marked by functions, and in some cases there were three or four functions on the same day.[8] Unsurprisingly, the prospect of mayoral office was not always welcomed without reservation. When first approached in 1890, Holt wrote 'I was quite unprepared either in my business or in my domestic arrangements to add the burden of the Mayoralty...I feared the chance of the Tories playing a trick and possibly electing me which would be the worst misfortune.' Sixteen years later, Dr. Richard Caton felt likewise and initially declined the office.[9] Between 20 January and 4 March 1908, Caton undertook at least seventy-two separate engagements and, after a fortnight's holiday, was faced by twenty-seven more in the two weeks following his return.[10]

The Municipal Journal believed such copious duties were common,

> *for the lord mayors and mayors of now-a-days are really officers of the corporations who devote quite as much time to the municipal works as the salaried officials. Being public men, penalties attach to their position which do not exist in the case of other officers...they must entertain lavishly at the town hall, and their 'parlours' must always contain supplies of the choicest of wines for the refreshment of their casual visitors, who are about always thirsty and very often hungry. The lord mayor or mayor who does not entertain on a large scale as soon as he is 'elevated' is at once condemned.*[11]

Entertainment was not merely a matter of epicurean indulgence. E.D. Simon, recalling his experiences in Manchester, wrote of 'the importance of the mayoral lunch, easily the best lubricant in municipal affairs...when two sets of people are suspicious of one another...a good

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[8] ibid.

[9] Letter from Caton to Sir Charles Petrie dated 13 September 1907 in Caton Papers, Special Collections, University of Liverpool.

[10] According to E.D. Simon, the duties of the Lord Mayor of Manchester were time-consuming, too. As well as presiding at ceremonial functions, the Lord Mayor received correspondence on all manner of subjects. Simon quoted one which entreated 'Will you advise applicant whether he has small-pox?' E.D. Simon, A City Council from within, London, 1926, pp. 153-156.

[11] Municipal Journal Vol.13, 1904, p.211.

lunch in the private apartments is about the best way of ensuring a friendly and sometimes useful meeting...Many important Manchester movements have been given a good start in this way.'[12]

The ceremonial aspect of mayoral duties devolved responsibilities on others besides the mayor. As mayoresses, wives assumed important roles in hosting civic functions and taking a special interest in women's charities. Holt referred to the assistance given by his wife, Lallie[13], and their daughters in arranging flowers and table decorations on several occasions.[14] Indeed, Lallie's part in Holt's social and political ascent had been considerable. Her younger sister, Beatrice Webb, believed that Holt's 'position of mayor...fostered his instinct of self importance'[15] and that he had 'lost his head over the social position which Lallie, by her energy, created for him'.[16]

In a study of Beatrice, Lallie and their sisters, Barbara Caine has suggested that

> *the division between public and private life was not as sharp as some recent discussions of Victorian domestic ideology might suggest...not only did most of the sisters marry men whose wealth and position meant that lavish and large scale entertaining was part of their normal wifely role, but in many cases this entertainment was directed towards specific public goals.*[17]

Entries in Holt's diary attest to Lallie's contribution to civic ceremonial.

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[12] Simon, A City Council from within, pp.161 and 162.

[13] Lallie was short for Lawrencina.

[14] Holt's Diary, 20 January and 7 September 1893.

[15] N. and J. MacKenzie (eds.), The Diary of Beatrice Webb Vol.2, London, 1983, p.164.

[16] ibid., p.279.

[17] B. Caine, Destined to be Wives, Oxford, 1988, p.159.

While her husband attended a meeting, 'Lallie received guests at the Geographic Soiree at Free Library'[18]. After a dinner at the Adelphi Hotel, Holt 'went over to the Art Gallery where Lallie had been receiving an evening party'.[19] The mayor's daughters were civic figureheads, too. When they patronised a theatrical benefit 'they were received with much ceremony.'[20] The older daughter, Kitty, acted as her father's consort at a dinner when her mother was away in London.

The skills of domestic management and successful entertaining which women had honed in Liverpool society made them indispensable in organising civic functions[21]. Sir William Bower Forwood recalled that Town Hall hospitality had once been limited to dinners, but that his sister-in-law, as mayoress in 1877, had introduced the 'afternoon receptions which have proved so great an attraction'.[22] To celebrate the Queen's birthday, Holt had intended to hold a reception, 'but as Lallie could not be present we gave up the Reception.'[23] On the occasion of the Lord Mayor of London's visit, other Lancashire mayors were invited to lunch. Holt added 'Lallie girls and family generally receive guests after lunch in drawing room'. He was satisfied that 'upon the whole I think we managed the visit well and imported a good deal of ceremonial. The flowers and decorations of lunch table were generally admired.'[24]

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[18] Holt's Diary, 24 February 1893.

[19] ibid., 5 March 1893.

[20] ibid., 13 July 1893.

[21] Women performed similar roles in entertainment and civic ceremonial in Glasgow. R. Trainor, 'The Elite' in Glasgow Vol. II 1830 to 1912, W.H. Fraser and I. Maver (eds.), Manchester, 1996, p.237.

[22] Forwood, Recollections, p.97.

[23] Holt's Diary, 4 June 1893.

[24] ibid., 15 July 1893.

The second major burden of the mayoralty was the expenses which might be incurred as a result of mayoral entertainments. These rose throughout the period. In 1920, Sir William Forwood explained

> *The Lord Mayor receives an allowance of £2000...In olden times the allowance was ample but it is no longer so, and it is impossible to maintain the old traditional hospitality of the Town Hall unless the Lord Mayor expends a further £2000 out of his own pocket, and many Lord Mayors have considerably exceeded this sum. It has often been urged that this allowance should be increased.*[25]

As Liberal leader, Holt had resisted exorbitant expenditure on civic ceremonial and he kept a balance of £14 10s in hand at the close of his term as mayor.[26] Holt's parsimony was not the norm. When Thomas Hughes served in 1889/90, the Liverpool Review had urged him to

> *have the moral courage not to spend...one penny more than the sum allowed him by the ratepayers...The prevailing idea, even amongst men who imagine themselves democrats, is that only a rich man should be mayor and that the success of the mayoralty is in the ratio of the amount of money spent by the mayor.*[27]

The scale of civic entertainment came to reach enormous proportions. Liverpool's willingness to spend on civic image was exceptional. In 1908, A. Lawrence Lowell claimed that the mayoral salary of £2000 (and a £700 allowance for a coach and horses) was the largest sum at the disposal of any mayor.[28]

As the Liverpool Review had observed, those who took up mayoral office had to command substantial private resources. The circumstances of the first five Lord Mayors after the municipal boundaries were extended in 1895 demonstrate this. Lord Derby, the largest private landowner in Liverpool, was followed by Thomas Hughes (owner of a large firm of timber

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[25] Forwood, Recollections, p.98.

[26] Holt's mayoral bank book in Holt Papers.

[27] Liverpool Review, 19 October 1889.

[28] A.L. Lowell, The Government of England, London, 1908, p.162.

merchants), John Houlding (left £45,000), William Oulton (left £85,924) and Louis Cohen, the co-partner in the David Lewis department store ('Liverpool's greatest shopkeeper and champion advertiser').[29] In 1909, H. Chaloner Dowdall wrote to Percy Corkhill, the mayoral secretary, to inquire as to the number of guests entertained after nine months of his mayoralty. He received the reply

Dinners	*917*
Breakfasts and luncheons	*706*
Afternoon parties	*5161*
Evening parties	*5138*
	11922

> *Add this next week's figure and it brings the figure well over 12,000...add 8,000 invited but not accepting or attending + this would bring the total to 20,000. This is a good answer to criticism, of which, by the way, I have heard none.*[30]

Such largesse was evidently expected to maintain the city's image. As Forwood commented

> *The invitations to Town Hall functions might be more strictly limited to representative people, or the entertainments might, as in Manchester, be placed in the hands of a committee, but it must not be forgotten that more is expected of the Lord Mayor in Liverpool than in other places. He is not only the head of the municipality, but of all charitable and philanthropic work. The initiation of every undertaking, national as well as local emanates from the Town Hall.*[31]

The Mayor chaired the annual meetings of many of Liverpool's charities. While such participation reinforced the identification of charitable effort with civic virtue, it could also result in incongruous scenarios. Thus, Holt was the host for the Licensed Victuallers Ball, an arrangement which he confessed, 'was a little against our grain.'[32] As a Unitarian, Holt was also uncomfortably aware of the symbolic identification of the mayoralty with Anglicanism.

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[29] B.G. Orchard, Liverpool's Legion of Honour, Birkenhead, 1893, p. 242.

[30] Letter from Corkhill to Dowdall dated 23 July 1909 in Dowdall Papers, Liverpool Central Library.

[31] Forwood, Recollections, p.98.

[32] Holt's Diary, 9 February 1892.

He admitted his pleasure in attending a bazaar for the Catholic St. Vincent de Paul society since

> *the English Church people had demanded my presence so often at Sunday Church performances making collections for their own denominational Schools. If I had to go through another year of mayoral duty, I wld stipulate with these Church people that I wd. attend no service as Mayor where they had not the promise of at least 20 members of the Council to support me. It is ridiculous for me a Unitarian to go to a Church service and find hardly any of the Church Councillors supporting me.*[33]

Six days later, after chairing a meeting for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, he made the barbed observation that

> *the meeting opened with prayer and we prayed for the conversion of Jews, infidels and heretics. I suppose I, the chairman of the meeting, was among the latter...All went off harmoniously and the meeting actually stayed and drank my heretic tea.*[34]

Such inconsistencies emphasise the importance of the mayoralty's representative functions. The mayor's own religious persuasion was not to interfere with his ritual duties. Between 1880 and the First World War, the mayoralty was held by Unitarians, Presbyterians and even a Jew[35] as well as by Anglicans.[36] The 'First Citizen' was a personification of civic dignity and had to act accordingly. Expectations of mayoral deportment and the nature of mayoral duties illuminate how civic imagery expressed the underlying assumptions of municipal government in Liverpool. Lavish entertainment and display stated Liverpudlian claims to Imperial grandeur and the mayor's attendance at St. Peter's pro-Cathedral on the first Sunday after his election was a traditional ceremony, regardless of his personal beliefs.

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[33] Holt's Diary, 3 October 1893.

[34] Holt's Diary, 9 October 1893.

[35] Louis Cohen was Lord Mayor in 1899/1900.

[36] The prosopography in P.J. Waller, Democracy and Sectarianism, Liverpool, 1981, pp.476-518 details the religious affiliations of a number of those who held the office.

If personal convictions were subsumed by mayoral duty, the office's ceremonial functions could be turned to political purposes. On 30 October 1893, two days before the municipal elections, Holt hosted an evening reception at the Town Hall for 800 people 'chiefly the leading tradesmen and guardians and public officials etc.'. His son Robert styled it a 'vote catching party'.[37] Ironically, when the Lord Mayor, William Rutherford defeated Holt's other son, Richard, in the West Derby parliamentary by-election of January 1903, Holt was quick to suggest 'The influence of the "Lord Mayor", the democratic entertainments at the Town Hall, the treats at Xmas to the children in St. George's Hall...have placed the constituency entirely in the hands of the Tory party.'[38]

Holt himself had energetically sought to enhance the dignity of the office to extract political advantage. In December 1892, as the first Liberal mayor of Liverpool for over a decade and the leader of the first Liberal administration for fifty years, he had succeeded in bestowing the Freedom of the City upon William Gladstone, a Liverpudlian by birth. The circumstances of the award will be outlined later, but Holt took advantage of the Prime Minister's visit to talk to Bryce, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. In April 1893 he reminded Bryce

> *When you were in Liverpool last December I mentioned to you that I was very desirous to get this municipality elevated to the position of its chief magistrate bearing the title of Lord Mayor...For population we stand the Second City and in commercial importance we are only second to London.*
> *It strikes me that it would come as a very graceful compliment from Mr. Gladstone's government to the city of his birth and where he was under exceptional circumstances so cordially welcomed by the whole community. Within the last few years the Tory Govt. made Belfast's Chief Magistrate a Lord Mayor. Glasgow is also Lord Provost.*[39]

Personal and civic ambition coincided and Holt was anxious that the Lord Mayoralty be conferred as part of the Queen's birthday honours. Bryce's reply alluded to the pernicious

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[37] Holt's Diary, 30 October 1893.

[38] ibid., 20 January 1903.

[39] Letter from Holt to Bryce in Holt Papers dated 21 April 1893.

question of civic rivalry. Although he accepted that Holt's request was reasonable, Bryce foresaw a difficulty in 'drawing a line between yours + other cities. Manchester could not be passed over without giving great offence. If Manchester were included I should fear much pressure on the part of Leeds and Birmingham.'[40]

Holt continued to press and Gladstone involved himself in the matter.

> *My sympathies are entirely with you...the question is not so simple as might be inferred from your letter is the case of Liverpool so broadly and clearly above that no jealousies would be aroused in other great towns such as Manchester, Leeds and Birmingham?*
> *If it is not, there is a double danger- the jealousies of those who have it and the envious [word illegible] of those who want it. Should it be found practicable I think no time could be so suitable as that of the present mayoralty.*[41]

Holt sharply reasserted Liverpool's grandeur with the veiled implication that a failure to meet the request might be perceived as an insult from which the Tories might benefit.

> *I should like to have more than your 'sympathy' with my desire to see the compliment paid to Liverpool while you are Her Majesty's Prime Minister. The title, I feel sure will be conferred and I sh [ould] be sorry if it sh [ould] ultimately come from the Tory party.*
> *I think the claim of Liverpool to the distinction is most special.*
> *Manchester which alone approaches our position is a divided or dual Corporation. It would hardly be possible to confer the distinction on Manchester and on Salford- and which of our other large cities compares in importance with Liverpool and her connections by Trade with all parts of the Globe? Glasgow has her Lord Provost.*[42]

The peculiar demands for ceremonial which stemmed from Liverpool's position as an port of international renown have already been noted. Holt was convinced that this constituted another reason for the honour. He drew attention to

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[40] Holt Papers. Bryce to Holt, 24 April 1893

[41] ibid., Gladstone to Holt, 25 May 1893.

[42] ibid., Holt to Gladstone, 27 May 1893.

...our representative character of English commercial life and close connection with every English settlement and Trading Centre, our constant reception of the representatives of Foreign nations and of our own Colonies. I should be greatly delighted to see the compliment come through your hands and though your letter is poor comfort, yet I shall earnestly trust that this honour may be shortly conferred upon our city.[43]

On 12 June, Gladstone informed Holt that the honour was to be awarded, although his letter contained the hint of a reproof that Holt had not acted through the customary channels.

In fulfilment of my willing engagement to you I entered with Mr. Asquith on a full consideration of your suggestion...Manchester could not properly be excluded...The Cabinet agreed and Her Majesty has approved. The matter will now run in the strictly official channel: in the meantime this is for your private + personal information.[44]

When the official notification had been sent, Holt reflected in his diary that he had received 'this "gracious" communication...I think there is general satisfaction expressed at this "glorification" of what is representative of municipal Govt.'[45]

The bestowal of the Freedom of the City on Gladstone had been a bargaining counter in the negotiations over the Lord Mayoralty. The premier was the sixth man to be so honoured. The decision had followed clashes between Tories and Liberals on the City Council. Nor was such manoeuvring unprecedented, for the symbolic power of the Freedom in conferring civic approval for particular stances and opinions had naturally led to the exercise of the privilege being contested before. The Municipal Corporations Act of 1885 afforded municipalities with a means of recognising civic patriotism by conferring honorary freedom upon those 'who have rendered special service to their county or their borough.'[46] Sir William Bower Forwood claimed

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[43] ibid.

[44] ibid., Gladstone to Holt, 12 June 1893. Asquith was Home Secretary.

[45] Holt's Diary, 15 June 1893.

[46] E. Rathbone, William Rathbone- A Memoir, London, 1905, p.465.

Much as I valued the honour of knighthood I still more greatly esteemed the distinction conferred upon me by my fellow citizens when they bestowed upon me the freedom of the city- the greatest honour any man can receive...particularly when its bestowal is so jealously safeguarded and kept so entirely free from political bias as it is in Liverpool.[47]

Despite Forwood's assurances, almost from the first, the honorary freedom aroused strong political feeling. However, the ceremony was not always attended with the pageantry which it acquired with the passage of time. The Liverpool Review reported on the arrangements for Sir Andrew Walker, a Conservative brewing magnate and the donor of the Walker Art Gallery, in 1890. Walker was the second recipient of the honour and

the thing which Sir Andrew signed was a very disappointing and prosaic affair, nothing more, in fact, than the binding of a large book with parchment pasted inside...there is only room for about half-a-dozen names...Then it was all over.
During the ceremony, while the members of the council were standing, some few of the members- to perpetuate a bull- kept their seats. These were a few Liberals and all, are nearly all, of the Irish party. As the etiquette of the proceedings is not well defined, possibly this may have been the result of indecision, but the general impression was that it was a parade of rudeness and of a cheap independent spirit.
It passeth the wit of man to say what the precise significance of the freedom of the city may be. No one seems to know if it confers any privileges, so the safest conclusion is that it is merely an honour and a distinction, the 'blue ribbon', so to speak, of municipal rank.[48]

The conferral of municipal honour on a brewer was contentious. Holt recorded in his diary that there had been a 'lively day in the Town Council' when the honour was voted. Some criticised Holt for seconding the proposal made by the Conservative Sir Arthur Forwood. Holt disagreed because he 'thought it a recognition of his considerable munificence and as his trade is a legitimate one I did not see why we should object to receive his gifts and acknowledge them.'[49]

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[47] Forwood, Recollections, p.131.

[48] Liverpool Review, 11 January 1890.

[49] Holt's Diary, 9 November 1889.

In a series of sermons preached on the concept of civic patriotism by the Reverend Veitch, which were published in the Liverpool Pulpit, a different reading of the honour was advanced. Veitch referred to the civic honours which Walker had acquired. He had been mayor twice as well as receiving the Freedom of the City. 'Liverpool must have had knowledge of one on whom it conferred this dignity. They...tell us something about Liverpool citizens.' Veitch's retrospective of Walker's career did not omit his philanthropic works, but argued

> *The greatest moral choice a man makes in his life is his daily calling..[it is] strange that any one like Sir Andrew Barclay Walker should have taken an interest in the Art and Education of the City and yet should cling to a business which manifestly was the cause of more poverty, crime and moral degradation than all other influences put together.*[50]

Veitch's contention was that civic patriotism entailed more than adding to the glory of Liverpool's image. There was a moral dimension to municipal recognition. From this perspective, Veitch challenged Walker's honours:

> *The honorary freedom of the city may...seem to say- 'Succeed by any means. Your fellow citizens worship the god "success" therefore by all means succeed'...*
> *Let no possible civic honours or gift which can win popular applause blind you to the fact that in business you have your chief opportunity to bless or curse your city.*[51]

Walker's investiture had proved controversial because of his background. The ceremonies for the three men honoured in the following year also aroused criticism, but it was occasioned by the conduct of the ceremony and not by the merits of the individuals concerned.

As mayor, Joseph Morgan showed scant understanding of the importance of civic ritual. B. Guinness Orchard wrote that

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[50] Liverpool Pulpit no. 36 Vol. IV, January 1895, p.6.

[51] ibid., p.8.

> *his constitutional distaste for waste of time and strength...came into action, and he proposed to greatly reduce the calls upon a Mayor's time as chairman at annual Town Hall meetings of charitable institutions. In this, however, he utterly failed to carry with him those whom it concerned.*[52]

Orchard believed that Morgan's successor, James de Bels Adam, was 'elevated to the civic chair in 1891 with the special object of increasing its popularity, which some previous occurrences had diminished.'[53] In the early days of Morgan's mayoralty, William Cliff had been awarded the freedom of the city in a poorly staged ceremony. Robert Holt commented on the 'miserable manner in wh [ich] the presentation...was made'.[54] As his year in office drew to a close, Morgan hoped that the ceremonies in honour of Henry Tate[55] and William Rathbone[56] might provide an opportunity to revive his reputation.

Concerned that Tate's ill health might delay the investiture until after he had vacated the mayoral chair, Morgan wrote to Rathbone to urge him to receive the honour before the Council dissolved and the authors of the motion left. Tate and Rathbone saw through Morgan's plan. The mayoral year closed on 1 November, and in a letter of 14 September 1891, Tate thanked Rathbone for forwarding Morgan's letter to him. Tate enclosed a cutting from the local press which listed the retiring councillors,

> *There is really nothing in what the Mayor says. The movers + seconders of the Resolution are none of them leaving the Council this next Election as you will see by the enclosed list.*

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[52] Orchard, Liverpool's Legion of Honour, p.509.

[53] ibid., p.121.

[54] Holt's Diary, 25 October 1891.

[55] Tate was the wealthy sugar refiner whose bequests funded the Tate Galleries in London and Liverpool.

[56] Rathbone was the head of Liverpool's most prominent merchant family. A philanthropist on a prodigious scale, he also championed the episcopal see and the university. Waller, Democracy and Sectarianism, p.507.

I believe it is only the Mayor's anxiety to make amends during his Mayoralty for the sad fiasco he made of the presentation of the freedom of the city to the late Mr. Cliff. I hope to go with you about the middle of November.[57]

The issue began to assume a wider political significance. Robert Holt, the Liberal leader, wrote to William Rathbone's son, Ashton, explaining the dilemma which faced the Tory mayor.

If the ceremonial were much more elaborate than on Mr. Cliff's occasion, it appears to me it might be misinterpreted by the family of Mr. Cliff. The Mayor is somewhat in a corner and as the Council has spoken out strongly in the matter of the Cliff presentation we may be sure that the presentation to your Father and Mr. Tate will be more ceremonial.[58]

Ashton Rathbone informed Morgan that his father wished to receive the honour at the same time as Tate and that this was likely to be in November. Morgan was not to be put off and replied 'I feel that I cannot properly acquiesce in any further postponement of a formality towards which all Members of the Council look with great interest.'[59] He requested that William Rathbone offer a choice of two or three dates before 28 October.

Morgan's poor management of the Cliff ceremonial and his pushy approaches to Tate and Rathbone had created an embarrassing situation. Unskilled handling of civic imagery could be politicised. Liverpool's most eminent Conservative councillor, Arthur Bower Forwood, intervened. He explained to William Rathbone

An idea is afoot amongst the Liberals that the Mayor is lacking his duty by the long postponement of the presentation, + the Town Clerk rather inclines to say it ought to be done before 1st Nov. If you still desire to postpone for Mr. Tate's convenience I suggest you reply to the Mayor.[60]

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[57] Tate to Rathbone, 14 September 1891 in Rathbone Papers, Special Collections, University of Liverpool.

[58] R.D. Holt to Ashton Rathbone, 26 September 1891, ibid.

[59] Morgan to William Rathbone, 6 October 1891, ibid.

[60] A.B. Forwood to W. Rathbone, 9 October 1891, ibid.

Forwood's intervention was decisive, and the ceremony took place on 21 October, just over a week before the municipal elections. The pageantry which marked the proceedings was noteworthy.

> *The mercantile and professional interests of the city, the clergy, the city and county magistrates, and even the naval and military services were represented. In accordance with the arrangements of the Mayor the presentations were made with every accessory of municipal ornament and in a way that proved sufficiently impressive. That they might be witnessed by as large a gathering as possible, the proceedings were associated with a Mayoral At-Home for which some 1200 invitations were issued. The elegantly appointed saloons were accordingly decorated...the Police Band played a selection of music.*
> *[There were] handsome silver-gilt caskets containing the resolution conferring the honorary freedom...behind were hung some of the ancient regalia.*[61]

From uncertain beginnings, the ceremonial content of the conferral of the freedom of the city had become more lavish. Caskets adorned with the city arms and the arms of the recipient, with four dolphins as rests, had replaced the parchment scroll which Sir Andrew Walker had signed. The bestowal of a municipal honour had implications for the reputations of the city, the mayor and the ruling administration and was to be conducted appropriately.

The municipal freedom was more than the celebration of an individual. The ceremony enshrined and encouraged civic virtue. The Liverpool Daily Post professed a hope that 'the example of such men as have been thus honoured by the city should inspire each citizen to do what he can for the public.'[62] The ceremony was a platform for lessons in civic patriotism and the presentation and acceptance speeches set out an ideological framework for civic virtue.

For instance, a stock theme of civic hagiography was the need for prominent men to resist the allure of suburban or London life and to devote themselves to Liverpudlian affairs; and this was reflected in the ceremony. Praise for Tate's philanthropy was due because 'when he

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[61] Liverpool Daily Post, 22 October 1891.

[62] ibid.

removed to London he did not forget the needs of the city he had left and has always not only maintained but increased his interest in its institutions.' In accepting his title, Rathbone recalled his time as Liberal M.P. for Liverpool and 'confessed his sense of the importance and difficulty of serving a place with so extended a range of interests and where important questions presented themselves in a concentrated form.'[63]

Rathbone continued by presenting his own conception of the connections between personal wealth and public duty.

> *Allusion has been made to my having devoted some part of my wealth gained in Liverpool to the benefit of the town...wealth, talents, station and opportunity are not freeholds to be selfishly enjoyed by a man and his family and friends but sacred trusts to be employed for the welfare of the community.*[64]

This speech was widely quoted afterwards. Rathbone's daughter, Eleanor, maintained that the imagery of trusts and freeholds 'repeated since on divers occasions in slightly varying forms, became more, perhaps, than any other words of his, identified with his name.'[65] In Glasgow, William Collins had marked his investiture as Lord Provost in 1877 with a similar speech which reminded the audience that 'property has its duties as well as its right.'[66]

Other Liverpool figures, too, clearly intended their acceptance speeches to convey their visions of the city and civic duty in distilled form. Sir William Bower Forwood reproduced his acceptance speech in full in his autobiography. Once more, he elaborated on the need to invest time and energy in municipal, rather than national, affairs.

> *A goodly number have, I am glad to say, remained faithful to the municipal government of the city, recognising that they can undertake no more useful or noble*

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[63] ibid.

[64] E. Rathbone, William Rathbone, p.466.

[65] ibid.

[66] Trainor, Glasgow Vol. II, p.229.

work. Municipal work is many sided: it is full of interests: it is very attractive, and even fascinating; and it brings with it its own reward in the satisfaction of the feeling that you are doing good. It may lack the glamour and prestige of the Imperial Parliament, but it has this great advantage: the City Council affords greater opportunities of initiating and carrying into effect measures for the benefit of people among whom we live, and we have the added advantage of seeing the growth and fruition of our work.[67]

The freedom of the city implied municipal approval of an individual's activities. As a ceremonial occasion its conduct reflected on the municipal administration. The ceremony encouraged the recipients of the honour to be treated as exemplars and it offered them a forum which gave their views civic sanction. That the award of the freedom to the city's most famous son, William Gladstone, was so fiercely debated should come as no surprise.

Gladstone's visit to the city in 1886 had demonstrated how sharply he divided the city in judgement. Robert Holt, who escorted him to Hengler's Circus where he spoke, noted an 'audience, vast densely crowded...Gladstone speaks 1hr 45mins. Audience listens with perfect quietness...Gladstone leaves in a storm of cheering...a wonderful popular demonstration.'[68] The Liverpool Echo reported 'when the end came at last, in an exquisitely touching passage, which spoke of the Minister's great age[69], and probability that these would be the last words he should ever speak to his fellow townsmen, a hush that was almost painful fell upon the meeting.'

The Liverpool Courier, the best-selling Conservative paper in Liverpool, was unmoved.

The gathering was representative not of the Liberalism of Liverpool but of Parnellism and of those who blindly follow Mr. Gladstone. It was a pitiable exhibition...an appeal to maudlin sentiment...it was in the pathetic passages where Mr. Gladstone was most effective. He said he was born in Liverpool and what he was saying to them

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[67] Forwood, Recollections, p.138.

[68] Holt's Diary, 28 June 1886.

[69] Gladstone was seventy-seven years old.

might be the last words he would utter in Liverpool. This touched the audience. Sobs were heard, handkerchiefs were freely applied.[70]

On 11 December 1891, Holt, three other Liberal councillors and a Nationalist called for the City Council to consider bestowing the freedom of the city on Gladstone. The Liverpool Courier viewed the move with suspicion.

The circumstances of the time give the new movement of the Liberal councillors a peculiar appearance. If they thought the honour should be conferred, why did they not choose one of the many more fitting occasions that have arisen in past years instead of waiting till the eve of a general election?
...The Gladstonians evidently hope to place the Conservatives in a false position. In the past the rule has been to discountenance politics in connection with the presentation.[71]

On the eve of the meeting, an editorial emphasised that 'the freedom of the city is a public compliment and to be of any real value it should be endorsed by the whole community spontaneously.' Recognising the awkward position in which the Tories were placed, the Courier counter-attacked. Rather than criticising Gladstone, it argued that the Liberal requisition had 'placed their great leader in a false position derogatory to his dignity...[and] degraded a municipal honour to mere party nothingness.'

The Conservatives have merely to walk out of the Council Chamber...they are being coerced into bestowing a compliment which under other circumstances they would gladly bestow with cordial spontaneity...the obvious purpose of the Liberals is to fasten on their opponents the odium of refusing a compliment to an honoured citizen.[72]

Robert Holt was convinced that if the Conservatives opposed the proposal on party grounds 'nothing would place them in a worse light before the Town.' By adding the motion to a special meeting which was to elect a coroner, Holt had tried to ensure that enough councillors

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[70] Liverpool Courier, 29 June 1886.

[71] Liverpool Courier, 12 December 1891.

[72] Liverpool Courier, 21 December 1891.

would attend to constitute a quorum.[73] The Conservatives could hardly deny that Gladstone had achieved more than any other Liverpool citizen. Therefore the most promising line of attack was to insist that the Liberals were undermining the dignity of a civic honour. By simply leaving the debate, Conservatives would escape the slur of having rejected the proposal by vote.

The meeting was held on 21 December. Holt insisted

> *I had not the slightest idea of making this anything of a political or party name. That element has unfortunately been introduced by the determination of the Conservative party who have held aloof and would not take part in what I consider is a duty on our part to pay respect to an illustrious townsman...we should be glad to couple and associate the name of Mr. Gladstone with Liverpool as one of her sons and enrol him in our list of freemen. (applause)*[74]

To confirm Tory fears, Holt embarked on a panegyric of Gladstone's politics on the flimsiest of pretexts. The purpose of the award was to recognise outstanding service to Liverpool. Holt conceded

> *Of course it is impossible to allude to Mr. Gladstone without alluding to politics...It appears to me if we look back over his long honourable life we must recall many instances of great reforms of immense benefit...These reforms have done much to liberate and promote the trade of the country, to make it free, and thus they have brought indirectly trade and a great deal of success to Liverpool.*[75]

His fellow Liberal, William Bowring, disingenuously argued 'I do not think the Liberal party could gain any political capital out of it; how could they? But they might gain if the Conservatives opposed the motion.'[76]

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[73] Holt's Diary, 13 and 21 December 1891.

[74] Liverpool Daily Post, 22 December 1891.

[75] Liverpool Daily Post, 22 December 1891.

[76] ibid.

Edward Whitley, a Conservative councillor and M.P. accepted such protestations of innocence, and pointed out that the Liberals in Glasgow had conferred the freedom of the city on Lord Salisbury. William Forwood agreed with Whitley and confessed to

> *the greatest sympathy with Mr. Holt's proposal...I felt that the roll of honour in this hall would not be complete without the name of Mr. Gladstone...the question only was as to the appropriateness of the moment...I regret that they pressed and Mr. Holt pressed his requisition before I was free to sign it; because if he had delayed it a few days longer I for one would very gladly have signed it...I do hope therefore that all the members of the Conservative party here present will record their votes in favour of the proposition.*[77]

The accommodating stance adopted by these senior Conservatives may well have rested on a premeditated strategy to find the meeting inquorate. The possibility of a walk-out had been raised by the Courier when the meeting was first announced. Twenty-one Conservatives did not attend the meeting, and three more walked out to make the meeting inquorate. Forwood and Whitley had fifty years experience on the Council between them. If they could be certain that the meeting would be curtailed, they might take up a conciliatory tone to mollify criticism of the Conservatives. Holt was pleased by their 'strong and noble language'[78]. It should be noted that Forwood called only upon those Conservatives 'here present' to support the proposition, and that the meeting was inquorate by a single member. The Tories had side-stepped the trap without leaving themselves open to charges of a lack of civic patriotism.

In 1892, with Liberal confidence bolstered by the General Election victory in July, Holt advanced Gladstone's claims to municipal recognition again. This time Holt's tactics were different. In September, the Liverpool Daily Post related that he was holding conferences with leading Conservatives to win their support. Arthur Forwood was one of the first to sign the requisition and he seconded the proposal at a Council meeting on 5 October.

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[77] ibid.

[78] Holt's Diary, 21 December 1891.

The honour was conferred on 3 December, by which time the Liberals had formed their first municipal administration in Liverpool for fifty years. Holt had become mayor and he

> *presented Mr. and Mrs. G at balcony over the Exchange Flags. Wonderful sight packed with people- reminded one of the Piazza S.Pietro at Rome on Easter Sunday when I, with my mother and sisters...saw the Pope Pio IX bless the assembled multitude.*[79]

The civic beatification[80] of Gladstone was a Liberal triumph as well as a civic compliment. The Liverpool Daily Post admitted

> *It was impossible for his own adherents not to feel especial pride that to them he was not merely a brilliant Briton and an admired statesman but their trusted guide and leader in all matters of civic duty and national policy...There are men in whom local patriotism...is virtually extinct if it ever lived. Mr. Gladstone evinced an interest in Liverpool that could not be exceeded by the civic feeling of any venerable man in such....*
> *[In the light of] the unapproachable magnificence and the intrinsic majesty of such scenes as Liverpool presented on Saturday, this moral may without presumption be taken home by every person whose imagination was touched by the great thought of the homage that was paid to our greatest citizen.*[81]

Since the Liverpool Courier could not criticise the honoured guest, it concentrated instead on the favourable image which should be given of Liverpool. It was noted that there were

> *occasions when communities, as well as representative bodies, ignore political distinctions and forget personal differences in the desire to honour distinguished public personages. This fine characteristic of the English people has just been most gracefully shown by the citizens of Liverpool.*[82]

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[79] Holt's Diary, 3 December 1892.

[80] Gladstone's uneaten bun from the celebration dinner was taken by an official afterwards and put into a glass case as a memento.

[81] Liverpool Daily Post, 5 December 1892.

[82] Liverpool Courier, 5 December 1892.

The report was also remarkable for its depiction of the pageantry and 'traditions' which were accumulating to enrich this celebration of civic image and civic patriotism. Gladstone was to receive

> *a civic distinction- honourable from its antiquity as well as on account of the many eminent men who have held it...In former years it was, as now, conferred upon famous statesmen and warriors or men who had performed signal service in connection with the city.*[83]

Where Sir Andrew Walker had been honoured in the Council Chamber, Gladstone was led into St. George's Hall 'preceded by the sergeant-at-mace, the sword bearer and the other bearers of the corporation regalia.' The Liverpool Daily Post concluded

> *If the city of his nativity has been slow to do him honour, she has made worthy amends and the magnificent reception which he met with on Saturday from the whole Liverpool people, was enough to efface from the mind any lingering memories of past neglect.*[84]

Despite this assertion, even after Gladstone's death in 1898, commemoration of the Liberal premier was muted in a Conservative-dominated city. When Robert Holt organised a memorial subscription the fund was almost all contributed by Liberals. 'Tories talk loudly but don't subscribe'.[85] The money was used to erect a statue of Gladstone in St. John's Churchyard -'Liverpool's al fresco Valhalla'.[86]Yet the statue was sited at the back of St. George's Hall while Disraeli's likeness, in the pose of a Roman senator, stood with Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort in front of the Hall's massive portico.

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[83] ibid.

[84] Liverpool Daily Post, 5 December 1892.

[85] Holt's Diary, 19 March 1899.

[86] Liverpool Review, 11 March 1899.

Where Holt had used the freedom of the city to Liberal advantage in 1892, he found a candidate forced on him by the Tories in 1897. One of the achievements of the Liberal's three-year ascendancy in the municipality had been the extension of the city's boundaries in 1895. An article in The Ludgate in May 1896 entitled 'In praise of "Greater Liverpool"' illustrated the importance of the boundary extension for civic aspirations. The incorporation of such outlying areas as Wavertree and West Derby had increased the city's population to 631,350.

> *but if the residential districts on both sides of the Mersey...are included, the total number of inhabitants could not be estimated at less than a million, so that even the recent attempt on the part of Glasgow to gain the title of the 'second city of the empire' in point of population, at once vanishes into thin air.*[87]

The extension had been secured by a Liberal administration, but Thomas Hughes, a Conservative, had chaired the Parliamentary Committee which steered the proposal at Westminster. On reclaiming power in Liverpool, the Conservatives had elected Lord Derby as the first Lord Mayor of 'Greater Liverpool'.[88]

In 1895, during Derby's mayoralty, the Conservatives organised a testimonial subscription for Hughes. Holt explained to Derby that he did not feel able to support the movement.

> *The terms...appear to be hardly fair to his able Deputy Chairman and to the other members of the late Parliamentary Committee of which Mr. Hughes was the Chairman.*
> *The letter gives all glory and honour to Mr. Hughes for the successful carrying out of the Borough extension and no credit is given to the members of the Committee...*
> *I have suggested to Mr. Oakshott that some personal compliment might be offered Mr. Hughes such as a Knighthood for his long service, but if such a movement as that suggested in the letter is decided upon, I venture to think it should not 'emanate' from the Town Hall.*[89]

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[87] The Ludgate no.7 Vol. II, May 1896, p.28.

[88] Holt had first suggested Derby to the Liberals as a suitable mayor a year before, but had been unable to win support.

[89] Holt to Derby, 27 November 1895 in Holt Papers.

In two letters to Oakshott, the Conservative organiser of the testimonial, Holt outlined his reasons for opposing the scheme.

> *The circle of political friends surrounding Mr. Thomas Hughes have chosen a most inappropriate moment to urge united municipal and political action in regard to Mr. Hughes...*
> *[I do not] see in the circumstances of our enlarged Liverpool special reasons for such a departure...*
> *A Knighthood might be obtained which would take the compliment out of local considerations or as some might say 'jealousies'.*[90]

> *...to attribute the extension of the Borough Boundaries as mainly due to Mr. Thomas Hughes is a stretch of the imagination which could only have emanated from the most Conservative of minds.*[91]

It was the municipal recognition of Hughes as the driving influence of the borough extension, rather than an honorific title as such, to which Holt objected. In terms of municipal politics, a testimonial would be a greater coup than a knighthood, since it would symbolically recognise the Tory reading of 'Greater Liverpool'.

The message was reinforced by the choice of Hughes as Derby's successor. In a 'flowery and carefully written out speech'[92], Arthur Forwood had argued that Derby would make a fitting first Lord Mayor of 'Greater Liverpool'. The appointment of Thomas Hughes as the second to preside over the extended city acclaimed him as the author of the project.

Municipal honours continued to be heaped upon Hughes. At the close of his mayoralty, it was proposed that he be awarded the freedom of the city. Holt left the Council Chamber in disgust. He refuted the three reasons advanced for the honour; diligent discharge of mayoral

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[90] Holt to Oakshott, 2 December 1895 in Holt Papers.

[91] Holt to Oakshott, 10 December 1895 in Holt Papers.

[92] Holt's Diary, 9 November 1895.

duties, the part played in the extension of the city boundaries and Hughes' work on the Licensing Board.

> *To 1st our reply was all Mayors have done the same*
> *2. The extension of City Boundaries was a Liberal measure inaugurated and completed while the Liberals were in power- we made Mr. H chairman of the Com [mitt]ee and a lavish price he paid to any opposition so as to get the work completed knowing when Villa-dom was incorporated the Liberal government would come to an end.*
> *3rd. As Chairman of the Licensing Bench he voiced the views of the Liberal justices + a few Tories but the influence was from the Liberals and it has taken years of steady work to break the powerful ascendancy on the Bench of Tories and the Drink Interest.*[93]

Holt's opposition was to no avail and the honour was conferred on Hughes. To Holt's infuriation, Hughes was also knighted in the New Year honours for 1898. At a Council meeting which rang with congratulations for Hughes, Holt 'tried in a semi-jocose manner' to point out that Hughes' greatest achievement had been accomplished with the Liberals. He noted 'the main thing is for him and his friends to claim almost all the credit of conception etc. the part that properly belongs to them is the reckless expense of carrying the measure.'[94] Holt had conceded that the array of honours had firmly identified Hughes with the extension. Indeed, Hughes became a figure of civic myth. During the proposed incorporation of Bootle in 1903, both opponents and supporters of expansion paid homage to the memory of Sir Thomas Hughes as the author of the successful extension of 1895.

The mayoralty and the freedom of the city helped to construct and project civic image. Image-building was central to mayoral responsibilities. Liverpool's international links and aspirations to the status of the 'second city' demanded ceremonial and civic functions to match. The mayor's position as a civic figurehead dictated that those who held the office must

[93] ibid., 27 October 1897.

[94] ibid., 5 January 1898.

have time, money, a supportive family and social grace. Ceremonial functions thus created qualifications which kept the office in the hands of the wealthy. Mayors were chosen and evaluated on how they performed their ceremonial duties. In 1886, Sir David Radcliffe, whose uneasy manner had formerly provoked criticism, won wide acclaim for his behaviour when the Queen visited. In contrast, Joseph Morgan's neglect of ceremonial, Robert Hampson's barely disguised glee on being knighted in 1904 and Chaloner Dowdall's bombastic mayoral portrait garnered disapproval.[95]

Although expectations and traditions placed limits on the mayor's freedom to work civic ritual, the manipulation of ceremonial forms and functions could steal a march on political adversaries. The elevation of the chief magistrate to Lord Mayor, for instance, was an achievement for Robert Holt and satisfied both personal and municipal ambitions. The judicious use of entertainment could earn votes at elections, too.

The history of the freedom of the city tells another story of how civic imagery, civic virtue and political jousting were tightly inter-related. Less than a decade after the Municipal Corporations Act of 1885 put the honour in the municipal gift, the ceremonies associated with its conferral had become lavish celebrations of civic virtue. The investitures offered platforms for the propagation of ideologies of civic patriotism and the municipal recognition which the award implied opened it to partisan feeling.

The office of mayor and the title of freeman of the city thus occupied key strategic points governing the political and ideological ambits of civic image and civic patriotism. They acted as channels for the communicated image. As Fred Inglis has commented, 'certain traces of historical activity...are fiercely charged up in tight little nodes with human *values*, where a value simply means a concentration in action or artefact of human significance'.[96] Ceremonial

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[95] The last two incidents are related in the chapter on royal visits.

[96] F. Inglis, Cultural Studies, Oxford 1994, p.5.

imagery and municipal recognition possessed formed such 'nodes', making the mayoralty and civic freedom vehicles for the expression of values through actions and artefacts. Thus, political groupings competed for the power which these titles bestowed to construct and communicate civic image and to reward civic patriotism.

Chapter Four- Civic Hagiography

> *If history records good things of good men, the thoughtful reader is encouraged to imitate what is good.*[1]
>
> *His figure, as he clattered past on his black horse, became very familiar to Liverpool citizens...Sitting rather forward and bending over his horse's neck, the pockets of his Inverness cape stuffed out with papers, his whole appearance betokened business and an eagerness to arrive...he was not a little proud of the fact that none of his sons or daughters could manage [the horse].*[2]
>
> *The two children were walking together along the road, having each got a penny to spend on sweetmeats. Meeting a poor old man, Alexander slipped the penny into his hand. To the inquiry why he had done this, the boy gravely replied 'Don't you remember, "He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth to the Lord"'.*[3]

The rider with the mysterious power over his horse and the youthful display of charity are scenes which could sit with Bede's didactic tales of King Oswy and Saint Aidan. Yet these incidents are not taken from eighth century chronicles, but from the biographies of William Rathbone and Alexander Balfour, written in 1905 and 1889. A genre of biographical memoirs of local worthies, which enshrined and encouraged civic patriotism, emerged in Liverpool at the close of the nineteenth century.

The portrayal of a particular figure as worthy of emulation was a way of advancing a vision of civic patriotism; different biographies preached the importance of different virtues, such as philanthropy, aesthetic sensibility, hard work and sobriety. Nevertheless, the recurrence of certain stock themes in these works make their treatment as a hagiographic genre to be fruitful. That Christian morality should inform concepts of civic duty and civic patriotism is unsurprising. The remarkable feature of these civic hagiographies is the employment of

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[1] Bede, A History of the English Church and People, Harmondsworth, 1968, p.33.

[2] E. Rathbone, William Rathbone- A Memoir, London 1905, p. 477.

[3] R.H. Lundie, Alexander Balfour- A Memoir, London, 1895, p.vi.

parables, superhuman feats and quasi-messianic imagery to depict local heroes who were, like Christ, at once ordinary and extraordinary. Some of the biographies were written by clerics; and sermons, pamphlets and iconography provide evidence of further connections between Christianity and civic patriotism.

However, secular influences on civic hagiography were not lacking. The tendency for history to be conceived in terms of lives of great men encouraged a similar reading of achievements in municipal affairs. The Dictionary of National Biography, begun in 1882, was one manifestation of this trend. Rosemary Jann's study of Victorian historical thought argues that

> *Rendering the historical foreground as a pageant of heroism affirmed the potential for human greatness and the meaningfulness of moral choice, it released the reader from the limits of the ordinary but not from the pressure of duty and emulation... History provided the sacred text and a secularized communion of the saints.*[4]

A number of works catalogued Liverpool's 'natural aristocrats'. The greatest of these, not least in its scale, was Liverpool's Legion of Honour by B. Guinness Orchard[5]. Orchard's directory of worthies was imbued with a fierce civic pride. The superiority of Liverpudlian society to life in the capital or in Manchester was asserted; it was incumbent on Liverpool's elite to continue living in and working for their city.

Although civic hagiography was not the heir of a single tradition and did not assume a universal form, it may be clearly identified as an important bridge between civic image and civic patriotism. The image of Liverpool as an arena in which moral endeavour would win an ideal city had a wide currency in these works. Individual emulation of the municipal saints would earn Liverpool a glorious reputation. The image of Liverpool as a New Jerusalem was

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[4] R. Jann, The Art and Science of Victorian History, Columbus, Ohio, 1985, pp. xiii and 208.

[5] B. Guinness Orchard, Liverpool's Legion of Honour, Birkenhead, 1893.

multi-faceted; it could express aspirations to build a godly city and, in some cases simultaneously, stand as a vision of a city basking in the virtues of enlightened commerce.

On 25 October 1891, the Sunday following the conferral of the freedom of the city on William Rathbone and Henry Tate[6], the Broad Churchman T.W.M. Lund preached a sermon entitled The Praise of Famous Men. According to Orchard, 'his sermons on special occasions are invariably reported by the daily papers'[7]. In addition, this sermon was subsequently published in pamphlet form.[8] Lund called for financial assistance for the School for the Blind which was connected to his chapel and set his appeal in a tradition of civic virtue.

> *We are proud of our age, proud of ourselves, ready to suppose our vantage ground wholly our own. But in fact, we are debtors to a long past...countless efforts of forgotten heroes and heroines...*
> *Individually we may not be able to do such great things, but at least the example of our benefactors may hearten us to strain every nerve to fit ourselves for taking an honourable stand in the world...*
> *We want a Sir Andrew Walker, or a Mr. Henry Tate, or some other deep-pursed and liberal-hearted philanthropist to plant our Institution where the enfeebled health of the blind may be strengthened by purer air.*[9]

In a religious sermon, Lund was suggesting that moral exemplars were to be found, not amongst the saints and holy men of the past, but in the philanthropic business men of more recent days. Civic and religious duty coincided in these heroic figures. It should be noted that financial considerations could be served by imbuing civic fame with a religious dimension.

Clerics were to the fore in the creation of civic hagiography. Robert Veitch, a Congregationalist minister, preached a series of sermons in 1894 which aimed to 'enkindle

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[6] See chapter three for a more detailed account of the ceremony.

[7] Orchard, Legion of Honour, p.467.

[8] T.W.M. Lund, In Praise of Famous Men, Liverpool, 1891.

[9] ibid., pp.11, 13, 14 and 17.

that order of civic patriotism which has the force of religion."[10] Under the title of Civic Patriotism or Studies in Liverpool Citizen Life, Veitch took an extract from the 137th Psalm as his 'sacred motto'-

> *If I forget thee O Jerusalem*
> *Let my right hand forget her cunning*
> *Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth*
> *If I remember thee not*
> *If I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy.*[11]

Veitch contended that civic patriotism was an essential safeguard for Christian life, and that a moral sense would achieve Liverpool's civic mission.

> *If Liverpool be a city loved by her sons, prayed for by her daughters, thought of before God, her real well-being and usefulness- cherished as an object of life by her citizens, she will become what she ought to be. Not otherwise.*
> *Our citizens cannot live a worthy life without devotion to the civic weal. If such public spirited and elevated aims be not abroad amongst us, many of our sons inevitably become selfish money grubbers, oppressive and tyrannical, perhaps also lustful: and the daughters of the city will be at best without that wide intellect and sympathetic interest which can provide a new generation of noble characters. The tone of civic morality and enthusiasm for the city's good should preserve from such disaster.*[12]

Veitch chose Alexander Balfour as his first model of civic virtue, for 'this citizen's life had become a kind of poem, a drama of growing beauty to the devoted and religiously inspired mind.' Balfour was a Scot by birth, but had made his fortune as a merchant in Liverpool. He was an energetic advocate of temperance and had been involved in a number of philanthropic projects for seamen. Praise for Balfour's campaign for temperance was to be expected from a Congregationalist minister, but these activities did not encompass all of Veitch's admiration.

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[10] R. Veitch, 'Civic Patriotism or Studies in Liverpool Citizen Life' in Liverpool Pulpit Vol. III no. 35 (1894), p.177.

[11] ibid.

[12] ibid.

It was suggested that 'Balfour regretted that many who made their fortunes in Liverpool retired to suburban ease...This is a growingly serious condition of things to be regretted both for the sake of the slummer and the suburbanite.' The flight to the suburbs was a feature of nineteenth century urban life which was

> *widely deplored. The suburban dream equalled selfishness, a rejection of obligation and commitment to the city where the suburbanite earned his living...the city core was devitalized and the municipalities' fiscal resources were depleted as a consequence of suburban development. Suburb and slum thus remained intimately connected.*[13]

The case for Liverpool's incorporation of Bootle in 1903 was to contend that Bootleians were guilty of dereliction of duty in earning a living in the city, but paying the borough's (lower) rates. The continued residence of the wealthy in Liverpool was a moral question and a theme of civic hagiography.

Balfour's career was used to illustrate another motif- that of commerce as a moral training. Veitch believed it 'specifically worthy of note that much of his philanthropy grew out of his business. His efforts on behalf of seamen arose from his generously recognising that, being linked with them through business, he was bound to care for their real well being.'[14]Civic patriotism represented a union of commercial Liverpool and the New Jerusalem. As Veitch concluded, 'For this city's weal, and for the fulfilment of God's purpose in it, other Alexander Balfours are needed.'[15]

Civic mindedness also received religious sanction in Veitch's portrait of Sir James Picton, the Liverpool-born architect and antiquarian. Veitch acclaimed Picton for writing Memorials of Liverpool, a history of the city.

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[13] P.J. Waller, Town, City and Nation: England 1850-1914, Oxford, 1983, p.145.

[14] Veitch, Civic Patriotism- Alexander Balfour, p.178.

[15] ibid., p.179.

> *To maintain a city consciousness, a sense of unity, and a devotion to the city as a whole, there must be some knowledge of the city as such, some interest in its past, some faith in its future possibilities...This must be understood if an intelligent devotion to the city is to be possible. The disintegrating influences are constantly at work. Suburbanism, for example, draws off the gifted portion of the population in their leisure hours to the outskirts, and the source of responsibility for Liverpool's life is by so much weakened. Commercialism tends even to reduce the City to the sphere of mere money-getting.*[16]

Yet Picton's civic patriotism was not exalted as an unattainable ideal. The Picton Reading Room, opened in 1879, was a testament to his abilities, but Veitch emphasised that Picton was not a man of genius.

> *'By attending to little things', 'by making good every step before the next was taken', 'by commending the object to the good sense and right feeling of the community' not 'by eloquence or genius' but 'by the most humdrum commonplace means' , Sir James Picton says the whole thing was done. There is philosophy of life at least in his words. Attend to little things; one step and then another; believe in commonplace means.*
> *...[Picton wanted his epitaph to be] he was one who moved in a narrow sphere with limited opportunities, but he did what little he could and did that little from a sense of duty.*[17]

The basis of the civic patriotism which Picton exemplified was that all might achieve greatness through dedicated application of limited means. This inclusive vision of civic endeavour was well suited to the didactic purposes of hagiography.

Briggs has contended that 'the vitality of the civic gospel in Birmingham derived from the abandonment of narrow conceptions of evangelicalism and the search for a more relevant and inspiring message.'[18] In the Midland city, Nonconformity provided a 'social cutting edge'.[19] Glasgow's elite was characterised by a preference for Presbyterian dissent and by 'an often

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[16] R. Veitch, 'Sir James A. Picton' in Liverpool Pulpit Vol. IV no.37 (1895), p.22.

[17] ibid., p.24.

[18] A. Briggs, Victorian Cities, Harmondsworth, 1971, p.200.

[19] ibid., p.202.

religiously inspired sense of obligation' to solve social problems. James Martineau of Liverpool had influenced such figures as George Dawson, R.W. Dale and H.W. Crosskey who had been central to the emergence of Birmingham's civic gospel. The cross-fertilisation of ideas between Liverpool and Birmingham was continued by the biography of Crosskey which Richard Acland Armstrong, the minister at Liverpool's Hope Street Unitarian Chapel, wrote in 1895.[20]

Bebbington has identified activism, or the 'expression of the gospel in effort' as one of the defining characteristics of Evangelicalism. In 1879, Dale declared, 'the Evangelical saint of today is not a man who spends his days and nights in fasting and prayer, but a man who is a zealous Sunday School teacher, holds mission services among the poor, and attends innumerable committee meetings. "Work" has taken its place side by side with prayer.'[21] Dale's son, Alfred, was the Principal of University College, Liverpool, and later became the Vice-Chancellor of the University.[22] Thus, there was a tradition of Dissenting intellectual interest in civic affairs in Liverpool which made civic patriotism fruitful ground for preaching.

Veitch's use of hagiography as a tool for moral regeneration was not simply a matter of extolling the virtues of the civic elite. As Bebbington has observed 'Nonconformists tried to stamp their standards of behaviour on public life.'[23] The Nonconformist conscience which evolved during the 1870s and 1880s had three features; 'a conviction that there is no strict boundary between religion and politics, an insistence that politicians should be of the highest character, and a belief that the state should promote the moral welfare of its citizens.'[24]

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[20] R.A. Armstrong, Henry William Crosskey, His Life and Work, London, 1895.

[21] D. Bebbington, Evangelicalism in Modern Britain, London, 1989.

[22] T. Kelly, For Advancement of Learning: The University of Liverpool 1881-1981, Liverpool, 1981.

[23] D. Bebbington, The Nonconformist Conscience, London, 1982, p.ix.

[24] ibid., p.11.

It was this approach, applied to municipal life, which informed Veitch's sermons. His praise for Balfour and Picton was sharply contrasted by the scorn which he reserved for the claims of Sir Andrew Walker, a prominent brewer, to civic honour. Moreover, Veitch singled out Josephine Butler, the Nonconformist heroine of the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts and a former Liverpool resident, for her far-sightedness.

> *Mrs. Butler saw clearly what is still hidden from many, that the industrial freedom and independence of women, their higher education, their claim to a wider place in social activity, their equal rights with men before the law, and their full enfranchisement as citizens were all parts of the assertion of the natural dignity of womanhood.*[25]

The series of portraits ended with Veitch's exhortation 'In the fear of God, and for love of men, let us fulfil our citizen duty in the Christ like spirit of sacrifice and service on behalf of the least.'[26]

Jeremy Morris' study of Croydon concluded that the incorporation of the borough in 1883 had ushered in a decline of religious influence over community life.[27] Morris found 'no evidence to support the view that...preachers were ready to formulate a general religious basis for citizenship...[limiting themselves to] little more than weak comparisons between Christian and municipal life.'[28] Morris attributed this ideological poverty to the impossibility of reconciling a sectarian vision with a pluralist Corporation and argued that 'the religious conception of "civic duty" could only be one which carefully avoided an open pronouncement of opinion in municipal affairs.'[29]

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[25] Veitch, 'Josephine Butler' in Liverpool Pulpit Vol. IV no. 40 (May 1895), p.51.

[26] ibid., p.53.

[27] J. Morris, Religion and Urban Change: Croydon 1840-1914, Woodbridge, 1992.

[28] ibid., p.163.

[29] ibid., p.164.

In view of the chronology of municipal development in Croydon, some degree of transferral of energies and prestige from the Parish Church to the Town Hall must be expected. Much of the decline of religious influence which Morris posits is explained by the emergence of a new focus for community life. Liverpool had held a charter since 1207, and clerics in the city were not marked by any reluctance to engage in the construction of theoretical modes of citizenship. When Philip Rathbone, a member of Liverpool's most prominent Nonconformist merchant family, died in 1895, T.W.M.Lund delivered a sermon which was published as The Ideal Citizen. Veitch's belief that citizenship could offer a holistic approach to contemporary moral questions found an echo.

> *True citizenship is the highest realisation of ourselves in the service of the community among which we live...if he gives himself to his city...so that you feel the very vitality of his being to have flowed from him and vitalised in turn the human material in his vicinity...you have among you not only no mean citizen of your city, but one whose career will show us at least some signal traits of Ideal Citizenship.*
> *Liverpool is awakening to her loss in a citizen who furnishes a striking object lesson in civic patriotism...a model and an inspiration to us all...*
> *When the light of citizenship burns low...look back on this picture of a citizen, and whatever flaws we may detect there, we shall find enough of nobility and beauty, of self giving and virile worth, to give us wings and bid us soar above the cramping penury and stifling atmosphere of vulgar aims into the free pure air of beauty and life and love.*[30]

Preaching was but one avenue along which civic virtue and religion advanced. B. Guinness Orchard commented that there were 'many ministers' sons who have made for themselves prominent and influential positions in the community.'[31] Orchard recounted the case of George Ball, 'a prominent member of the commercial community'. Although Orchard labelled Ball a churchman, he had been 'a pupil in the school then conducted by the Rev Mr. Thompson, minister of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, Canning Street, amongst his

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[30] T.W.M. Lund, The Ideal Citizen: An Appreciation of Philip Rathbone, Liverpool, 1896, pp. 3, 4, 27 and 28.

[31] Orchard, Liverpool's Legion of Honour, p.132.

companions being many young members of old Liverpool families, some of whom now occupy leading positions in the city.'[32]

Nonconformist and Broad Church religiosity thus impinged on the intellectual landscape of a number of Liverpool merchants and was not confined to those formally identified as Dissenters. Moreover, it lay behind the burgeoning literary genre of civic hagiography to a remarkable extent. Seven biographies of citizens[33] were written in Liverpool between 1885 and 1910: Alexander Balfour- A Memoir by R. Lundie; Sir James A. Picton: A Biography by J. Allanson Picton; The Ideal Citizen (Philip Rathbone) by T.W.M. Lund; The Founder of the White Star Line (Thomas Ismay) by an unknown author; William Rathbone- A Memoir by E. Rathbone; William Roscoe- An Inaugural Lecture by R. Muir and Kitty Wilkinson by W. Rathbone.

The careers of Balfour, Picton and Philip Rathbone have already been outlined. Thomas Ismay was the founder of the White Star Line. William Rathbone, Philip's brother, was renowned for his philanthropy, as well as for his work in establishing the University of Liverpool. William Roscoe had been a fierce critic of the slave trade at the start of the nineteenth century and had envisioned Liverpool as a new Venice where the arts might flourish. Kitty Wilkinson was a working-class woman who was involved in the establishment of municipal wash-houses in Liverpool.

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[32] Margaret Simey suggested the influence of Scottish Presbyterianism on conceptions of citizenship in Liverpool during a discussion with me in May 1997. ibid., p.142.

[33] The analysis which follows is concerned with the layman as the subject of hagiography. There were also five biographies of ministers written in the same period: A.H. Grey-Edwards, Life of Canon Major Lester, London , 1903; G. Hughes, Evan Roberts, Revivalist, London, 1905; G.G. Armstrong, R.A. Armstrong: A Memoir, London, 1906; W.R. Nicholl, Ian MacLaren; The Life of Reverend John Watson, London 1908 and R. Griffiths, The Life Story of Pastor George Wise, Toxteth 1909.

The seven biographies set out in *Table 1* yield ten Nonconformists (five as subjects and five as authors) and two Broad Churchmen (one as subject, one as author). Only the anonymous author of The Founder of the White Star Line and Kitty Wilkinson (an Irish Catholic) do not conform to this devotional pattern. An explanation can be drawn from Bebbington's thesis of the 'Nonconformist conscience'. Nonconformity was negotiating a new relationship with politics between 1870 and 1914 and the proliferation of civic hagiography was an indication of this process. An alternative cause may be found in the nature of Nonconformist devotion. Unlike the Catholic and Anglican traditions, Nonconformity did not enshrine a litany of saints as exemplars of virtue. Consequently the Nonconformist models for emulation had to be constructed from the lives of laymen.

Certain thematic concerns common to the genre are summarised in *Table 1*. The theme of the self-made man, which Veitch had discerned in Picton's life, recurred elsewhere. When Alexander Balfour first came to Liverpool from Fifeshire, 'his path at first was by no means a path of roses...the delay, disappointment and rebuff through which he passed at this time was a valuable discipline.'[34] Ismay arrived in the city from Cumberland at a time when 'there was still room for men of talent and energy to open up fresh lines of intercourse between the Mersey and the lands across the sea.'[35] William Rathbone, although born into a wealthy family, served an apprenticeship where he 'did nothing but copy letters and accounts, run errands, mend the fires and take weights on the dock quays and in warehouses...he found the advantage of it in several ways, and especially in enabling him to judge how everyone in his office, from highest to lowest, was doing his work.'[36] In Kitty Wilkinson's case, her

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[34] R.H. Lundie, Alexander Balfour: A Memoir, London, 1889, pp. 19 and 20.

[35] Anonymous author, The Founder of the White Star Line, Liverpool, 1901, no page numbering.

[36] Rathbone, William Rathbone, pp.61-63.

biographer speculated 'perhaps it was the sadness of her early life that helped to make Kitty rather old and thoughtful for her age.'[37]

From the hardships of these formative years, five of the subjects rose to become merchants. Moreover, they were merchants who conducted their business with a clear moral tone. Lundie assessed Balfour's business affairs in a chapter entitled 'The Christian Merchant' which was introduced with a quotation from Isaiah; 'The crowning city, whose merchants are princes, whose trafficks are the honourable of the earth'.[38] The glories of commerce and the merchant were foundations of Liverpool's civic image and ideology of civic patriotism. The image of the city propagated at public events such as royal visits and the Pageant of 1907 and in the civic mission encapsulated by aspirations to be the 'Second City of the Empire' centred on the spiritual and temporal grandeur of commerce. The hagiography of merchants reasserted these connections of commerce and civic patriotism.

Balfour's biographer, the Presbyterian minister R.H. Lundie, narrated that

> *He was wont to say he would not exchange the proud position of a British merchant, with all its interests and opportunities of usefulness, for that of the richest landed proprietor of the realm. He frequently spoke with pity of men who had retired from business...His sole object in continuing to follow business pursuits in Liverpool was that he might employ the position thus given him, as a fulcrum, by means of which to exercise a salutary influence on the town.*[39]

William Rathbone, for all of his public work, felt that business was 'a more wholesome training than politics or philanthropy with their inevitable accompaniments of a facile conspicuousness and exaggerated praise.'[40] For Nonconformists such as Rathbone and

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[37] W. Rathbone, The Life of Kitty Wilkinson- A Lancashire Heroine, Liverpool, 1910, p. 14.

[38] Isaiah xxiii.8.

[39] ibid., p.42.

[40] Rathbone, William Rathbone, p.106.

Hagiography in Liverpool 1889-1907

Table 1

Subject	Date[1]	Author N/C[2]	N/C[3]	Self-made	Merchant	Theme 1	Theme 2
Balfour	1889	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Picton	1891	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
P. Rathbone	1896	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Ismay	1901	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N
W. Rathbone	1905	Y	Y	Y/N	Y	Y	Y
Roscoe	1907	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Wilkinson	1910	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N

Theme 1- Application is more important than innate ability.

Theme 2- Those whose fortunes were made in Liverpool should be 'loyal' to the city.

William Rathbone is classified as Y/N for self-made man because he claimed the years of voluntary drudgery he had spent as an office clerk had been a formative influence although he came from a wealthy background.

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[1]. Date of publication of book or pamphlet.

[2]. Author either a Nonconformist cleric or of Nonconformist upbringing.

[3]. Nonconformist.

Balfour, commercial success was to be valued as providing a 'fulcrum' for citizenship. The prestige which a wealthy merchant enjoyed could be turned to moral improvement. William Rathbone

> *had observed that in England especially, the weight which was given to a man's words or principles was greatly determined by the skill which he had shown in managing his own affairs, and that this skill, in the case at any rate of men of business was inevitably roughly measured by the amount of his wealth.*[41]

Ramsay Muir, the son of a Presbyterian minister, suggested that the Nonconformist merchant William Roscoe had modelled himself on Lorenzo de Medici for similar reasons.

> *What had made Lorenzo Roscoe's...model, was the fact that, being a great magnate of commerce and a statesman...he yet contrived, without neglecting these duties...to keep his mind open to the best thought and the noblest art of his day, and to be the most generous patron of artists, scholars and philosophy because he recognised that their contribution to the welfare and progress of man was of more moment than all his own vast commercial enterprises.*[42]

Civic hagiography was not blind to the dangers of materialism and greed, but suggested that such faults would find reparation in the heroic figure of the enlightened merchant. The merchant would be tempered by hard work, would meet the moral challenges of business and would win the lofty position from which he could inspire others. In 1898, James Samuelson's Footsteps in Human Progress was published. Samuelson was the defeated 1885 Lib-Lab candidate for Liverpool Kirkdale and he dedicated the work to Rev. John Sephton, a fellow Unitarian who had been Principal of the Liverpool Institute. The book illustrated how the themes mentioned above informed Unitarian conceptions of citizenship. Samuelson agreed with Veitch, an occupation was a moral calling, and commerce was amongst the highest vocations of all.

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[41] ibid., p,113.

[42] R. Muir, William Roscoe- An Inaugural Lecture, Liverpool 1906, p.18.

> *The tradesman at his work is the equal of the most learned doctor...*
> *The ends of Providence, I have said, are being served by every man and woman who follows an honourable calling, and who thereby ministers to the happiness and progress of mankind...*
> *To that end they have contributed more largely by their indirect than by their direct influence, for there is hardly a department of human industry and activity which has not been stimulated by commercial enterprise.*[43]

The Liverpool biographies celebrated such mercantile heroism. Thomas Ismay possessed Herculean strength and 'displayed an activity which would have been beyond the physical powers of most men. Early and late he was watching things shape themselves to his purpose...generally acting as the guiding spirit of every branch of enterprise.'[44] Despite his personal capacity for work, he was

> *no self-assertive business tyrant intent upon grinding the last limit of service out of those under his control...It was as the practical man of business that he inspired confidence and esteem and won distinction; and it was his practical knowledge of the affairs of life that enabled him to do so much good apart from the enterprise in which he was more directly concerned.*[45]

Alexander Balfour's business was conducted 'on principles of the highest integrity and honour'. Lundie recorded that Balfour once cancelled a written agreement because 'an uncomfortable conviction crept into his mind that it was too much to the advantage of his own firm.'[46] William Rathbone 'trusted no prosperity that was not the outcome of continuous and laborious work.'[47]

The notion of greatness being attainable by hard work found repeated expression in civic hagiography. Not all could aspire to the achievements of exceptional figures but hagiography

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[43] J. Samuelson, Footsteps in Human Progress, London, 1898, pp.7, 8 and 22.

[44] Founder of the White Star Line

[45] ibid.

[46] Lundie, Alexander Balfour, pp. 42 and 43.

[47] Rathbone, William Rathbone, p.115.

applauded application more often than it proclaimed genius. J. Allanson Picton, far from being blinded by filial devotion, proposed that his father's biography was an

> *object lesson for young men beginning life. From it they may learn that 'steady application in any pursuit or study, combined with integrity and a fair amount of intelligence, are almost sure to succeed in the long run'; that drudgery and exactitude are a very serviceable substitute for genius.*[48]

Thomas Ismay's life was 'full of incident, but it was business incident, not incident of the class out of which romance are made or from which stories of adventure are built up...a punctual man of great method.'[49] Eleanor Rathbone quoted from fragments of her father's dictated memoranda-

> *The men who reap an immediate and material reward for their work are not these great discoverers and men of genius, but rather these ordinary men whose quick, careful observation, common sense and industry just place them a few days, months or years in advance of what is becoming the general knowledge or sentiment...*
> *I think if more people realised how considerable and widespread are the results which are often attainable by the use of these qualities...they would be inspired with faith and energy to attempt public work which they now believe to require much rarer qualities, and therefore modestly consider to be beyond their power.*
> *In short, if I were to venture to express what seems to me to be the lesson of my own life by an adapted proverb, I should say 'Great are the uses of mediocrity'.*[50]

One of William Rathbone's other daughters, Winifred, was the author of the biography of Kitty Wilkinson, the working class Irishwoman whose pioneering efforts in public health were a striking instance of what ordinariness could achieve. John Dobie has investigated this civic myth and has identified the element of working class self-help as 'an essential ingredient of the myth'.[51] Kitty's humble background was no bar to civic service. 'Kitty always remained

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[48] Picton, Sir James A. Picton, London, 1891, p.9.

[49] Founder of the White Star Line

[50] Rathbone, William Rathbone, pp. 492 and 493.

[51] J. Dobie, Kitty Wilkinson- A Civic Myth?, typewritten manuscript in Liverpool Central Library, p.68.

poor herself, but she gave so much of her time and strength to the service of others that she did far more good than a rich woman could have done by gifts of money alone.'[52]

Although civic service did not demand living in the midst of slums as Kitty Wilkinson had done, a degree of residential loyalty to the city was an important aspect of citizenship. Balfour did move to Denbighshire in old age, but, according to Lundie 'a struggle arose in his mind. Was he justified in so far leaving Liverpool? It seemed to him for a time like "deserting his post"'.[53] Lundie reported the words of one of Balfour's friends, Mr. Fair

> *I shall never forget...the serious almost solemn way in which he...[said] that were there any chance from his having selected this beautiful place for his home, of its drawing him away from Liverpool, and the work in which he was engaged on behalf of the city, he would part with it at once without a pang.*
> *It was, with him, a constant subject of regret, not to say indignation, sometimes expressed in language more plain than pleasant, that many who made their fortunes in Liverpool spent them elsewhere, retiring to a distance and doing perhaps little or nothing for the community to which they owed so much.*[54]

The 'desertion' of the city was plainly an issue on which righteous indignation could be forgiven. In Philip Rathbone, Lund discerned something of

> *the old Hebrew's fiercely tender devotion to Jerusalem...It has been largely the fashion for men to regard this great commercial centre merely as a happy hunting ground, in which to make a fortune; then to carry it away to sunnier climes and spend it there. The result must always be a comparative slackening of interest in the city.*[55]

Sir James Picton resisted the allure of London and 'the railway system, which threatens to reduce all British towns to mere suburbs of London, never disturbed his local patriotism'.[56]

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[52] W. Rathbone, Kitty Wilkinson, p.20.

[53] Lundie, Alexander Balfour, p.168.

[54] ibid., p.166.

[55] Lund, The Ideal Citizen, p.7.

[56] Picton, Sir James A. Picton, p.279.

His biography reproduced the speech which the Earl of Derby had made in his honour at the opening of the Picton Reading Room in 1879. The Earl 'made some pregnant remarks on the tendency of imperial interests to impoverish municipal life'.

> *You cannot attach too much importance to having your local affairs in the hands of men who wish to be really thinking what they can do for the town, not what the town can do for them...*
> *It is the city, the borough, the parish, which supplies the great majority of us with a possible and useful sphere of action...there are thousands who may reflect, without self illusion and without vanity, that the condition of their immediate neighbourhood would have been widely different if they had not existed.*[57]

William Roscoe and William Rathbone had both represented the city at Westminster, although the civic spirit of neither wavered. Roscoe 'threw himself with ardour into every scheme which promised to make Liverpool and England more like Florence and Italy.'[58]; Rathbone 'was a Liverpool man in almost every sense which it is possible for a man to belong to a city- born a freeman within the city bounds, educated there, apprenticed there, representing as a merchant and shipowner her two principal industries.'[59]

Charles Reilly, the Professor of Architecture at the University, noted that residence was an important measure of civic patriotism, if not of moral calibre. 'I remember how disgraceful it was thought when Edward Gonner (later Sir Edward) the economist, moved out to Hoylake. He was the first [of the academic staff] to do anything so unpatriotic and, needless to say, he belonged to the wrong party in university politics.'[60]

The themes of the enlightened merchant, the self-made man, the achievement of greatness through application and the loyalty owed to Liverpool constituted the didactic element of

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[57] ibid., pp. 351 and 352.

[58] Muir, William Roscoe, p.9.

[59] Rathbone, William Rathbone, p.219.

[60] C.H. Reilly, Scaffolding in the Sky, London, 1938, p.75.

hagiography; yet civic hagiography cast a mystical aura around its subjects, too. A woman who visited Balfour shortly before his death recalled 'there was a grandeur, even a glory about Mr. Balfour in his utter self-forgetfulness. I really felt that in his presence I understood the nature of our Saviour as I had never done before.'[61]

Another incident from Balfour's life had clear Biblical overtones. Christ-like, he devised a parable on the duties of wealth which echoed the parable of the sower and the Sermon on the Mount.

> *When friends visited Mr. Balfour, he sometimes invited them to examine one field in which he took great delight. He had found it sour and sullen, producing nothing but rushes and coarse grass. He thoroughly drained it, and made it one of the most fertile of all his fields. As we stood with other friends among its teeming furrows, we have heard him take up his parable concerning it with an earnestness which left its impress on all hearers. 'The water' he would say 'which is held in the miserly soil brings a curse and not a blessing. But if, when it falls from heaven, it is made to pass on to enrich other places, it leaves the brightest fertility behind. Just so it is with riches. Hoarded wealth, like hoarded water, sours and sickens the narrow soul that hoards it. But if wealth, when it flows in, is distributed through useful channels, it is blessed in the having and blessed in the giving.*[62]

If Balfour manifested Christ's powers as a teacher, Philip Rathbone underwent a change akin to the Transfiguration. Lund related how he had watched Rathbone reading the lesson

> *as I looked at the shrunken form of the small man, already touched by the finger of Azrael, and withering towards its wintry change, he seemed to grow positively majestic, while his voice thrilled with triumphant feeling and it was a relief when he lay down the book.*[63]

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[61] Lundie, Alexander Balfour, p.307.

[62] ibid., pp. 174 and 175.

[63] Lund, The Ideal Citizen, pp. 14 and 15.

Philip Rathbone himself had been aware of that the lives of civic figures could teach the precepts of citizenship. In an obituary of Rathbone in the Liverpool University magazine, The Sphinx, Principal Rendall wrote of Rathbone's conviction that

> *it is the business of corporate bodies...by statues, emblems and memorials of noble deeds and worthy men to inculcate on every member of the body 'that great citizens form a necessary integral part of great communities, without which the latter cannot exist.'*[64]

Rathbone's brother, William, was one of the great citizens whose statue was erected in St, John's Garden at the rear of St. George's Hall. His likeness stands alongside those of Gladstone, Alexander Balfour, Arthur Forwood, Canon Major Lester and Monsignor Nugent, facing the Regimental Monument commemorating the South African War. The statues were all erected between 1889 and 1905; the site was laid out as terraced gardens by the City Surveyor and opened to the public in 1904.[65] The remodelling of the site, formerly St. John's Churchyard, as Liverpool's 'al fresco Valhalla'[66] was a further indication of the rise of the cult of the heroic citizen.

Women were unrepresented in St. John's Garden, but religion and civic patriotism entwined elsewhere in the city to provide other settings for iconic representation. When the Lady chapel of the Anglican Cathedral was completed in 1910, it was considered 'fitting that the ruling idea of the Chapel decorations should be the honouring of noble women, and that its windows should be used to chronicle their good deeds.'[67]Not all were Liverpool women, but Kitty Wilkinson took her place next to such luminaries as Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Juliana of

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[64] In a newspaper cuttings scrap book in Rathbone Papers, University of Liverpool, Special Collections.

[65] Liverpool Heritage Bureau, Buildings of Liverpool, Liverpool, 1978, pp.54 and 55.

[66] Liverpool Review, 11 March 1899.

[67] W. McNeill, The Noble Women of the Staircase, Liverpool 1915, p.11.

Norwich, Catherine Gladstone and Queen Victoria. William McNeill delivered a series of occasional sermons in which he elaborated on the virtues of each of the women.

The moral of Kitty Wilkinson's story was that

> *opportunities of service are to be fond of those who seek them, that the humblest and most insignificant person may accomplish much, trusting in God and self...it shows to us how much can be accomplished in practical Christian service by those who, having only one talent, consecrate it wholly to the Master. You cannot say now that you can do little, that you have no talent for Christian service, no field of Christian labour; for if you do, this life of the poor woman in Denison Street will put you to shame.*[68]

Kitty Wilkinson's particular value as a civic and religious exemplar was her poor background. Her 'picture hung in every school', not least because she was a model citizen with whom the masses could identify.

Biographies and monuments elevated particular individuals as worthy models of civic patriotism. The directories of civic worthies which proliferated during the period were a more comprehensive attempt to chronicle citizenship. The most extensive of these was Liverpool's Legion of Honour. The author, B. Guinness Orchard, noting that the city's glory had been enhanced by the promotion of its mayor to a Lord Mayor, explained his intention to collate 'a reliable account of those families, firms and individuals whose intelligence, activity and wealth have had a chief share in winning for the city a right to this distinction.'[69]

The work opened with a quotation from Disraeli's Coningsby.

> *'Where will you find your natural aristocracy?' asked Coningsby*

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[68] ibid., pp. 19, 24 and 25.

[69] Orchard, Liverpool's Legion of Honour, p.vii.

'Among those men' replied Mr. Millbank, 'whom a nation recognises as the most eminent for virtues, talents and property, and, if you please, birth and standing in the land. They guide opinions and, therefore, they govern.'

Orchard's book was to be a celebration of the 'natural aristocrats' of Liverpool, but he set out additional qualifications for inclusion, preferring those 'whose connection with the locality is intimate and likely to be permanent.'[70] Liverpool's Legion of Honour was a catalogue of good citizenship which presented an extensive series of images of civic patriotism. Orchard confessed that he had aspired to write a panegyric to commercial virtues.

Liverpool...is one of the most interesting places in the world to a thoughtful observer, especially if, as in my case, he honours and loves commerce, regards a merchant as a benefactor to humanity, and believes that, on the whole, no occupation is more beneficial than trade in stimulating the mental powers, bracing conscience and producing content. Commercial biographies charmed my boyhood. When later on, I strove to produce poetry, my ambition was to write an epic in which the progress of commerce would be commemorated.[71]

Once more, civic hagiography asserted the moral value of commerce in emotive language.

On the banks of the Mersey he who really has wide acquaintance with the various classes engaged in trade must admit that sound principles and noble aspirations are as much the rule as the exception...I will go further and say that there are some among these money seeking bargain makers who, if the need arose, would become zealous missionaries or cheerful martyrs.[72]

Furthermore, Orchard's work was aggressively local in ethos. As a general rule, he limited his survey to those who lived 'within a circle of ten miles around the Liverpool Exchange.'[73] Moreover, he reflected on the comparative merits of Manchester, London and Liverpool society, much in Liverpool's favour.

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[70] ibid., p. viii.

[71] ibid., pp. ix and x.

[72] ibid., p. x.

[73] His choice of the Exchange and not the Town Hall as the centre of his circle is significant. ibid., p. xvii.

Liverpool people have no need to come to London in the search for that social distinction which opens the way to county life...In Manchester there may be as much wealth, and certainly there is not less capacity to understand great intellectual questions and to acquire varied accomplishments, yet the old contrast of Manchester Men with Liverpool Gentlemen is no shallow envious sneer...Society is more prepared to accept the new comer from the Mersey than from the Irwell...
London has much more than any one person can partake of; Liverpool has enough to satisfy any reasonable appetite- at any rate that of any reasonable Liverpool man or woman- and that is the real point for me.[74]

The main body of Orchard's book comprised the biographies of Liverpool's 'notable individuals.' There were 1400 references to people's professions which are summarised in *Table 2*. Some individuals occur under more than one heading, but the table contributes to the construction of an occupational pattern of Orchard's 'notable citizens'.

Orchard's own definition of '"notable" has only local application, indicating a person, who, by whatever means, exercises a perceptible influence on an unusually large number of fellow citizens; or whose name is often mentioned by those who do not know him personally.'[75] Under this broad definition, Orchard found room to list 223 women. Although some of the women merited inclusion as the widows of prominent men or as the surviving representatives of celebrated Liverpool families, Orchard's selection was guided by a desire to recognise civic service. Of the women recorded, 137 were involved in charity work of various descriptions; forty more were members of the Needlework Guild (which helped to provide clothes for poor children) and a further fourteen patronised the Liverpool School of Cookery (which sought to instruct working-class women in domestic science).

Orchard made scant concession to gallantry when he believed women were neglecting the duties which civic patriotism demanded. He rounded on a Mrs. Duranty, for instance, who lived on the Wirral, observing 'West Kirby is somewhat distant from Liverpool and West Kirby affords but little occupation for a sensible lady desirous to effect much good in a short

[74] ibid., pp. 31 and 33.

[75] ibid., p. xvi.

Table 2- Occupational Pattern of *Liverpool's Legion of Honour*

This table sets out the fifteen largest occupational categories in Liverpool's Legion of Honour in rank order.

Occupation or reason for inclusion	No. of entries	% of entries
Women	223	15.9
Merchants and shipping	141	10.1
Clergy and religious institutions	113	8.1
Finance	86	6.1
Law	80	5.7
Cotton merchants	58	4.1
Local govt. and politics (excl. M.P.s)	50	3.6
Medicine and dentistry	46	3.3
Freemasons and secret orders	39	2.8
Education and academics	35	2.5
Famous families or landowners	34	2.4
Insurance	28	2.0
Armed forces	27	1.9
General brokers	24	1.7
Oil, chemicals, soap and paint	22	1.6

time. Gentlefolk live there for their own convenience, not that of others.'[76] In contrast, Lady Gertrude Molyneux was praised for her involvement in the Needlework Guild which proved 'that she really feels some warm neighbouring interest in the charitable work of the great community whose labour furnishes most of his income to Lord Sefton. O si sic omnia.'[77] The Legion of Honour did not just acclaim Liverpool's elite; it was underpinned by a wish to stimulate citizenship.

An ethos of service coloured the biographies. Allan Bright, 'a younger member of the commercial family of that name' was cited as an example of

> *one to whom thoughtful persons look as fitted, on behalf of his family, to come forward in public affairs, and take the part in local government which is too often abandoned to inferior men by those who, having wealth, culture, and social prestige, ignore their moral responsibility to society and stand apart from where they might be and should be, public spirited useful citizens.*[78]

Colonel Gamble was depicted as

> *a perfect specimen of the 'City Father' or ideal citizen, continuing to reside where his business lies, although he could if he preferred live in London or Italy; spending a considerable percentage of his large income for the welfare and happiness of those around him, without parsimonious measurement of the legal or even moral claims on his bounty.*[79]

Orchard did not shrink from questioning the civic patriotism of Liverpool men of the front rank, as his account of the life of Sir William Brown attests. Brown's philanthropy had founded the Central Library which bore his name, but Orchard was adamant that financial liberality did not entirely encompass civic duty. Orchard used Brown's career to vaunt the

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[76] ibid., p.287.

[77] ibid., p.506.

[78] ibid., p.201.

[79] ibid., p.314.

moral advantages which a self-made fortune and a commercial background usually conferred, but also to indicate that philanthropy was worthless without altruistic intentions.

> *He was...undeniably one of those who have made their own fortunes. No rich ancestor left him a princely patrimony to develop. No patron gave him a commencing impetus. No accident, as with the first Rothschild, furnished a huge capital for the preliminary operation...*
> *I cannot say that, apart from the acquisitive faculties, he had much intellect; though in a great merchant there is no small element of imagination, fancy, humour and sympathy- far more than is supposed by those literary men who have concentrated theirs on other objects...*
> *When a potential baronetcy loomed before him he gave a valuable building to the town where he had grown rich; but he gave it under pressure, after much judicious handling, grudgingly- somewhat like the famous cow which first yielded milk, but afterwards kicked over the pail. Dozens of local merchants with not a tenth of his means contributed more to charities.*[80]

From Bede's time, hagiography had not merely recorded 'good things of good men' but had recorded 'evil of wicked men'[81], and an added touch painted Brown's failings more darkly. Orchard wrote that Brown's will 'though doubtless just and justifiable was universally considered worthy of him who was rumoured to have discharged a footman for giving a plate of broken victuals to a beggar.'[82] Civic hagiography's villains, as well as its heroes, were writ large.

Gladstone received unflattering treatment, too. Orchard's barely disguised contempt for the Irish councillors and his approval of Liberals who 'cling rather to principles than to leaders'[83], suggest that he was a Liberal Unionist. Orchard claimed that Gladstone 'cares next to nothing about his native place...[he] is so rarely in Liverpool that he can scarcely be called a Liverpool citizen...He is nevertheless, if only pro forma, our most notable citizen.'[84]

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[80] ibid., pp.211-214.

[81] Bede, History of the English Church, p.33.

[82] Orchard, Liverpool's Legion of Honour, p.214.

[83] ibid., p.159.

[84] ibid., pp. 327 and 330.

Liverpool's Legion of Honour constructed a similar image of civic patriotism to those enshrined in the biographies which have already been examined. However, the impact of an image depends on its communication, as well as its construction. Within six years of Balfour's death, Lundie's biography had run to six editions. Eleanor Rathbone had been moved to write her father's biography when it became clear after his death that 'among his fellow citizens in Liverpool, his former constituents in Wales, and his fellow-workers and friends everywhere, there were many who would value a record of his life.'[85] Eleanor Rathbone's statement hints at one of the shortcomings of civic hagiography in reaching a mass audience. Sermons and biographies would tend to preach to the converted and even men of letters might remain unaware of civic hagiography or find it faintly ridiculous.

Walter Raleigh, the Professor of Literature at the University, took a letter from Orchard which requested his details for publication in Liverpool's Legion of Honour as a practical joke by a friend. He informed his wife 'It is all too ravishingly like Jim Pinkerton'[86]. When Orchard continued to press for a reply, Raleigh was delighted and enthused 'the correspondence promises too well to let drop.'[87] Raleigh replied,

> *I am not rich, I never dabbled in philanthropy...I live in the cheapest kind of jerry built house...I have taken out no patents, gained no medals and saved no lives. From the depths of this obscurity you propose to raise me by conferring on me the Order of the Legion of Honour. I assure you sir, I am unworthy. I have no claim to be named in any list of the citizens of Liverpool more exclusive than the Census.*[88]

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[85] Rathbone, William Rathbone, preface.

[86] Walter Raleigh to Lucy Raleigh, 20 July 1892 in The Letters of Sir Walter Raleigh (ed. Lady Raleigh), London, 1926, p. 168.

[87] ibid., Walter Raleigh to Lucy Raleigh, 23 July 1892, p.168.

[88] ibid., p.168.

It is a testament to the seriousness of purpose with which Orchard set about his work that the sarcastic note of self-deprecation was missed and the reply was included in Orchard's opus verbatim.

The appeal of Liverpool's Legion of Honour may have bypassed Raleigh, but there was a growing market for such directories of worthies. Liverpool was provided for by Lancashire Leaders: Social and Political (1895), Men of the Period- Lancashire (1897), Liverpool's Men of Mark (1907) and Liverpool and Birkenhead in the Twentieth Century (1911). Nor was Liverpool especially favoured in this regard for there were similar works for other cities[89]. Men of the Period- Lancashire was published in London by a company called The Biographical Publishing Company which produced volumes covering other areas.

These directories were of varying quality. Lancashire Leaders: Social and Political borrowed heavily from Liverpool's Legion of Honour for its character sketches of such figures as Sir Arthur Forwood, Sir David Radcliffe and Robert Holt, although the debt was acknowledged.[90] The selection criteria for Men of the Period- Lancashire were more doubtful. The preface boldly proclaimed 'men make history; and a full knowledge of these men is indispensable to him who would understand it. The ancients realised this, and neglected nothing which might throw light on the personality of their heroes.' Echoing Orchard, it continued by arguing that civic recognition should be bestowed on a wide range of people and decried

> *the weakness of honouring none but warriors, statesmen and philosophers and leaving in the shade citizens who took no part in the stirring events which they delight to chronicle, but nevertheless contributed their share to the advancement of humanity...the peaceful and honourable men who have, by their marked industry,*

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[89] J. Maclehouse, Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men, Glasgow, 1886; W. Tracy and W. Pike, Manchester and Salford at the close of the Nineteenth Century, Brighton, 1901; J. Potter Briscoe, Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire at the opening of the Twentieth Century, Nottingham, 1901 and J. Tweed, Who's Who in Glasgow 1909, Glasgow, 1909 are amongst other examples.

[90] Lancashire Leaders: Social and Political, Exeter, 1895, p.2.

their skill and perseverance, laid the indisputable basis of a great nation in wealth and commercial prosperity.[91]

However, the volume was filled with sketches of figures and companies which had not been covered by Orchard. Short entries on civic leaders such as Sir Arthur Forwood and Robert Holt gave the book a veneer of exclusivity, but it was little more than a commercial directory. Where Forwood had merited half a page, Professor J.W. Ralf (whose qualifications were left unexplained) was worthy of a full page which noted the wonderful secret method which he brought to conversational language teaching. Threadbare biographical information was provided about Richard Ansdell, save that he was an insurer 'in a position to effect insurances of every example' and had a 'well merited reputation for courtesy and straightforwardness.'[92] Telegraphic addresses concluded many of the entries.

That this was considered a viable commercial format and a valuable advertising medium suggests there was a market for civic hagiography amongst the middle classes which remained unsated. For some, pride in being bracketed with Liverpool's civic leaders would have sharpened the appeal of such works.

Civic pride and personal vanity were interconnected. The image of the commercial grandeur of Liverpool not only celebrated the city's merchants, it added to the lustre of all who could be associated with the city. As the occupational background to Orchard's entries illustrates (*Table 2*), by no means all of the putative elite were merchants, so the hegemony of civic images of commercial power and commercial virtue might seem perplexing. Such imagery could earn broader commitment amongst the elite because it advanced Liverpool's claims to distinction; in turn greater glory for the city could be shared by its foremost citizens. Civic pride could tie individual and municipal ambitions and aspirations together.

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[91] Men of the Period- Lancashire, London, 1897, preface.

[92] ibid., p.129.

Liverpool and Birkenhead in the Twentieth Century extolled the name of Liverpool and insisted on 'the difficulty of conveying in words any adequate idea of its boundless resources and amenities.'

> *From time to time writers have essayed to meet this difficulty by comparing this great maritime gateway of international commerce with ancient cities of renown, like Tyre, Carthage, Imperial Rome, Venice and Athens: but all such comparisons are utterly futile. Liverpool in fact stands in a position so unique that all such comparisons are meaningless to the general reader. Indisputably the premier ocean port in the British Empire, it is the most famous and the most frequented emporium for cosmopolitan traffic the world has known in ancient or modern times.*[93]

Trade and commerce were portrayed as a source of pride for all Liverpudlians, not least since they entrusted the city with an Imperial mission. An excerpt from a speech made by Sir Wilfred Laurier, the Canadian Prime Minister, at the close of the Imperial Conference of Prime Ministers of the British Dominions in 1911, was included which stated: 'trade is, after all, the great bond between nations and the highest expression of the world's civilisation. In this matter, Liverpool can justly claim a leading position in the very front rank.'[94]

Trade and commerce also accounted for many of the photographs which enlivened the book. Subjects included Atlantic liners, the Landing Stage, the Customs House, the Liver Buildings, Princes Dock and the Exchange Flags. The inclusion of a picture of Roscoe's birthplace is noteworthy. Indeed, Liverpool's fame was attributed to its citizens because

> *the destiny of a city, like that of an empire, depends mainly on the genius and character of the men and women who direct its government...the fortunes of nations and communities are shaped by human agency...*
> *the average standard of education and intelligence among the toilers of Liverpool is probably higher today than in any other town in England.*[95]

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[93] W.T. Pike (ed.), Liverpool and Birkenhead in the Twentieth Century, Brighton, 1911, pp.11 and 12.

[94] ibid., p.35.

[95] ibid., pp.13, 14 and 36.

Civic hagiography was a powerful form of image which expressed the values which founded civic patriotism. Civic patriotism was not a monolithic concept, particularly since there were implied moral judgements behind the recognition of civic virtue. There were, notwithstanding, common themes such as the cult of the merchant, the greatness of mediocrity wedded to application and the duty and love which should be owed to Liverpool as the source of individual wealth.

Nonconformity encouraged images of civic patriotism which combined religion and public service, yet religion was not the sole formative influence on civic hagiography. The Victorian and Edwardian propensity to construe historical events in terms of individual agency encouraged a similar approach to civic image. Whether animated by a vision of civic patriotism as a form of Christian service or by the commercial Imperial mission of Liverpool, civic hagiography was intentionally didactic and teleological. A glorious civic image and a panoply of civic patriots offer insights into the ideologies of civic pride.

Chapter Five- Civic Blame

> *Just behind the Walker Art Gallery, lies that acme of all British slums, the internationally famous Scotland Road. Midway in this thoroughfare stands Paddy's Market, also internationally known, where the refuse of the Empire is bought and sold...*
> *Just across from Paddy's Market stands Richmond Row, where, in its squalid shacks- sleeping sometimes ten in a single room for threepence a night- live most of these transient women hawkers. The majority of these young women, after peddling their wares in or outside the Market, sally forth at night toward Lime Street, there to barter anew- this time with their bodies...After such nocturnal forays they meander homeward, get drunk on methylated spirits, engage in internecine warfare, and usually end the night in that stumpy little structure up the road, the Rose Hill lock up.*[1]

Thus did Pat O'Mara describe the Liverpool of 1910 where he spent his boyhood. The city was wracked by severe social problems, not least in health and housing, which constituted the most serious threat to Liverpool's image of commercial grandeur and progressive municipal administration. The death rate had fallen from an annual toll of 27 per 1,000 inhabitants to 20.2 between 1882 and 1906, yet the figure for the latter date was exceeded amongst British towns only by Middlesbrough and Dublin. As late as 1913, there were 2,771 houses which the Corporation classed as insanitary, although this was a marked improvement from 22,000 in 1864.[2]

In order to evaluate Liverpool's record in health and housing, commentators were drawn into the reconstruction of the city's past. This involved apportioning blame and responsibility for the city's current problems. Hence, there was competition between different readings of the past. As W. Hamish Fraser has suggested of Glasgow,

> *the view that the size and the condition of the city would reflect its inhabitants and that it mattered to be 'the second city of the empire' was an immensely powerful driving force for urban change...much of what was done was overtly concerned with 'image' rather than reality...partly this was driven by fear, partly by shame that the*

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[1] P. O'Mara, The Autobiography of a Liverpool Irish Slummy, (London, 1934) pp.4 and 5.

[2] B.D. White, The Corporation of Liverpool, Liverpool, 1951, p.137.

image of the city was being tarnished by regular revelations that its slums were the worst in Europe.[3]

The construction and communication of images of Liverpool was a matter of considerable political significance. Civic blame was the counterpoint to civic virtue; and if one group could be labelled as having compromised the city's reputation, other rival groups would be empowered. Issues of health, housing and social purity presented many such opportunities for public accusations and denial.

The image of the Corporation's achievements in health and housing was endowed with greater strategic significance because of Arthur Forwood's espousal of Tory Democracy after 1882. For Conservatives, suggests Philip Waller, there was 'no possibility other than to define democracy passively-that popular involvement in government should occur only at elections...because an active democracy threatened Conservatism.'[4] As the leader of the Conservatives on the City Council and chairman of the Insanitary Property Committee, Forwood was in a position to apply the Disraelian maxim: 'sanitas, sanitatum, omnia sanitas'. If progress in public health were attributed to Conservative rule, electoral advantages might follow for the party.

Forwood harnessed Christian social duty and civic patriotism to his vision of Tory Democracy and seized upon the housing question as a suitable arena for it to be displayed. In November 1883 he read his paper The Dwellings of the Industrial Classes at the Liverpool Diocesan Conference. He reasoned that

If the well-to-do minority of the community will devote some of their time and some of their energy to thoughts of others and not be content to live in the quiet leisurely enjoyment of their own lives...they will not only perform one of the highest services

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[3] W.H. Fraser, 'Let Glasgow Flourish' in Glasgow Vol.II 1830 to 1912, W.H. Fraser and I. Maver (eds.), Manchester, 1996, pp.2, 4 and 6.

[4] P.J. Waller, Democracy and Sectarianism: A Social and Political History of Liverpool, Liverpool, 1981, p.45.

they can render to the Christianity they profess, but they will be doing an act of great patriotism.[5]

Forwood was advancing an image of civic virtue in which citizenship concerned itself with social problems. The ideological roots of this citizenship were embedded in the Tory tenets of loyalty and duty to Church and State. Forwood's thesis was that if this spirit could be instilled in the wealthy minority, then enlightened municipal leadership would be rewarded by responsible civic behaviour from the majority. Class divisions would disappear and the status quo would be upheld. Forwood offered a cogent definition of the passive democracy which informed the logic of Tory Democracy.

If the majority see that the minority of their fellow countrymen thus use their riches and their position, they will lose that bitterness which neglect and callousness engender, class distinctions will be forgotten, and the great democracy will acquiesce in that healthful influence which those with education, leisure and means now happily exercise on the legislation of the country.[6]

The authors of Seems So! identified the 'irony of Anatole France...good citizens carry within them a proper respect for the law...the duty of the poor is to defend the good things belonging to the rich and this is how the union betwixt citizens is maintained.'[7]The social contract advocated by Forwood had its essence in such an ideal of duty, yet Tory Democracy recognised the need to encourage duty by example. Forwood insisted 'it is our bounden duty to afford to...our fellow creatures...an opportunity of feeling the ennobling and civilising influences of an English Home Life.'[8]To this end he proposed that the Corporation should aim 'to accommodate the industrial classes **at a Rental of One Shilling per Week per Room.**'[9]

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[5] A.B. Forwood, The Dwellings of the Industrial Classes in the Diocese of Liverpool, Liverpool, 1883, p.6.

[6] ibid., p.6.

[7] S. Reynolds and B. and T. Woolley, Seems So!, London, 1911, p.281.

[8] Forwood, The Dwellings of the Industrial Classes, p.3.

[9] ibid., p.28.

Forwood's credentials as a social reformer were not allowed to rest unchallenged. Thomas Stephens, a Liberal councillor who had served on the Health Committee since 1881, took up the attack before the month was out. At a meeting held in the Junior Reform Club he maintained that his Tory opponent was 'attempting to make local political capital by taking credit for himself and his party for a policy of sanitary reform.' In Stephens' view,

> *that credit did not belong to them; it was the outcome of an agitation with which Mr. Forwood had had little sympathy in the past...During the time Mr. Forwood was the chairman of the Health Committee nothing had been done to remedy the defects of the Sanitary Act of 1864*[10]*, to deal with the insanitary condition of the homes of the poor, so as to make them comfortable and healthy without demolition.*[11]

Stephens pressed the case for more sweeping action to replace the gradual strategy of re-housing which the Tories pursued. The Liverpool Courier, the city's most widely read Conservative paper, met calls for more radical municipal intervention with the rejoinder that

> *Humanitarian impulse in the past impelled the Health Committee into sundry enterprises which involved themselves and others in great expense, while the advantages achieved have proved very doubtful...The Health Committee have adopted a systematic plan of attacking in detail the insanitary features of the city. There is nothing sensational about it, but it promises to accomplish very desirable results in an economic way, and with the minimum of inconvenience to tenants and hardship to property owners.*[12]

Municipal housing became a widely discussed topic. As Forwood observed at a People's Concert in the Free Public Library, 'the dwellings of the people were much talked about...in the newspapers and hardly a public man opened his lips but something was said about the homes of Liverpool.'[13]

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[10] The Local Improvement Act of 1864 had pioneered compulsory purchase. However, the system had proved expensive and new powers were not acquired until 1882.

[11] Liverpool Courier, 22 November 1883.

[12] ibid., 28 September 1883.

[13] ibid., 26 November 1883.

When both Stephens and Forwood gave evidence before the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes in summer 1884, the debate about public health in Liverpool was extended to a national forum. Stephens had collaborated with the journalist Hugh Farrie in writing a series of articles entitled Squalid Liverpool which examined the Corporation's record on public health. Farrie had informed the Royal Commission that 'the sanitary movement in Liverpool only dates back as far as the beginning of the year. Mr. Forwood has only taken it up in the last nine months at the outside.' Farrie suggested that the Tories had shown little enthusiasm for tackling insanitary property over the last two decades and had ignored the recommendations of the former medical officer, Dr. Trench, who was 'an ardent sanitary reformer'.[14] Stephens concurred and professed to be 'sorry to say I do not think there has been sufficient zeal shown, having regard to the powers which the Corporation possess.'[15]

Farrie had conceded that a change of policy had taken place and named Forwood as 'the mainspring of all municipal work in Liverpool'[16]. The Conservative leader was swift to point out that the Liverpool Corporation had faced additional challenges precisely because of its progressive ethos.

> *Like all pioneers, we had a great deal to learn and we could only learn by experience what was the best course to take. The Corporation, after 1864, acting under the advice of the then medical officer of health in improving the courts*[17]*, were engaged in a terrible proceeding, and only time would show what was the best line to adopt.*[18]

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[14] Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes P.P., Vol. XXX (1884/5), p.501.

[15] ibid., p.501.

[16] ibid., p.501.

[17] The courts, complexes of tenements typical of Liverpool, were notorious for their insanitary conditions.

[18] Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes, p.508.

A commissioner asked Forwood about the courts

> ***Were not a good many of them built in 1846, at the time of the great influx of Irish labourers?-*** *At that time and also because there was an agitation then on foot for bringing in building regulations, and the builders, in order to anticipate these regulations made a rush to provide houses of the old fashioned and bad type.*[19]

This attempt to divert blame for the city's social problems onto builders, many of whom were Welsh, did not go uncontested. The programme of compulsory purchase and demolition pursued by the Insanitary Property Committee was bitterly opposed by the Liverpool Land and Home Owners Association, a body which B. Guinness Orchard noted 'will not be still or silent'.[20] As speculative builders and landlords found their civic virtue impeached, the Association conducted a campaign of correspondence to advance a more heroic role for them in the great population surge of the 1840s. The secretary, John Murphy, applauded property developers as

> *in some degree, benefactors of the working classes...who anticipated the necessity of housing an increased population, and accordingly provided suitable dwellings...But they could not by anticipation provide against the serious dilapidation and consequent depreciation of their properties [by] the dirty, drunken, pugnacious and debased habits of consequently degraded and wretched tenants.*[21]

As well as attacks on tenants, the housing question sparked criticism of the predominance of the mercantile interest on the Council; Forwood himself was a shipowner and a director of an insurance company. The treasurer of the Association, Owen Williams, complained in the Liverpool press: 'I cannot find that our merchant princes- those who make the most noise

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[19] ibid., p.494.

[20] B. Guinness Orchard, Liverpool's Legion of Honour, Birkenhead, 1893, p.712.

[21] Liverpool Land and Home Owners Association- Letters on Insanitary Dwellings and the Housing of the Poor, Liverpool, 1884, p.41.

about insanitary property- uplift so much as a little finger to provide better houses for the working classes than those in existence.'[22]

He advised that

> *merchants and shipowners should stick to matters they understand better than housebuilding...if they feel more for the condition of the working man than present builders do, why do they not turn to and build better houses out of their own means and not out of the corporate funds which means increased local taxation and which again is contributed for the most part by owners of property and not by the merchant class?*[23]

Furthermore, he accused Forwood of charging

> *the present owners of property with the condition of our narrow roads and courts, which for the most part...were brought into existence about a century ago by the 'greed' as he calls it of our merchant princes; certainly before a 'Welsh jerrybuilder' was ever known...*
> *From the treatment builders often meet with from the authorities it might be a crime to build new houses; as if they should give up their prosperity for the benefit of the public without payment. Do the commercial classes give up their ships and other property without payment?*[24]

The housing question thus occasioned suggestions that Liverpool's municipal government placed commerce above other interests. Forwood had explained to the Royal Commission that the Council's building programmes were guided by the need to house the labouring population as close to the docks as possible. Lord Salisbury noted that the dock employers would 'get their labour easier, cheaper and more conveniently by reason of the expenditure on the improvement' and suggested that 'a portion of the expense might be borne by those, whether they are dock trustees or merchants, who employ dock labour.'[25]

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[22] ibid., p.16.

[23] ibid., p.21.

[24] ibid., p.21.

[25] Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes, p.510.

An evasive reply was given by Forwood,

> *if a street is made for the benefit of the community, and that street also improves the adjoining property, the adjoining property would only be called upon to pay so much of the betterment as was proved the property was benefited by, and the balance would fall upon the community at large, and therefore would become a charge upon the mercantile community who enjoyed the benefit of the labour being nearer their work.*[26]

The distinction between the 'community at large' and the 'mercantile community' was apparently unimportant. Campaigners such as Owen Williams doubted the confluence of these interests and consequently challenged the right of commercial magnates to direct municipal affairs. Williams assessed the financial contribution of the merchants to municipal government. The burden of local taxation was borne by property, rather than by personalty; consequently some merchants paid lower rates than landlords who could not match their income. William Rathbone, although a merchant, had indicated the inequity of the system in an article in The Nineteenth Century. He recognised that 'personal property which does not pay rates has enormously increased, and its wealthiest possessors...do not pay their fair share of local taxation.'[27] He estimated the contribution in local rates and taxes by merchants and shipowners to stand at 1.5- 2%, in contrast to a figure in the 5- 12% range for retail tradesmen. These vagaries of taxation were exploited by Williams to emphasise that merchants were failing in their civic duty. To score his point more tellingly, he outlined an image of a new Liverpool which could not be achieved under the current system.

> *In my opinion, every court house, all narrow streets- indeed, nearly all old Liverpool- should pass into history, which might easily be done if personalty were brought into contribution for that purpose...[Liverpool could be] laid out again according to modern sanitary notions, very much in the same way that Paris was dealt with by the late Emperor.*[28]

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[26] ibid., p.510.

[27] E. Rathbone, William Rathbone- A Memoir, London, 1905, p.237.

[28] Liverpool Land and Home Owners Association- Letters, pp.27 and 30.

The ability to don the mantle of good citizenship was essential for those hoping to acquire, exercise and preserve influence in the city. Many landlords perceived the Corporation encroaching on their rights to profit from speculative property development and understood the danger of their being portrayed as civic villains. Their opposition was articulated by challenging the supposed civic virtue of commerce and by promoting builders and landlords as moral guardians who should be entrusted with greater powers.

Williams recommended the serving of

> *all sanitary notices on tenants in the first instance, so as to give owners and agents more power to deal with the sanitary notices when presented to them by tenants. If not the tenants should be punished and ejected from the houses. The lower class of tenants are much worse and dirtier than 40 years ago, when owners had more control...*
> *Landlords would thus obtain a much needed control over their property for its more efficient management, not only for their own interest, but for the advantage of the tenants and an improvement in the sanitary condition of their dwellings.*[29]

Others had recourse to the strategy of civic blame in attacking the municipal establishment. Civic image, with its connections to civic and personal pride, was an area in which the municipal administration was vulnerable. Attacks couched in terms of the shame brought upon the city were easily grasped and had an emotional intensity which added to their strength. Moreover, the active and demanding citizenship which some proposed as a remedy was a threat to the Tory Democrat model of a passive and grateful democracy.

The Presbyterian minister R.H. Lundie drew attention to the threat which public houses posed to residential areas in his pamphlet The Dark Side of Liverpool in 1880. Lundie appealed 'for a candid investigation...to the compassion of my fellow citizens, on behalf of thousands of brothers and sisters who are too weak and sunken effectively to protect themselves.'[30]

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[29] ibid., pp.19 and 43.

[30] R.H. Lundie, The Dark Side of Liverpool, Liverpool, 1880, p.4.

Richard Acland Armstrong, a Unitarian minister, published his indictment of the Tory administration a decade later under the instructive title The Deadly Shame of Liverpool. Armstrong's approach was to expose the prosperous image of Liverpool as a sham and to identify the drink interest and its allies on the Watch Committee and on the Licensing Bench as responsible for besmirching Liverpool's name.

Armstrong remembered that on his arrival in the city 'it seemed to me that this was a city in which one might be proud to be a citizen.' However, he quickly discovered the underside to Liverpool's grandeur.

> *I had seen wealth. I had seen poverty. But never before had I seen the two so jammed together. Never before had I seen streets, loaded with all that wealth can buy, lined with the haunts of hopeless penury...For a moment I was appalled...But soon the first vivid impressions began to fade...The gay equipages rolling down Bold Street, the brilliant shop fronts ceased to set me thinking of painful contrasts. Custom deadens all emotions. I was getting used to Liverpool. I accepted Liverpool as I found it and went about my business.*[31]

The image of commercial success was alluring, yet Armstrong sought to demonstrate the emptiness of this vision. He argued that Liverpool outstripped all other cities in shame.

> *I can no longer accept Liverpool as I find it...I and every other citizen of Liverpool have business to do that will brook no waiting...an evil as horrible, as subtle, as complex as American slavery itself is at our doors in Liverpool and all round about our homes...*
> *I perceive now...that pitiful poverty...and much of that gorgeous wealth besides- are closely intertwined with a moral and social evil that no city of an Empire...can present a parallel. This evil is* ***the knitting together of the wholesale liquor trade, of drunkenness and of prostitution on an enormous scale, in one vast compact interest, and the power which that interest has obtained within the governing bodies of Liverpool.***[32]

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[31] R.A. Armstrong, The Deadly Shame of Liverpool, pp.3-5.

[32] ibid., p.5.

Damning as Armstrong's condemnation was, it acquired still greater force from his comparisons with Glasgow, Sheffield, Manchester and Birmingham. Civic rivalry provided much of the drive behind civic shame. Armstrong contended that in all these towns prostitution, drunkenness and breaches of licensing regulations were vigorously dealt with by magistrates, police and the councils. In Liverpool, Alderman John Hughes sat on the Licensing Bench and chaired the Watch Committee despite being the legal adviser to the city's two major public house owners, Sir Andrew Walker and Robert Cain.

Neither Hughes nor the City Council was to blame for this dereliction of civic duty according to Armstrong, since

> *their power is but the creation of their fellow citizens; and by their fellow citizens may be taken away even as it has been given. The ultimate responsibility rests with* ***you*** *and* ***me*** *and* ***every man amongst us who has voice or vote****. It is we, the citizens of Liverpool, who have permitted the Deadly Shame of Liverpool to grow up and flourish in our midst. It is we the citizens of Liverpool, who, if we will, can destroy that shame and set our goodly city on the fair path of progress and reform.*[33]

Tories countered Armstrong's accusations by attempting to regain the initiative over civic image. Philip Waller has argued that 'force remained in the ploy of blackening opponents as civic traitors.' A.M. Jackson, Conservative councillor for St. Paul's ward, denounced Radicals who called Liverpool 'an immoral town.'[34] Although Waller argues that temperance was not the decisive issue in the municipal elections of 1890, he demonstrates that Armstrong's campaign was not without impact. The Head Constable was directed against brothels and Hughes was replaced as the chairman of the Watch Committee.[35] When Armstrong looked back on his earlier pamphlet in his work of 1892, Two Years Ago and Now, he admitted 'I cannot complain that it was left unnoticed.'[36]

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[33] ibid., p.19.

[34] Waller, Democracy and Sectarianism, p.106.

[35] ibid., pp.112-115.

[36] R.A. Armstrong, Two Years Ago and Now, London, 1892, p.3.

Nowhere was the emotive force of civic shame more evident than where the welfare of children was concerned. Farrie and Stephens' survey Squalid Liverpool contained a chapter on 'Squalid Children', for 'heartrending in the extreme were the evidences of misery and neglect in the cases of hundreds of helpless little children whom we saw.'[37] Images of suffering children were intended as a spur to action, as in the instance of a girl found looking after a baby:

> *the little nurse with sisterly tenderness gave the baby all she had- the old crust, besmeared with filthy grease...Alas for these young lives when winter comes! Squalid Liverpool then yields its crop of squalid victims and the little ones before us may well be among the first in the sacrifice.*[38]

The Liverpool Land and Home Owners Association was aware that such imagery could be employed to attack builders and landlords, and it questioned the veracity some of the episodes recounted in Squalid Liverpool. The Association compared the survey's findings with the annual reports of the medical officer of health for 1881 and 1882.

> *The death-bed scene in North-street, so graphically described, must really be read by the reader- the description is really very sad. This street seems to have been the point of the whole pamphlet...still no death in it is recorded for the 2 years above named of fever, scarlatina or diarrhoea.*[39]

The medical officer only enumerated deaths in a street once they exceeded a given number, so the Association could not disprove the incident conclusively.

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[37] Squalid Liverpool, Liverpool, 1883, p.16.

[38] ibid., p.12.

[39] Liverpool Land and Home Owners Association- Letters, p.53.

The Corporation shared the Association's concern to combat the emotional force of children in distress, and parades of happy, healthy children became a feature at royal visits from the 1880s onwards. Liverpool's commercial magnates indulged in grand, ritual philanthropic gestures, too. The summer camps for the city's children were 'largely supported and managed by gentlemen in the Cotton Market.'[40] Every year

> *when the first bale of cotton for the season arrives in Liverpool it is put up by auction for the benefit of a philanthropic society connected with the trade. It sells for far more than its actual value and is usually purchased by Messrs. Zeneca and Co., who again offer it by auction and give one half of the proceeds to the Boys Camp at Meols and the other to the Girls Camp at Wallasey.*[41]

Children had always been linked to civic image. As James Samuelson commented in The Children of Our Slums, 'from time immemorial a conspicuous form of charity has been the provision of food for our indigent children.'[42] The municipality began to assume more duties in child welfare, not least in an effort to define certain modes of behaviour as appropriate for its citizens. After 1895, the Corporation acted with the police to clothe destitute children. A series of three inspections were to check the homes and family circumstances of the children before such aid was given. The summer camps aimed to improve the habits of poor children, with the added objective of using the children as channels to effect sanitary improvement in their families. Samuelson expressed his pride that many children 'not only acquired a liking for order and decency but have compared their life at the camp to their poor homes when they have returned to them, and so have inculcated better habits in their parents and other relatives.'

In Images of Youth, Hendrick has discerned the importance of the period of adolescence in the social thought of the time; education with a skilled hand at this stage could shape children

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[40] J. Samuelson, The Children of Our Slums, Liverpool, 1911, p.101.

[41] ibid., p.101.

[42] ibid., p.40.

into citizens and ennoble the race.[43] Urwick's Studies of Boy Life, published in 1904, concerned itself with the working-class youth in the belief that 'it is in this class that the comfort, the security, the possible efficiency of all others lie.'[44] There was a growing number of means for the Corporation to propagate a vision of the domestic lives which good citizens ought to lead. National legislation, such as the Children's Act of 1908, extended the realm of municipal government to include domestic matters which previously had been a private preserve. As the Corporation took up powers of supervision and inspection, it became more apparent that the behaviour of the individual citizen was subject to municipal scrutiny. The concept of civic blame had encroached into the home.

Hygiene became an important facet of citizenship and ill health was attributed to slovenly and immoral behaviour. The 'separate spheres' ideology which characterised Victorian gender relations had identified the home as the female preserve, and the increasing significance of the domestic sphere in upholding the image of a healthy city brought a corresponding degree of empowerment for women. Health was a field in which women could express themselves as citizens and as domestic affairs began to appear on the agenda of municipal politics, the separation of the public and private spheres became ever more indistinct. Patricia Hollis has commented,

> *ethics and economics, instinctive compassion and social audit, all pointed to an expanded role for local government: and to an emphasis on issues, such as infant mortality and housing, where women believed they had a particularly womanly contribution to make.*[45]

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[43] H. Hendrick, Images of Youth, Oxford, 1990, p.250.

[44] E.J. Urwick (ed.), Studies of Boy Life, London, 1904, p.viii.

[45] P. Hollis, Ladies Elect, Oxford, 1987, p.396.

Municipal health policy came to be informed by a belief that citizenship could be taught: and women's domestic expertise clearly identified them as the most suitable teachers. House-to-house visitation by the Corporation's female sanitary staff was intended to inculcate 'the poorest and the lowest classes in the city' with a better understanding of 'the requirements of the Health Committee as to cleanliness.'[46] As health visitors, women provided immediate contact between the civic authorities and Liverpudlians; as wives and mothers they were responsible for the reform of home life which would nurture a physically and morally improved citizenry. A good housewife would bring up healthy and orderly children as the citizens of tomorrow, and would create an attractive domestic environment to counter the allure of the alehouse.

In the 1860s, Hugh Shimmin, the renowned Liverpool journalist, had suggested women could either be the pillars of respectable working-class families or could push their husbands to the public house and their children onto the streets by slatternly and disorganised conduct.[47] In the best-seller Her Benny, written by Silas Hocking[48], a minister of the United Methodist Free Church, a similarly dualistic image of women was presented. Benny, the hero of the novel, suffers at the hands of a brutal, drunken father, yet Hocking identified Benny's step-mother as the real villain of the piece.

> *He [Benny's father] loved his first wife dearly...while she lived he was tolerably steady, and was never unkind to her. He even went with her to the house of prayer and listened to her while she read the Bible aloud during the winter evenings. Those were happy days, but when she died this all changed; he tried to forget his trouble in drink, and in the companionship of the most degraded men and women.*
> *Then he married again, a coarse drunken woman who had ever since led him a wretched life, and every year he had become more drunken and vicious.*[49]

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[46] Liverpool City Council Proceedings 1898/99, p.1157.

[47] J.K. Walton and A. Wilcox (eds.), Low Life and Moral Improvement in Victorian England, Leicester, 1991, p.7.

[48] Hocking's writings are examined in I. Sellers, Nineteenth Century Liverpool and the Novelists, Padgate, 1979.

[49] S. Hocking, Her Benny, Liverpool, (first edition 1879) reprinted 1968, p.21.

It was to assist women in meeting their domestic and civic duties that the Liverpool School of Cookery was founded in 1875. The National School of Cookery had been founded in London the year before. The fifty-eight general committee members of the Liverpool body were 'women drawn from well known Liverpool families'[50] and the Countesses of Derby and Sefton were enlisted as patronesses.

In its annual report for 1876/77, the School estimated

> *the good that may be done is incalculable if the wives and daughters of working men can but be taught that good and nourishing food may be made out of much that is now wasted and that a well cooked dinner is the best antidote to intemperance.*[51]

The technical classes offered by the School multiplied to include cookery, first aid and home nursing, starching, home dressmaking and home millinery. By 1896, 1852 girls in Liverpool were attending practical lessons in cookery.

Domestic education was elevated to the status of an academic discipline. In 1889, the moving spirit of the School, Fanny Calder, read a paper on Domestic Education in Elementary Schools to the Liverpool Literary and Philosophical Society. She set domestic education against the backdrop of the challenges to British Imperial supremacy. In view of 'the rapid increase of population and the prophesied decline of wages', Calder suggested that 'the more thrifty use in England generally of foods which in other countries are made the most of' would add to 'the wealth of the nation.'[52] She cited Lord Meath's article in the January 1889 issue of The Nineteenth Century in which he had deplored the 'tendency of the present line of

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[50] M. Scott, History of F.L. Calder College of Domestic Science 1875-1965, Liverpool, 1967, p.16.

[51] ibid., p.18.

[52] F.L. Calder, 'Domestic Education in Elementary Schools' in Liverpool Literary and Philosophical Society Proceedings, Vol. 43, (1888/89), p.109.

education...to give the idea that domestic work has no connection with intellectual acquirements.'[53] In Calder's vision, homemaking was the foundation of artistic and cultural achievement.

> *It is objected that education is meant to give high and noble ideas and raise the tastes of the people. True, but to make home the most comfortable and attractive of all spots is one of the noblest ideas a housewife can conceive. And as to the tastes of the people, nothing hinders intellectual culture more than the drunkenness which there is every reason to hope this superior domestic management will largely tend to cure.*[54]

The School earned civic recognition. The Princess of Wales visited it in 1906, and in 1913 Calder was awarded an honorary M.A. by Liverpool University.

Such institutions accepted domestic management as a female responsibility and simultaneously furthered women's involvement in municipal affairs. As Margaret Simey discerned, female contributions to social work 'stood for a refusal to accept their exclusion from the responsibilities of full citizenship.'[55] Margaret Beavan, for instance, won widespread popularity for her work with sick children after she helped to found the Invalid Children's Association in Liverpool in 1907. The work afforded her an entry to civic life in a career which saw her become a councillor in 1920 and the first female Lord Mayor of Liverpool in 1927.[56]

In 1909, Eleanor Rathbone was elected as the first woman City Councillor in Liverpool. Her biographer, Mary Stocks, noted that 'from the first, her main interest in local government

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[53] ibid., p.111.

[54] ibid., p.118.

[55] M. Simey, Charity Rediscovered, Liverpool, 1992, p.viii.

[56] A Golden Treasury of Fifty Years Service, Liverpool, 1957, pp.2 and 5. The fullest account of Margaret Beavan's life is I.A. Ireland, Margaret Beavan of Liverpool, Liverpool, 1938.

centred on housing.'[57] Rathbone's election campaign had insisted on the feminine qualities which were becoming increasingly valuable in municipal administration. In a letter to the Liverpool Courier one of the campaign workers, Evelyn Deakin, argued 'there are many departments of municipal ability in which a woman of such ability can be of greater service than a man.' She suggested that education, public health, the inspection of lodging houses, school meals and the administration of the Unemployed Workmen's Act were amongst such areas.[58] At a rally the following day Rathbone stated 'when they came to think of it, the work of a City Councillor was very much like that of a housewife on a gigantic scale (hear, hear).'[59] The Courier was convinced and a leader column ruminated that

> *It is in this sphere, perhaps, rather than in the larger one of national politics, that woman may find the arena in which she can serve most directly the interests that affect her sex. At all events, work on a municipal council touches the home in a very intimate sense and the presence of women on these bodies will introduce a new element of understanding and sympathy.*[60]

The candidate herself had asked 'what greater sphere for women's work could there be than in the direction of helping the work of the female sanitary inspectors and those who looked after the sterilised milk department of infants (hear, hear).'[61]

The continued employment of the language of separate spheres is noteworthy, yet it is equally remarkable that women's undisputed talent for of domestic management and reserves of humanity and sensitivity could effectively open avenues to power in the public sphere. Working with the Liverpool Women's Industrial Council, Eleanor Rathbone was able to progress to tackling wider issues of political economy.

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[57] M.D. Stocks, Eleanor Rathbone, London, 1949, p.68.

[58] Liverpool Courier, 4 October 1909.

[59] Liverpool Daily Post, 5 October 1909.

[60] Liverpool Courier, 5 October 1909.

[61] Liverpool Daily Post, 5 October 1909.

In 1910, she co-authored a report which examined the provision of 'instruction intended to promote the industrial efficiency of women workers...[and] to increase the domestic efficiency of women of the poorer sections of the working classes.'[62] The following year, she was the co-author of a report on the payment of seamen. The enquiry had originated when the Liverpool Women's Industrial Council had 'had their attention called to the many cases of hardship incurred by the wives and children of seafaring men during the absence of the husband and father at sea.'[63]

At the same time as civic ideology began to encroach into the home and to break down the public/private distinction, social policy was acquiring an enhanced status in high politics. Jose Harris has traced this transition.

> *Even among politicians whose primary concerns were defence, order and expansion of the empire, social policy came to be seen not as separate from but complementary to those functions. Among those whose main interest was in social questions, social policy was increasingly viewed as central to the effectiveness, the stability and even the legitimacy of the state.*[64]

The greater weight attached to a sober, ordered and cleanly lifestyle as a test of citizenship gave attributions of blame a renewed cutting edge. Working-class men and women, and those of Irish extraction in particular, found their domestic arrangements and personal mores subjected to intense scrutiny. Gareth Stedman Jones has written that the East End of London conjured up 'a nursery of destitute poverty and thriftless demoralised pauperism, in a community cast adrift from the salutary presence and leadership of men of wealth and

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[62] E. Rathbone and E. McCrindell, Report to the Liverpool Women's Industrial Council on the Technical Education of Women and Girls in Liverpool, Liverpool, 1910, p.1.

[63] E. Mahler and E. Rathbone, Payment of Seamen- The Present System, Liverpool, 1911, p.1.

[64] J. Harris, 'The Transition to High Politics in English Social Policy 1880-1914' in M. Bentley and J. Stevenson (eds.), High and Low Politics in Modern Britain, Oxford, 1983, p.59.

culture...a political threat to the riches and civilization of London and the Empire.'[65]The encroachment of citizenship into the home brought a new dimension to civic blame.

Working class shortcomings in morals and hygiene could provide a convenient excuse for public health administrators and landlords who sought to absolve themselves of blame for social problems. In 1887, Dr. Hope, the medical officer of health, conceded that 'it was certainly a most extraordinary thing that they had in Liverpool such an enormous amount of typhus after it had been stamped out in almost every other town,' but pleaded that the city had 'an immense poor labouring population...their mode of life...something beyond description.'[66]

Support for Hope's analysis could be found in the Liverpool press. The Liverpool Courier argued that 'a crusade against bad habits among the people should be conducted along with the projected new attack on unsanitary houses.'[67] An individual's character could be gauged from the state of his home. The Courier alleged

> *it is not always poverty which impels people to dwell amid dirt and squalor in an atmosphere of pollution. As in London, so in Liverpool and other large towns, people earning good wages live from choice in these localities because they have more money to spend in sensual indulgence and there is less restraint in regard to keeping up appearances.*[68]

The belief that there was a symbiotic relationship between depravity and deprivation underpinned the work of doctors such as J. Allden Owles in Liverpool's slums. Owles explained

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[65] Quoted in W.J. Fishman, East End 1888, London, 1988, p.2.

[66] E.H. Hope, 'Localised outbreak of typhus fever and infantile diarrhoea' in Transactions of the Sanitary Institute of Great Britain, Vol. IX, (1887), p.6.

[67] Liverpool Courier, 9 September 1883.

[68] ibid., 29 December 1883.

the healing of the sick accompanied the preaching of the Gospel during our Lord's ministry on earth...it is most easy, after speaking of matters relating to bodily health, to continue the conversation by seeking to ascertain their spiritual state...in our home towns and cities the best medical advice is easily procured by the poorest inhabitants, and the most able evangelists can be heard by any who desire 'the joyful sound', so that it is only the blending of these together that is likely to reach the masses who resist other agencies designed for their welfare...
Consider the class of people thus addressed, both collectively and individually, day by day, comprising very many who at no other time are likely to hear the truth, such as Roman Catholics, infidels, habitual drunkards, criminals etc.[69]

The Liverpool Review held the slum dwellers in similarly low estimation, for 'in tens of instances there is no reason for them to be badly off and to make the neighbourhoods they inhabit nurseries of epidemics...Reforming the people then, must go along with reforming their homes.'[70] The Council Proceedings of 1883/84 had recognised that,

With the sanitary reformer there should be the social reformer...every local outbreak is the result of 'poverty, dirt and improvidence'. There is a large and growing class...who almost appear to be beyond the pale of enlightenment- they are left to themselves and forgotten; but disease fostered by their habits is apt to break through the boundaries of the unhealthy districts and spread its lethal shadow far and wide.[71]

Any note of censure for a lack of concern with the conditions of the labouring masses was to be offset by the assertion that their lax habits fostered disease. Writing in the Liverpool University magazine, Dr. Hope took pains to reassure his readers that neither he nor they had failed in their civic duty.

The poorest and most squalid do not themselves evince the slightest inclination to alter or improve their condition...Most of the existing courts have of late years been structurally improved in various directions...The better class of workmen have long removed from these miserable abodes, and their present occupants are as a class squalid, poverty stricken, helpless and wretched. Yet they seem to be quite contented and satisfied, and knowing no better make no effort to improve their condition or keep

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[69] J. Allden Owles, Recollections of Medical Missionary Work, Glasgow 1909, pp.10-15 and 36.

[70] Liverpool Review, 8 March 1884.

[71] 'Causes of fever and other zymotic diseases in the city' in Council Proceedings, 1883/84, p.4.

their houses and their children in decency- a truly pitiable and distressing circumstance.[72]

The poor were complicit in any social injustice because they had accepted their circumstances. J.B. Russell, Glasgow's medical officer of health between 1872 and 1892, lamented a similar Glaswegian lack of ambition for there were 'scores of thousands of persons in this great city who have been so brought up that they literally do not know, and literally cannot feel, the value of house-room...[they] cannot even rise to the idea of the most limited kind of domestic comfort.'[73] Both officials apparently displayed little sympathy for the conditions of life for many citizens. Only many years later did Hope concede that the port and 'the unskilled labour called for, attracted thousands of labourers and their families who were satisfied with any lodgings in which shelter could be found.'

The drive to improve the health of the city brought the underside of Liverpool life to public notice. Dr. Taylor, Edward Hope's predecessor as M.O.H., had advised 'the public should bear in mind that "as the strength of a chain is its weakest link, so the health of the community is that of its weakest member" and as long as unhealthy areas are allowed to continue so long will the public health suffer.'[74] The death rates for different districts within the city varied widely. In 1898/99, Dr. Hope recorded the lowest death rates 'in the incorporated districts of Toxteth and Walton, which are 9.9 and 12,6 respectively, and the highest being in Exchange and Scotland districts where they are 36.9 and 36.4 respectively.'[75]

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[72] E.H. Hope, 'The homes of the poorer classes' in University College Magazine, Vol.2 Part II, (1887), pp.74 and 79.

[73] 'The Social Problems of the City' in W.H. Fraser and I. Maver (eds.), Glasgow Volume II 1830 to 1912, Manchester, 1996, p.370.

[74] 'Causes of Fever' in Council Proceedings 1883/84, p.4.

[75] E.W. Hope, 'Report on the Health of the City of Liverpool' in Council Proceedings 1898/99, p.1059.

According to Thomas Bickerton, who worked as a doctor in Liverpool over several decades before the publication of his Medical History of Liverpool,

> *It was becoming increasingly obvious to many who came into contact with the less fortunate members of the community that the preservation of the 'Social Problem Group' from the law of 'survival of the fittest' was not in the best interests of the nation, for many of those citizens whose characteristics were an asset to the state were compelled to limit their families in order to provide for those who neither in themselves or their families could further the common weal.*[76]

Notions of civic and national patriotism could combine with the principles of eugenics and the ideology of the English Commonwealth to unite good health and good citizenship as moral tests. A belief that good citizenship was inherited was implicit in the attitude which Bickerton reported.

Hence, civic blame grew out of civic patriotism. Liverpool's progressive reputation and the practice of good citizenship which was central to the maintenance of this image spurred recriminations against the undesirable lifestyles of those who crowded into the slums. Disease and immorality became closely intertwined and outsiders were ready to ascribe base motives to rational strategies for survival. As late as 1914, Dr. Hope condemned 'unnecessary crowding' with whole families sleeping in one room without considering that such an arrangement was warmer and cheaper. Corporation advice could be trite. In a free lecture in 1884, women were advised to 'give your husbands food cooked well, warm and tasty, and then they are far less likely to seek refreshment elsewhere.'[77] The lecturer turned to the problem of sanitation and suggested that people should not live where the water closet did not have a window opening to the outer air- a solution as simple as it was unrealistic.

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[76] T.H. Bickerton, A Medical History of Liverpool from the earliest days to the year 1920, London, 1936, p.233.

[77] C.S. Pain, 'Light, Pure Air and Water' in Liverpool Corporation Free Lectures 1884, Liverpool, 1884, p.7.

Nor was such a lack of understanding confined to municipal officials. The Liverpool Review ran a series of weekly articles entitled 'Liverpool slum life' over four months in 1899. The series opened, '"One half of the world does not know how the other half lives" is an old proverb which unfortunately is still well worthy of consideration, and it is our intense conviction of its truth that is responsible for the series of articles.'[78] The articles revealed a Liverpool whose language and rituals, morality and values were reprehensible as well as alien to the authors.

In a vignette typical of the investigation, the courting rituals of slum Liverpool were related. For the Liverpool Review, the Scouse patois was a mysterious dialect which was represented phonetically:

> *'Now whater yez doin'? blind yez!' screamed Mary Ellen with that strange final sibilation peculiar to lower class Liverpool, 'whater yez doin'? Or e Tom yer arful.'*
> *'Well blind yez Tom Connelly fer yer cheek! An d'yez think I'd have the like av yew annyhow? Lave yez dirty hands off av me, or I'll smash yer hard clock fer yez.'*
> *...the ratio of slum love is gauged by the male vehemence exhibited- the punching, the kissing and pulling about ceremony.*[79]

That the mores of fellow Liverpudlians could be observed with the amused superiority of the Victorian anthropologist was an indication of the gulf which separated the ideals of citizenship from the experience of the city slums. This gap was the terrain in which civic blame flourished, and nowhere was it wider than where the Liverpool Irish were concerned.

The wake was an incomprehensible custom to many in Liverpool. Here sanitary science clashed with religion and custom. In the 1860s, the M.O.H. Dr. Trench recounted an incident in which a man had died of cholera.

> *The family refused to listen to our counsels, and elected to keep the body until Tuesday, in order that it might be waked during the night watches of Monday. It was*

[78] Liverpool Review, 1 July 1899.

[79] ibid., 28 October 1899.

laid on a board on the floor...and in this room, where men and women ate, drank and slept, the orgies of the coronach, embracing the co-operation of scores of people were maintained, amidst drunken and profane ribaldry, during the day and the night...Before the end of July, forty eight persons had died of cholera within a radius of 150 yards from the court.[80]

The Liverpool Review series on slum life included a similar account of a wake. A widow bought four gallons of ale, two pints of whisky and a bottle of port for the wake. She

was not able to buy any crepe, which is after all but the outward semblance of grief, and so long as her friends were happy and content she did not care...she was going to do her best to make them spend a thoroughly happy and enjoyable time. This is the ethics of a great many slum funerals.[81]

Once the corpse had been admired, the friends began drinking and telling stories about the dead man before there were comic songs 'with irritating but unnoticed disregard for pronouns' and 'meaningless impromptu tuneless dances.' The deceased's children 'went out into the court with a proud feeling of proprietorship which was rendered more acute by the palpable homage paid to them by the rest of the children.'[82] The Review failed to appreciate that this was but one indication of a wake's importance in affirming participation and identity in the Irish community. Such rituals reinforced the tendency to blame poor health on Irish barbarism.

Health problems were traced to the wave of Irish immigration which followed the famine of the 1840s. Bickerton's Medical History of Liverpool claimed that the cholera epidemic of 1849 had originated with an Irish family who brought the disease from Dumfries. The typhus outbreaks of the later 1840s were commonly known as 'Irish Famine Fever'.[83] Dr. Hope

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[80] Quoted in E.W. Hope, Evolution of Sanitation: Liverpool 1844/1894, Liverpool, 1896, p.15.

[81] Liverpool Review, 23 September 1899.

[82] ibid.

[83] Bickerton, Medical History of Liverpool, pp.175 and 177.

estimated the efforts of William Duncan, the M.O.H. for Liverpool at the time, as 'but a drop in the bucket so long as the Irish influx continued.' Hope submitted that 'the only measure at all adequate to the contingency was one which the law did not sanction, viz., an embargo on the landing of Irish immigrants.'[84]

The Irish were frequently blamed for creating the problems from which they suffered. J. Allden Owles portrayed the Scotland Road as poisoning Liverpool. It was

> *unrivalled in this town and surpassed in few, if any others, for poverty, vice and crime. Like a filthy fountain it sends forth its polluting streams to all parts of Liverpool, filling our streets with beggars, our workhouses with paupers, and our prisons with criminals.*[85]

The ghetto of poverty and disease which surrounded Scotland Road was a symptom of Liverpool's malaise, not the cause; but the Irish became scapegoats. The belief that the Irish had brought disease to the city justified their exclusion from the rights of citizenship. Frederic D'Aeth of the Liverpool Council of Social Service identified the Irish as

> *the roughest and lowest element of the people...gay, irresponsible, idle and quarrelsome, they seem by nature unfitted for the controlled life of a large town which tends only to accentuate their failings. It seems impossible for them to accept the restraints, the responsibilities and the sense of corporate citizenship which should be essential characteristics of the town dweller. They contribute abnormally to the work of the police court and fill in the workhouses and charitable institutions. They are the despair of the social reformer while they win his heart with their frolicsome humour.*[86]

The experience of the Irish in Liverpool was mirrored across many British towns, for 'British ratepayers resented the heavy burden of Irish paupers on their poor rates, and further feared

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[84] E.W. Hope, Health at the Gateway, Cambridge, 1931, p.47.

[85] J. Allden Owles, Medical Missionary Work, p.43.

[86] F. D'Aeth, 'Liverpool' in H. Bosanquet (ed.), Social Conditions in Provincial Towns, London, 1912, p.38.

them as disease carriers.'[87] Politicians preyed on these prejudices and anxieties. Arthur Forwood had extolled the virtues of an **English** home life and repeated Dr. Trench's findings that the Irish kept pigs in cellars and garrets.[88] As Forwood's Orange leanings became more pronounced, so his attacks on the Catholic and Nationalist Irish became more virulent.

In common with other migrants and foreigners, the Irish could be accused of bringing problems which were not inherent to Liverpool and for which, consequently, the civic authorities could not be held responsible. A speech of 1893 exemplified Forwood's objections to the Liverpool Irish who

> *were certainly foreign in many of their ways to the ideas and principles of his hearers. (Applause). The influx of the Irish into Liverpool brought poverty, disease, dirt and misery, drunkenness and crime, in addition to a disturbance in the labour market and the cost to the ratepayers of an enormous sum of money. ('Hear,hear', and a voice- 'What about the Polish Jews?')*[89]

By charging such groups with the creation of problems which tarnished Liverpool's image, their civic patriotism (and Imperial commitment) was questioned. The groups' rights to participate in civic life and and their claims to Liverpool citizenship would thus be weakened. In turn these more marginalised groups grew even more vulnerable to civic blame.

In such a climate, it was difficult for the Irish to take up duties and responsibilities as citizens. An editorial in the Liverpool Review entitled 'Are the Irish Dirty?' recounted the obstacles which an Irish woman, Miss Shaw, had confronted when she applied to work as a nurse in the Liverpool workhouse. The superintendent had refused to consider her for a post, explaining 'On your former visit I noticed that you had a button off our jacket. The worst thing I have against you Irish girls is that they (sic) are so frightfully dirty and untidy.' The editorial mused

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[87] M.A.G. O' Tuathaigh, 'The Irish in Nineteenth Century Britain' in R. Swift and S. Gilley (eds.), The Irish in the Victorian City, London, 1985, p.21.

[88] Forwood, The Dwellings of the Industrial Classes, p.10.

[89] Quoted in Waller, Democracy and Sectarianism, p.141.

'is this very interesting accusation against the Irish as a race...entirely undeserved? It is a dreadful thing to tread on the toes of the Irish- they have such a vigorous way of resenting remarks they don't care for.'

The Review told the story of one of its contributors who had stayed in some apartments in Dublin where he found the room to be dusty, the mirror to be dirty and the maids to be slow in service and 'typically sluttish' in appearance. On the basis of this evidence, the piece concluded

> *It is best to speak from personal experience, and that is our testimony to Irish cleanliness. It is well, however to say that in the apartments engaged by us in Belfast we found everything exceptionally sweet and pleasant- but in Belfast, as all commercial folk are aware, the Irish are not Irish at all, but Scotch.*[90]

A distinction between Protestant and Catholic Irish could be upheld by such ethnographic devices.

Xenophobia and recrimination were not new features of the relationship between respectable urban society and the slum dwellers; nor was disdain for the lifestyle of the lower orders novel. Nonetheless, civic blame did bring a new dimension to such antagonisms. Those who damaged the city's reputation could be accused of lacking civic patriotism and adjudged unworthy of the status and privileges of citizenship. In Liverpool, health was central to the city's image and to aspirations to the accolade of the Second City of the Empire. Civic blame, as a result, featured prominently in the debates which attended the municipality's health record.

The barrister James Samuelson claimed that 'Liverpool enjoys the unenviable reputation of possessing the worst slums of any English city, although Glasgow and the East End of

[90] Liverpool Review, 21 October 1899.

London run it pretty close.'[91] He suggested that the maintenance of Liverpool's civic image was demanded not just by local pride but by Imperial duty as well. Samuelson argued that the attempts to strengthen bonds with the colonies, which marked the opening decade of the twentieth century, encouraged foreigners to scrutinise the state of British urban society more closely. He quoted a letter to the Liverpool Daily Post from the anonymous Canadian author of John Bull's Land Through a Telescope.

> *If the Canadian once gets it into his head that the average Britain is greatly his inferior, such will prove the greatest of barriers to the strengthening of imperial ties. Speaking for myself, always an ardent Imperialist, my Imperialism received a terrible shock when in your own cities I saw the vast hordes of semi-degenerated humanity. I felt that if the Canadians realized this, Imperial Federation would receive its death blow so far as Canada is concerned.*[92]

Samuelson reasoned that a reputation as a healthy city must be cultivated so that 'the effect of such evils...on the mind of the foreigner, or indeed, upon the future of the whole nation' might be avoided.

The moral force of attributions of blame, even for ministers such as Richard Acland Armstrong, derived more from a sense of civic pride than of Christian duty. The allegation that a group had brought shame on the city could be a very damaging one. As public health achievements became important proofs of Liverpool's progressive credentials, personal and civic hygiene became tests of civic patriotism and citizenship.

The identification of public health as a civic responsibility impacted on the status and power of different sections and interests of Liverpool society. For some women this opened opportunities to participate more fully in municipal administration. Meanwhile, for disadvantaged groups, such as the slum-dwellers and the Irish, Corporation intervention

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[91] J. Samuelson, The Children of Our Slums, Liverpool, 1911, p.v.

[92] Liverpool Daily Post, 20 May 1910.

established a canon of acceptable behaviour which found their cultural norms alien and unwholesome. As the health of the city was brought more fully under the municipal aegis, the span of citizenship extended. The benediction of good citizenship sanctioned those who aligned their image with Liverpool's reputation; obloquy was turned on those accused of besmirching the city.

Chapter Six- Medical Officers of Health and the doctoring of civic image

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the image of the city of Liverpool's public health record was a confused one. Some pilloried the city as 'The Black Spot on the Mersey', others were swifter to recognise Liverpool's pioneering achievements in public health administration. That Liverpool was the first British municipality to appoint a Medical Officer of Health (M.O.H.) in 1847, yet bore the highest death rate of any city except Dublin some sixty years later is an indication of the disparate facets of its civic image.

For the M.O.H., the responsibilities of portraying Corporation policies favourably and of drawing public attention to the need for improvements in sanitary affairs brought conflicting duties which sharpened the contrast. The M.O.H. was to rely on strategies of image management increasingly and since images are, by their nature, projected into the public domain this was no simple task. Moreover, by the turn of the century, the advance of professional officials in municipal government and the growth of specialised institutions and journals and conferences exposed cities' public health records to more frequent and more thorough analysis[1].

The careers of J. Stopford Taylor (M.O.H. for Liverpool for 1878-93) and his assistant and successor Edward Hope (M.O.H. 1894-1924) saw them performing a number of functions which were not always complementary. During Taylor's tenure, Liverpool achieved metropolitan status and began to aspire to the title of 'The Second City of the Empire'. The heavy death toll from outbreaks of typhus, scarlet fever and smallpox in the early 1880s was an affront to Liverpool's progressive credentials and a threat to the port on which her

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1 P.J. Waller, Town, City and Nation: England 1850-1914, Oxford 1983, p.288. identifies this burgeoning professionalisation.

livelihood and ambition were centred. It was Taylor's lot to maintain the city's reputation unsullied whilst being seen to act to combat disease. Without a clear strategy of image management, and hampered by poor relations with Liverpool's doctors and press, Taylor presided over a damaging period for the city's public health reputation.

Dr. Hope was far more energetic and resourceful in constructing and maintaining a favourable image for the city. As assistant M.O.H. under Taylor he had learned from his predecessor's failures. Hope played down Liverpool's high death rate, sometimes by rather dubious statistical techniques; he firmly placed the blame for current problems on past failings, and he ingeniously argued that the city's difficulties furnished additional proof of its commercial success and efficient government.

Appointed as the first M.O.H. in 1847, Dr. Duncan found that his post entailed 'the detection, the promulgation, and as far as may be practicable, the removal and prevention of the common localising causes of disease.'[2] From the earliest days, M.O.H.s found the promulgation of insanitary conditions to be a delicate task. In 1851, the Local Board of Health at Darlington recognised the damage that such publicity caused. The minutes of the Board stated, 'the indiscriminate publication at length of the report from time to time of the Officer of Health having been considered by the Board, it is resolved that indiscriminate publication is calculated to be injurious to the town.'[3]

Duncan's term as M.O.H. had seen him swift to protect Liverpool's name, too. When Dr. E.H. Greenhow (the Lecturer in Public Health at St. Thomas' Hospital, London) discredited the sanitary condition of Liverpool in a report to the General Board of Health in 1858, Duncan entered into a controversy with him which lasted for three years. Writing to a friend on the General Board, Duncan insisted

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[2] F. Brockington, Public Health in the Nineteenth Century, London, 1965, p.141.

[3] ibid., p.159.

Liverpool has been unjustly treated. Whatever cause may be there seems to be an understanding among the London men to snub Liverpool whenever an opportunity offers...the cavillers...carp and cavil and object and try to make it appear that we have done nothing...I must remain satisfied with...the knowledge that we have done our duty in our generation.[4]

It was necessary to publicise problems if ratepayers were to be convinced of the importance of expenditure on public health. Yet, in raising awareness of health problems and in educating the public to accept progressive sanitary science, the M.O.H. had to keep Liverpool's shortcomings and achievements in a finely- judged balance. As Duncan and his successors became aware, the role of M.O.H. in a city whose aspirations demanded an image worthy of the 'Second City', required convincing performances both as doctor and spin-doctor.

When Liverpool appointed Dr. Duncan, it was the first such appointment in the country. It was an elected full-time post but there was not a rapid turnover of M.O.H.'s. Only four doctors held the post between its inauguration and 1924. The Public Health Act of 1875 made the provision of M.O.H.'s compulsory and extended a degree of government protection to them; but the appointment was not necessarily full-time and boroughs could decide not to apply for government grants-in-aid. Consequently, the relationship between the M.O.H. and the Council was a complex one.

In 1884, the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes questioned the Conservative leader of the Council, Arthur Forwood, about the autonomy of the Liverpool M.O.H.. Councillor Thomas Stephens, a member of the Health Committee which Forwood chaired, had already suggested that the M.O.H.'s freedom of action had been curtailed in the past. When asked about the operation of the Sanitary Amendment Act of 1864 in Liverpool,

[4] W.M. Frazer, Duncan of Liverpool, Preston, 1997, pp.99-102.

Stephens had alleged that the efforts of Dr. Trench to fulfil his duties relating to insanitary housing had been 'held in check by the authorities of the day'[5]. In response to this accusation, Forwood disingenuously commented that the office of M.O.H. was 'a piece of patronage, and, of course...members have different men who they wish to see appointed, and they have different views as to their qualifications; but I do not know that that has had any influence upon his independent action afterwards.'[6]

Trench's served as M.O.H. from 1863 until 1877 and therefore largely outside of the security afforded by the 1875 Public Health Act. Yet, his successor, Dr. Taylor, also found his independence doubted by the local Liberal press which was eager to condemn the Conservative municipal administration.[7] Dr. Taylor's position was made no easier because he was formerly a Conservative councillor. The Liverpool Daily Post, whose circulation topped 428000 copies per week, observed

> *It is not only in the columns of this journal that attention is being directed to the ill conditions of the city. The subject is talked about wherever one goes, and it forms a prominent topic of discussion in the British Medical Journal, perhaps the most important organ of medical opinion in the country, and the medium resorted to by Dr. Taylor to publicise his views. The doctor does not appear on the scene to push forward the purification of the town, but to palliate and defend the conduct of the corporation.*[8]

It was concluded that 'the doctor is beyond question much embarrassed between his duty to the ratepayers and personal consideration for members of the council but he must not play the part of Mr. Facing-both-ways.'[9]

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[5] Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes 1884/85, Vol. XXX, p.503.

[6] ibid., p.511.

[7] The curious incidence of a predominantly Liberal Press in a city where Conservative rule was the norm was a further obstacle to the creation of images which boosted the credentials of the Corporation. Papers of a Liberal alignment, such as the Liverpool Daily Post and the Liverpool Echo far outstripped the sales of Tory counterparts such as the Liverpool Courier.

[8] Liverpool Daily Post, 2 November 1883.

[9] ibid.

Another Liberal organ, the Liverpool Review, shared in the criticism of Conservative rule. It contrasted the exercise of formal and informal power, and denied the Health Committee any credit for reforms while questioning the accountability of municipal officials.

> *Whatever large measures of sanitary reform have been effected in Liverpool have not owed their initiation or management to the Health Committee but have been carried out in spite of its opposition...(municipal officials) are very well matched with the members of the committee, to whom they stand in the relation less of servants than of equals, if not masters. They act under the official sanction of the committee, but as they have not the slightest fear of that sanction being withheld, they do things, or leave them undone, very much at their own will and pleasure. The committee is a constantly changing body while they are permanent...The real chairman of the committee is Dr. Taylor...The Medical Officer and his subordinates are backed up by the nominal chairman and his mechanical Tory majority.*[10]

The M.O.H.'s involvement in the development and implementation of policy ensured that efforts to present Liverpool's public health achievements in a favourable light were inevitably motivated in part by professional self interest. Dr. Hope was connected with Liverpool's municipal public health policy, as an assistant or as M.O.H. in his own right, for forty years before his move to Cambridge University to become Professor of Public Health. In these circumstances, the discovery and publication of unresolved problems contained an element of self-indictment. The relationship between the M.O.H. and the council may not have been clear, but loyalty to the Corporation and occupational pride would both invite the exercise of presentational skills.

Such concerns were reinforced in the face of multiplying attacks from within and without the municipal boundaries. In 1880, Rev. R.H. Lundie's letter on The Dark Side of Liverpool had appeared in a number of Liverpool newspapers and was later published in pamphlet form. Lundie diagnosed poor housing and permissive licensing administration as the principal causes of Liverpool's social malaise and prescribed increased civic vigilance as a remedy. He appealed for a 'candid investigation of still stronger facts to the compassion of my fellow

[10] Liverpool Review, 2 May 1885.

citizens, on behalf of thousands of brothers and sisters who are too weak and sunken effectively to protect themselves."[11]

The note of moral outrage was amplified when the city's social circumstances were investigated in the series Squalid Liverpool which appeared in the Liverpool Daily Post during 1883. Councillor Thomas Stephens and the journalist Hugh Farrie roundly condemned Dr. Taylor and the Health Committee. Farrie's colourful style delivered a blow to the image of prosperous Liverpool and implicated the M.O.H. and the Health Committee in vignettes of squalor which were grim yet masterly in their realisation. The articles, which were also collated and published in pamphlet form, echoed the tone of the exposure of life in the capital which The Bitter Cry of Outcast London had sounded in the same year. Moreover, they drew on a tradition of investigative Liverpudlian journalism which had reached its apogee in the work of Hugh Shimmin in the 1860s.[12]

Squalid Liverpool revealed the poverty and degradation which lay close to the very heart of the city in areas such as that around Fontenay Street:

> *as dirty, as tumble down and as unhealthy as any portion of squalid Liverpool, and it lies within a stone's throw of prosperous money making Liverpool- the Liverpool of clubs, of cafes, of banks, of commercial palaces...walk a few paces from this bright and cheering scene and you will find gathered upon the very edges of it a deep fringe of suffering.*[13]

Lest the smear on Liverpool's honour had been missed, the investigation considered North Street. This thoroughfare joined Dale Street, on which the Town Hall and the Exchange Flags were situated.

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[11] R.H. Lundie, The Dark Side of Liverpool, Liverpool 1880, p.4.

[12] see J.K. Walton and A. Wilcox (eds.), Low Life and Moral Improvement in Mid-Victorian England, Leicester 1991.

[13] Squalid Liverpool, Liverpool 1883, p.35.

Here under the very shadow of wealthy Liverpool, surely no squalor will be found? Close by the law is administered, municipal affairs are transacted, political wires are pulled, and huge fortunes won and lost. Is it too much to expect that the curse of abject poverty shall have been lifted from the lives of those who live here? Yes; far too much.[14]

The M.O.H. and the Corporation were not spared. Farrie insisted

We do not for an instant profess that the Health Committee and the medical officer of health take no steps to cope with dirt and disease. On the contrary, they are as energetic and enthusiastic as a child who sets itself to work to ladle out the Mersey with a tin bucket...evils have been permitted to exist which a little faithful effort would have removed. The misery is obvious and its causes are plain, and have been plain for a quarter of a century. The committee is busying itself round the fringe of the subject. It has never honestly and manfully grappled with it.[15]

The Liverpool Daily Post explored the unflattering contrasts of Liverpool life elsewhere, accepting that the council

has built magnificent halls and offices, has afforded increased facilities for the traffic passing along the thoroughfares, by widening old streets and making new ones, and has done all in its power for what may be termed the embellishment of the city; but so far as relates to its inner life, and especially the condition of the labouring population and their habitations, the case is reversed and the procedure of the council has been marked by unpardonable disregard of its duty.[16]

The juxtaposition of such images lent weight to criticisms of Liverpool's health record. Squalid Liverpool's influence is attested by Farrie's and Stephens's appearances before the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes the following year. An exposition of Liverpool's shortcomings which gave them such a high profile, demanded that the city's

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[14] ibid., p.45.

[15] ibid., pp. 12 and 33.

[16] Liverpool Daily Post, 10 October 1883.

name must be salvaged. Faced with the implacable logic of high death-rates, civic representatives were embarrassed, as Arthur Forwood's exchanges with the commissioners illustrate

> ***Is the mortality of Liverpool very high?-*** *Yes, it is 27.6 per 1000 in the parish and 23 per 1000 in the out townships.*
> ***27.6 per 1000 is now a very high mortality is it not?-*** *It is a very high mortality.*
> ***Is not your rate of mortality the highest of the very large towns?-*** *If you take ten years past, ours is the highest; but it is right to say that the mortality during the past ten years has materially decreased as compared with the mortality of the previous ten years...*
> ***In a Liverpool newspaper a few days ago I saw the following statement- that in one of the squalid districts the death rate reached 82 in 1000 of the population; have you seen that statement?-*** *I have not seen it, but it would not, I think be applicable for any lengthened period...these are only exceptional cases.*[17]

The availability of death-rate statistics allowed comparisons to be made which could be particularly damaging- not least since they could be easily understood. Forwood hoped to point to improvements over time, chronicling a story of sanitary progress. However, when temporal and geographic comparisons were combined, as by the Liverpool Daily Post in 1883, the rebuke to the civic authorities was redoubled.

The Daily Post outlined its methodology and results in a leading article:

> *Let us...take an ample range of time, ascertain the mean rate of mortality in Liverpool during the last forty years and contrast it- not with all the towns of England, as that might be asking too much- but with six of the largest and worst, where every social evil existing in our city has equally prevailed...Liverpool has throughout stood, as she stands today, supreme in the black-list-*
> *by merit raised to that bad eminence.*
>
> *The mean death rate per thousand of Liverpool and these other towns for the whole period is as follows:-*
> *London.....23*
> *Liverpool.....36*
> *Birmingham.....25*
> *Manchester.....31*
> *Leeds.....28*
> *Sheffield.....27*

[17] Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes, p. 494.

Bristol.....28[18]

The statistics were used to rebut suggestions that Liverpool's high death rate was caused by its exceptional position as a port or that the headline rate was no measure of recent improvements. The Daily Post continued,

> *Bristol is a seaport, subject to every trouble affecting us, Manchester's social difficulties outweigh ours. Yet here is Liverpool, head and shoulders taller in dishonour than either of these places...*
> *Select the five years ending 1881, the year of the last census, and compare them with the preceding five years, keeping in mind that during the later quinquennial the efforts made in many places to reduce the death rate have been very successful. Liverpool is again to the bad- desperately to the bad. The decrease in the death rate in Liverpool and other towns, the measure of the work done, may be contrasted in the following table, which gives the rate per 100 of improvement in the death rate...*
> *Liverpool.....2 in the 100*
> *Manchester...7 " " "*
> *Birmingham..9 " " "*
> *Sheffield.....11 " " "*
> *Bradford.....15 " " "*
> *Leeds.....16 " " "*[19]

In the city's defence, it should be noted that the contention that Bristol and Liverpool were comparable as ports was hardly supportable and the six cities which were used for comparisons were not constant.

Dr. Taylor conspicuously failed to offer an alternative reading of Liverpool's achievements in public health. The early 1880s had witnessed clashes between Liverpool's medical profession and the Health Committee, ostensibly over the question of compulsory notification of infectious diseases. The Liberal Review suggested a more personal reason for these strained relations, reporting that the doctors' opposition 'is said to be inspired by the objection to Dr. Taylor as Medical Officer of Health.'[20] Antipathy between the medical profession and the Corporation added to the difficulties of presenting Liverpool's public health policy in a

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[18] Liverpool Daily Post, 2 November 1883.

[19] ibid.

[20] Liberal Review, 21 October 1882.

favourable light. The bad feeling was clearly visible at the British Medical Association Conference in 1883.

Delivering a paper on the sanitary condition of Liverpool in his capacity as the president of the Sanitary Section of the Association, E.R. Bickersteth of Liverpool unleashed a diatribe against the Corporation. He was aggrieved by the Council's plans to construct tram lines along Rodney Street- the parade of Georgian townhouses where Gladstone was born and where many of Liverpool's doctors had established their surgeries, and their homes. He confessed,

> *altogether Liverpool is not a pleasant or desirable place to live in, and life is not made more comfortable by the recent action of the City Council...Even Rodney Street, the street occupied above all others by the profession on account of its convenient position and its quietness, is to be invaded and laid with square sets 'from curb to curb' as we are told by the relentless and merciless party that is dominant on our City Council...our homes rendered untenable...Quietness is essential to the sick...Do the City Council suppose that by paving as they are doing they are making life more comfortable and bearable, more healthy and happy? Certainly not...[they are building the tramways for] themselves who having secured sufficient wealth to enable them to reside in suburban retreats, may be more comfortably conveyed to their business offices.*[21]

The attack was embarrassing in itself, especially since Bickersteth was at pains to point out that many of the councillors lived in the suburbs at a time when residence in the city was an important measure of civic patriotism.[22] That the outburst had come at the annual conference of the British Medical Association accentuated Liverpudlian discomfort.

Nor was this an isolated incident. Four years later, at a conference under the auspices of the Sanitary Institute of Great Britain, Dr. Hope read a paper on localised outbreaks of typhus and infantile diarrhoea. During the discussion which followed, Dr. Tatham of Salford expressed

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[21] Liverpool Daily Post, 2 August 1883.

[22] See the chapter on civic hagiography.

his belief that 'Liverpool ought to be congratulated on the fact that it had an assistant medical officer of health with a remarkably good temper.' He added that the resistance of Liverpool's doctors to compulsory notification[23] would have drawn his ire.

> *The health committee of the city had not been supported as they ought to have been in their effort to provide for the compulsory notification of infectious disease...*
> *It appeared to him that Liverpool acted as a fever manufactory for the whole of Lancashire. They in Salford had frequently cases of typhus fever imported from Liverpool, and they were undoubtedly prejudiced by the fact that Liverpool did not possess powers for the compulsory notification of infectious disease...*
> *Dr. Hope's paper was a serious indictment against the state of things at present existing in Liverpool.*[24]

Doubtless Tatham hoped to attribute Salford's health problems to an external cause, but Hope showed a greater awareness of the imperatives of image management than Taylor had done and he accepted the congratulations tactfully. He conceded that Liverpool suffered from an 'enormous amount of this disease after it had been stamped out in almost every other town', but was careful not to implicate the City Council or Liverpool's medical men in any wrongdoing. Instead, Hope pointed out that the city had 'an immense poor labouring population...their mode of life something beyond description.'

Furthermore, he suggested that compulsory notification might have been more difficult to win in Liverpool because of the pioneering ethos of the municipal health policy which incurred experience costs. 'It might have been that the matter was prematurely brought forward, and that evidence was lacking to show the absolute necessity of it previously.' He concluded 'it was gratifying to find that the cases were dwindling down from thousands to hundreds owing to the great sanitary operations carried out in the city.'[25]

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[23] Liverpool's doctors were not alone in resisting compulsory notification schemes: similar reluctance was met in Glasgow.

[24] E.W. Hope, 'Localised outbreaks of Typhus Fever and Infantile Diarrhoea' in Transactions of the Sanitary Institute of Great Britain, Vol. IX, (1887).

[25] ibid.

Although Hope accepted that the slums were a grave problem in Liverpool, he argued this was

> *by reason of the greater magnitude of its inherited burden- a burden which arose from the circumstance that trade prosperity in the earlier part of last century led to phenomenally rapid growth at a time when no laws existed to regulate or control building and sanitation was wholly neglected or forgotten.*[26]

These past errors, which could not be blamed on the living, had created Liverpool's problems and 'the evils of the worst parts of the town, repeated unchecked, entailed on subsequent generations the punishment of enduring as well as the cost of rectifying them.'[27]

It was Hope's contention that these conditions at least had the virtue of encouraging citizenship and civic feeling, and that Liverpool's insanitary state was something of a blessing.

> *The dismal pre-eminence resulting partly from the long neglect to regulate developments under the changing conditions of population, and partly to happenings altogether beyond local control, did appeal with convincing force to many of the civic rulers and stimulated the foresight and beneficence of private citizens; combined voluntary and municipal effort resulted in measures which proved to be of far more than local importance, and beneficial far beyond their place of origin.*[28]

Nonetheless, Liverpool's death rate, perennially one of the highest in the country, posed a serious challenge to the city's image; particularly since it enabled quantifiable comparisons with other cities which could be marked by a lay audience. At the annual congress of the

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[26] E.W. Hope, 'The Housing Problem in Liverpool' in Diocese of Liverpool Review, Vol.I No.1 (April 1926), p.12.

[27] E.W. Hope, Health at the Gateway, Cambridge, 1931, p.31.

[28] ibid., pp.ix and x.

Royal Institute of Public Health which was held in Dublin in 1898, Sir Charles Cameron commented in his presidential address,

> *Gratifying as it is to find the gap between the urban and country death rates narrowing, it is unsatisfactory to observe that the rate of mortality should be so much greater in some towns than in others. In 1897 the rate in Eastbourne was 8.2, in Bournemouth 10.1, Croydon 13.62 and even in the manufacturing town of Darlington 15, whilst in Liverpool it was 26.76 and in Salford 26.88.*[29]

Dr. Hope recognised that death rate statistics encouraged such damaging comparisons and he worked vigorously to limit their impact.

In 1895, Hope read a paper on the impact of death returns to the Congress of Medical Officers of Health in Liverpool. He explained that the death rate did not take age distribution, sex distribution or population density into account; hence, the returns were misleading. He chose the case of Liverpool to illustrate his argument.

> *Our own city is an example, and, as far as I know, almost the sole example of a purely urban municipality, without even the statistics of its own suburbs to modify the influence inseparable from labour and toil...*
> *This purely urban municipality must not be compared with those towns and cities which partake largely of suburban and rural advantages, but it is extremely difficult to make these facts appreciated by the public, and even prominent municipal rulers are astonished at the contrast, say, between the City of Liverpool and the Borough of Hastings or Eastbourne, and regard the contrast as appalling and disheartening, and seem to feel that the sanitarian has not left one solitary footprint upon the sands of our Stygian shore.*[30]

The Royal Commission on the Housing of The Working Classes had remarked on these problems in 1884: 'it will be useful to explain at the outset that the published death rates of particular localities are frequently deceptive and valueless, especially when an average is struck over a large district.' The course of Liverpool's death rates between 1882 and 1906

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[29] London Vol.VII (1898), p.549.

[30] E,W. Hope, 'The Impact of Death returns' in Journal of the Sanitary Institute Vol. XVI (1895), p.9.

(*Table 1*) offered further support for Hope's claim. In his evidence to a committee investigating the public health of Dublin, he argued that the extension of municipal boundaries to include suburban areas was a moral question as well as a statistical moot point:

> *the well-to-do people have gone away from the city, whose benefits they enjoyed, and to the existence of which they owed everything-..they have gone away from it, and, so to speak, absolved themselves from the obligation of looking after their weaker brethren who are left behind. I think a city requires the help and co-operation of its outgrowths and is entitled to it.*[31]

However, the incorporation of Wavertree, Walton, Toxteth Park and West Derby to form 'Greater Liverpool' in 1895 did not still Hope's reservations about the equity of comparing death returns. He helped to orchestrate a campaign for more frequent censuses, for he believed that the Registrar General's population estimates were wayward.

In his annual report on the health of the city for 1898/99, he complained that

> *streets have been opened up, cottages and artizans' dwellings of the most approved style have been erected, and yet, year by year, thanks to the gross errors in the estimate of the population by the Registrar General's method, the rate of mortality appears to be steadily going up.*[32]

Hope was incensed that this provided ammunition for those who maintained that 'what is being done has resulted in no amelioration, that the money has been expended in vain and the work has resulted in increasing disease and mortality.' He was adamant that 'there are no means at present available to enable a comparison to be made between different cities.'[33]

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[31] Report of the Committee to inquire into the Public Health of the City of Dublin, P.P. Vol. XXXIX (1900), p.144.

[32] Council Proceedings 1898/99, p.1069.

[33] ibid.

Table 1- Death Rates for the City of Liverpool between 1891 and 1906

Year	Death rate	Comments
1891	26.8	
1892	24.4	
1893	26.7	
1894	23.1	
1895	24.8	City extended
1896	21.4	
1897	22.8	
1898	22.2	
1899	24.1	
1900	23.1	
1901	21.6	
1902	21.6	City extended
1903	19.8	
1904	21.9	
1905	19.2	
1906	20.2	City extended

Source: Council Proceedings 1906/7.

The death rate expresses the number of people who died in Liverpool each year for each 1000 inhabitants.

Professional and civic pride motivated suspicions about the accuracy of the Registrar General's estimates. Dr. Hope had written to other M.O.H.s of whom twenty-one had agreed that the estimates for their towns were wholly unreliable and another three had confessed themselves very doubtful of their accuracy. The British Medical Association passed a resolution calling for a quinquennial census at its Edinburgh conference of 1898.

Although Hope was not the only medical officer to quibble about the death rates, he felt justified in adjusting Liverpool's death rates for comparative purposes without extending this privilege to other cities. He argued that Liverpool's death rate was inflated by patients who came from a much wider catchment area and who were eager to use the municipality's superior facilities. Hope considered it unjust that 'the death of every stranger to the city which occurs in any one of these institutions is included amongst the deaths of citizens and increases the apparent rate of mortality in the city.'[34] Comparing Liverpool with other towns in 1906, Hope explained 'the deaths in public institutions of 744 non residents, equal to 1.0 per 1000 have been eliminated from the total deaths.'[35] Such statistical juggling gave Liverpool a rate of 20.2, thus leaving Middlesbrough to the unwanted distinction of being the English town with the highest death rate.[36] The report continued, using the adjusted figure of 20.2 as the 'official' rate for Liverpool.

Hope was anxious to counter statistical attacks on Liverpool's health record, but not all observers couched their criticism in quantifiable terms. When the renowned trade unionist John Burns visited the city in 1897, he contrasted Liverpool's slums unfavourably with those of the capital. The pages of London, later to become the Municipal Journal, carried news of this censure to municipal officials and authorities nation-wide.

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[34] ibid.

[35] Council Proceedings 1906/7, p.1793.

[36] Only Dublin exceeded this figure with a rate of 22.4.

Liverpool Mr. Burns describes as a City of Darkness, and nothing that he has seen outside Chicago- 'the city of poverty and plutocrats'- can equal the dirt and squalor of some of its slums...
Mr. Burns was asked whether he thought the slums and misery he had seen were worse than in the East End of London.
'Infinitely worse...There is hope among the East End people. Now your Liverpool slum-dwellers are as a people without hope. No city I have visited appears to me so callous in the estrangement between the well-to-do and the badly off.[37]

The contention that Liverpool's civic grandeur concealed immense social problems was a recurrent theme in the history of the city's image. J.L. Haigh, an evangelical minister and novelist had explained this gulf in Sir Galahad of the Slums which was published in 1907. The novel centred on the moral struggles which slum life engendered and portrayed Liverpool's municipal administration in a very poor light.

The city fathers sleep easily in Sefton Park after a delicious bath and splendid dinner, perfectly arrogant, even in their dreams of the state of affairs in the North End. And these men are responsible. 'Public decency' they preach and know nothing about the unspeakable horrors of the 'inconveniences' at the entrances of the courts...
Thousands of pounds for a public square and a stone couch for the labourer! The 'ocean palaces' sailed off and left paupers behind...Liverpool was a city of dreadful dullness, with empty pot-house hilarity as its only possible recreation- a heavy carcass with no soul in it, only hollow murmurings and inane blasphemings.[38]

The suggestion that Liverpool's image of commercial prosperity was rotten encouraged political and moral conclusions which threatened the civic elite. Haigh emphasised that by residing in the suburbs the city fathers demonstrated a lack of civic commitment. Burns too had warned 'until Liverpool...makes up its mind that slum owners, publicans, brewers and their agents shall not sit in the Town Council or on the magisterial bench, righteousness will not be secured.'[39]

Hope's position as the Council's medical officer demanded that he should refute such allegations of dereliction of duty. Moreover, personal pride was at stake because Hope was

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[37] London Vol.VI (1897), p.707.

[38] J.L. Haigh, Sir Galahad of the Slums, Liverpool, 1907, pp. 274, 399 and 400.

[39] London Vol.VI (1897), p.707.

implicated in such criticisms. In 1904, T.M. Shallcross authored a comprehensive indictment of Liverpool's public health policy entitled Municipal Shortcomings- The Example of Liverpool. The pamphlet was reviewed by a national and provincial papers, including The Times, Oxford Times, Whitehall Review, Newcastle Daily Chronicle, Yorkshire Chronicle, The Surveyor, Catholic Times, Housing Journal and the Glasgow Herald. The last publication, based in a city which was one of Liverpool's greatest rivals for municipal plaudits, noted that the work 'dealt in a gently satirical style with the black spots of all sorts which still disfigure the city on the Mersey.'[40]

The Lancet considered Shallcross's accusations at length in a leading article under the heading 'Municipalities and their duties'. The crux of Shallcross's argument was that 'the death rate of Liverpool is unusually high...and as the municipal authorities are the powers by whom insanitary conditions should be rectified, the high death rate must a priori be directly traceable to their sins of omission or commission.'

> *He has shown that the municipality of one of the chief provincial cities quietly accepts an abnormal death rate, many of the causes of which are well known and even conspicuous, and he considers that nothing more than half measures have been employed for dealing with them. Mr. Shallcross places the responsibility for these unnecessary deaths upon the municipality, and it is difficult to see in what respect his argument is defective, or why it should not be applied to other places and to other municipalities.*[41]

A more proactive approach was urged by Shallcross, who dismissed the suggestion that

> *legislation in advance of public opinion is apt to be treated as a dead letter;...if such should be the explanation offered by the Corporation for their apathy, then it would seem necessary for the Corporation to take prompt steps, as custodians of the public health, to sufficiently educate public opinion...they would by every means which are*

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[40] T.M. Shallcross, Municipal Shortcomings- The Example of Liverpool, London, 1904, p.7.

[41] The Lancet, 13 August 1904.

available for so powerful a body as the Liverpool Corporation is, or should be, strive to remove from the city the reproach of spreading 'a preventible disease.'[42]

Civic pride was a motif of Shallcross's work: the city's notorious image in public health demanded that all should take up the duties of citizenship.

Whether from its geographical position, or some inherent characteristics of its inhabitants, Liverpool seems to have earned an unenviable reputation as being, for its size, and considering its claims to commercial intellectuality, one of the most unprogressive cities in the United Kingdom.[43]

Convinced that selfish interests prospered on the Council, Shallcross hoped that 'the citizen will early ask himself- to whom does Liverpool belong- to the Individual, or to the Community?' He advocated the formation of Citizens' Associations which might 'state the conditions of life in Liverpool, and devise remedies, with greater freedom than seems possible for the Corporation officials, the City Councillors, or private individuals, who all appear to be somewhat tongue-tied by considerations of personal expediency.'[44]

The M.O.H. had insisted that the pace of sanitary reform could not outstrip public opinion and that, consequently, the municipality's freedom of action was curtailed. In his annual report for 1898/99, Hope explained that 'in dealing with a subject...in which requirements increase as knowledge grows...all the improvements desired are not to be gained in a day. Like every other good movement, time is necessary to attain the object in view.'[45] Later, in his book Health at the Gateway (1931) he attached great importance to the education of the public in sanitary science because this 'will lessen the controversy and loss of time resulting from the criticism of well intentioned but ill informed persons.'[46]

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[42] Shallcross, Municipal Shortcomings, p.18.

[43] ibid., p.48.

[44] ibid., pp.66 and 67.

[45] Council Proceedings 1898/99, p.1189.

[46] Hope, Health at the Gateway, p.xi.

A belief in the need for sanitary education was shared by Hope and Shallcross. Similarly, both professed to a conviction that money was better spent on preventative, rather than curative, measures. Hope drew attention to the 'comparative readiness with which money is given or voted for the relief or treatment of suffering, rather than for the provision of measures which would have prevented that suffering.'[47] Shallcross had been in broad agreement but, unlike Hope, he found fault with the municipal administration and not the electorate. 'The Corporation seem to show themselves so much more willing to sanction magnificently costly schemes in hopes of remedying the effects which have arisen than in adopting and enforcing inexpensive methods to deal, at first hand, with the causes of those effects.'[48]

In spite of some congruence of opinions, the two men were divided by their respective attitudes in relation to civic image. For Shallcross, civic pride was to be mobilised by arguing that Liverpool's record was shameful. Hope defended the Corporation's achievements since he had to act as the municipality's apologist. The M.O.H.'s responsibilities had come to encompass the propagation of a progressive reputation- a task which could not be reconciled easily with the 'promulgation of the causes of disease'.

To some extent, a concern with image set priorities in combating particular diseases. Hope admitted that

> *those forms of zymotic diseases which interfere or are likely to interfere with commercial or business pursuits, or even with social intercourse, have received more attention than those which, equally destructive to life, have not these peculiarities... Whenever and wherever a community can be educated to understand that sanitary progress promotes commercial progress, the path of sanitation is made easy- comparatively easy.*[49]

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[47] ibid., p.xi.

[48] Shallcross, Municipal Shortcomings, p.25.

[49] E.W. Hope, The Influence of Education on the Advancement of Public Hygiene, Liverpool, 1912, p.5.

Liverpool's health problems, in Hope's opinion, were a further proof of commercial greatness since 'the risks which ports incur must correspond with the scope of their commercial ramifications.'[50] The interests of the port threw up a potential obstacle to sanitary progress, not least since an unhealthy image could be disastrous for a commercial centre. After 1874, the Corporation of Liverpool had also constituted the Port Sanitary Authority. In 1883, as chairman of the Health Committee, Arthur Forwood resisted calls for house-to-house visitation in areas where typhus, typhoid, cholera, smallpox and diphtheria flourished. He believed 'it would lead to a most undesirable collision between the local sanitary authorities and the public...The areas would have to be published in the London Gazette and would seriously interfere with the general commerce of Liverpool and the emigration from the port.'[51]

A commisioned report on sanitation in Liverpool carried out by Professor Burdon-Sanderson and Dr. Parkes in 1871 had also alluded to the difficulty of reconciling public health and commercial activity. They had stated

> *the introduction of typhus, cholera, smallpox and relapsing fever is always attended with epidemic outbursts if the diseases prevail in places with which it [Liverpool] is in frequent communication as a seaport. It is not possible to alter this without surrendering the commercial supremacy of Liverpool, but some precautionary measures may be taken.*[52]

The foundation of the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine in 1898 went some way to confronting this problem. The institution embodied Liverpool's imperial and commercial ambitions and was a symbol of the breadth of the civic vision. In 1907, The Lancet

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[50] Hope, Health at the Gateway, p.1.

[51] Liverpool Courier, 2 March 1883.

[52] Quoted in Hope, Health at the Gateway, p.95.

congratulated Liverpool on 'the leading part which this great city of empire has taken in promoting the growth of tropical medicine in all parts of our realms.'[53]

However, such initiatives conformed more closely with the ideological vision of the 'Second City of the Empire' than with the needs of the city. Shallcross conceded

> *the idea of a School of Tropical Diseases is striking to the imagination...yet there is much hygiene work still to be done in this country for our own kith and kin, and it should not be forgotten that there are, annually, thousands dying from preventible diseases, the causes of which have already been discovered and which need only the simple application of knowledge gained, instead of elaborate investigation, to combat them.*[54]

The Council's activities sometimes appeared inadequate, but it was argued that this was an impression created by the gradual extension of municipal powers and the nature of scientific discovery. Hope claimed that 'the difficulties of the problems which it was desired to solve was more fully revealed when the Corporation was clothed with authority to deal with them; supplementary legislation became necessary and important additions were from time to time made to their powers.'[55] Thomas Bickerton agreed and argued that such measures as the medical inspection of school children created the need for further powers to ensure that the prescribed treatment was carried out.[56]

Hope was quick to take advantage of opportunities to laud the city's achievements. Giving evidence to the Report on the Public Health of Dublin in 1900, he asserted

> *the City of Liverpool is a conspicuous example of the reduction of the death rate following upon sanitary work. The rate of mortality for the decade ending 1870 was*

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[53] The Lancet, 23 November 1907.

[54] Shallcross, Municipal Shortcomings, p.17.

[55] Hope, Health at the Gateway, pp.199 and 200.

[56] Bickerton, A Medical History of Liverpool, p.237.

32 per 1000, in the decade ending 1880 it was 28, for the decade ending 1890 it was 26, then up to 1895 it was 24.8.[57]

When the annual Public Health Congress was held in Liverpool in 1903, Hope edited the handbook. It was lavishly illustrated with sections detailing Liverpool's history, civic achievements, and accounts of the work of the various branches of municipal administration. The reviewer of the work for The Lancet suggested

This handbook...is really a record of the public undertakings carried out by the city of Liverpool. The local executive committee desired that the handbook, which it has been customary to issue upon the occasion of the visit of the Institute, should be so amplified as to give an account of the establishments and undertakings of the corporation...The work is...probably the most elaborate and complete publication of the kind that has ever been issued.[58]

In 1931, Hope's greatest work Health at the Gateway was published. In the preface, Hope explained that it related 'the story of the measures which have transformed the most unwholesome of sea-ports into the foremost place in sanitary administration.'[59] The account was a celebration of his career and a re-statement of Liverpool's public health achievements.

Throughout his time as M.O.H., Hope attempted to defend Liverpool's image in this important sphere. The M.O.H. had to invest time and energy in deflecting criticism of the Corporation as well as in uncovering disease. Hope held the post at a time when civic rivalry made attacks more barbed and when the proliferation of conferences and specialist journals and periodicals increased their regularity.

Liverpool's renown as 'the Black Spot on the Mersey' had entwined civic image and public health to an unusual degree, but in other cities too M.O.H.s assumed more than purely

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[57] Report on the Public Health of Dublin, p.143.

[58] The Lancet, 12 September 1903.

[59] Hope, Health at the Gateway, p.xii.

medical responsibilities. Indeed, on the basis of his experience in Manchester, E.D. Simon questioned whether an M.O.H. should be a doctor at all. He reasoned that not many of the M.O.H.'s decisions depended on medical knowledge and that there were assistants who could advise on such matters. In appointing a medical officer the committee 'tend to pay too much attention to his purely medical qualifications, which in fact will be almost irrelevant to his success in conducting the business of the committee.'[60]

Simon argued that officials were required who would ask themselves

> *How can I wipe out the slums of my city and ensure a decent house for every citizen? How can I get the kind of local loyalty and enthusiasm among the citizens that prevailed in Athens in the days of Pericles? How can I make my city a model to the whole world in local government?*[61]

E.W. Hope was such an official, concerned as much with upholding the reputation of Liverpool (and, thus, his professional standing) and inspiring civic pride and citizenship as with sanitary science itself. His career demonstrates that for those who adopted such a programme, the claims of civic image and of scientific objectivity were not always complementary.

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[60] E.D. Simon, A City Council from within, London, 1926, p.134.

[61] ibid., p.137.

Chapter Seven- Carthage, Venice and the Liverpool School of Painters

> *It is for us, with our vast population, our enormous wealth (as a town) but without either politics or philosophy, that the world will care to preserve, to decide whether we will take advantage of our almost unequalled opportunities for the cultivation of Art, or whether we shall be content to rot away, as Carthage, Antioch and Tyre have rotted away, leaving not a trace to show where a population of more than half a million souls once lived, loved, felt and thought. Surely the home of Roscoe is worthy of a better fate?*
> -Philip Rathbone 1875[1]

During the 1870s, as shadows began to fall over the boundless confidence of the mid-Victorian era, Britain's cultural standing was discussed with renewed urgency. The fascination with imperial decline which marked the later years of Victoria's reign encouraged a reassessment of how Liverpool's cultural legacy could sit with the images of commercial grandeur. The Liberal councillor and self-proclaimed aesthete Philip Rathbone envisioned the arts as a means of preventing the moral and spiritual shortcomings which were believed to have presaged the demise of classical powers. Liverpool, as a great port and commercial centre, was presented with the challenge of assuming the roles played by Venice and Florence in an earlier renaissance. Alarmed by the possibility that Liverpool might be proving unequal to its cultural responsibilities, Rathbone, along with others such as the Conservatives Edward Samuelson and B.H. Grindley, believed municipal intervention was essential to the creation of a civic image of artistic excellence.

[1] P.H. Rathbone, The Political Value of Art to Municipal Life, Liverpool, 1875, p.45.

After the institution of the annual Autumn Exhibition in 1871 and the construction of the Walker Art Gallery in 1873, a municipal art policy developed with the central tenet that Liverpool should display the 'best art' as an example to stir artistic imagination and artisan crafts. However, this interest in the arts was not universally welcomed and local artists did not always agree to such an extension of municipal responsibility. The definition of a 'Liverpool School of Painters' was one element of this opposition

Thinking about art in Liverpool was rooted in the career and ideas of William Roscoe[2], who had set out a vision of how art and commerce should be linked in a modern seaport. The Roscoenian tradition offered a powerful model. Giving his inaugural lecture in the new chair of Modern History at the University in 1906, Ramsay Muir chose to talk about Roscoe as 'one who is not only the greatest of Liverpool historians, but in some respects the greatest of Liverpool citizens.' According to Muir, Roscoe

> *saw his birthplace develop from a busy and prosperous town into a vast, wealthy and hideous city. He saw it almost win the commercial leadership of the world, but he saw little sign of commerce bringing civilisation or beauty in its train. He saw wealth and luxury increasing at an amazing rate, but he also saw misery increasing side by side with it and still more rapidly.* [3]

[2] William Roscoe (1753-1831) was a merchant banker who was also a renowned poet, antiquarian, painter, abolitionist and biographer.

[3] R. Muir, William Roscoe- an Inaugural Lecture, Liverpool, 1906, p.7

The suggestion that commercial success brought with it moral challenges, which were best addressed by means of aesthetic projects and concerns was a significant motif, not least because it did not meet with universal agreement.

For those who wished to link Liverpool's commerce with a philosophy which advanced aesthetic solutions to contemporary moral problems, Roscoe's perspective could be supported by the more recent works of William Morris and John Ruskin. Furthermore, the basis of the city's wealth in trade, rather than in manufacture, encouraged powerful comparisons with Renaissance Italy. Muir commented that Roscoe 'threw himself with ardour into every scheme which promised to make Liverpool and England more like Florence and Italy.'[4] Indeed, Roscoe's national celebrity had been assured by his acclaimed *Life of Lorenzo de Medici*. Muir speculated,

> *What had made Lorenzo Roscoe's hero and, I may add, his model, was the fact that, being a great magnate of commerce and a statesman immersed in public affairs...he yet contrived, without neglecting those duties, to cultivate to the highest point his own intelligence, to keep his mind open to the best thought and the noblest art of his day, and to be the most generous patron of artists, scholars and philosophers because he recognised that their contribution to the welfare and progress of man was of more moment than all his own vast commercial enterprises.*[5]

The example of William Roscoe was an influential one for Philip Rathbone. Rathbone wrote a number of papers on art and its social, moral and political functions which owe much to the Roscoe tradition. In The Political Value of Art to the Municipal Life of a Nation for example (a paper in which he made a plea for 'a statue of Roscoe in a public place') he held that 'a people

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[4] Muir, ibid., p.9

[5] Muir, ibid., p.18

cannot have their vague longings after beauty enshrined in marble or perpetuated on canvas, unless commerce or other forms of industry furnish the means.'[6] An important strand of his thought was the conviction that there was a latent demand for art amongst the working classes, which it was the duty of monied men to encourage and satisfy. Liverpool's importance as 'an early centre of support for the Pre-Raphaelites'[7] was seen by Rathbone, who was responsible for the purchase of Dante's Dream by Rossetti, as a

> *stage of development in the hope of hereafter attaining to the grandeur of Michael Angelo and the fullness and richness of Venetian Art...We must now divert attention to the Italian renascence...The first influence came, as it always must, from above. The people can but accept or reject, it requires a happy combination of the men of genius, with those of leisure, culture and wealth to initiate the intellectual and artistic life of a nation.*[8]

Rathbone was at pains to 'point out how much more permanent the influence of Greek Art has been because it was the work of a whole people i.e. it was contributed to by men who saw life from different sides, and whose keen criticism was tempered by the feeling that they were members of one body, of which they were proud.'[9] When the first Autumn Exhibition was set up by the Corporation in 1871, Rathbone was one of the moving spirits behind the enterprise along with two fellow councillors Edward Samuelson and James Picton. They felt the main object of the exhibition to be 'exciting a widespread interest in Art amongst the masses of general population' with special reference to the tastes of 'the working man'.[10]

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[6] Rathbone, The Political Value of Art, pp. 3 and 4

[7] J. Treuherz, Victorian Painting, London, 1993, p.83.

[8] Rathbone, Political Value of Art, pp. 21 and 22.

[9] Rathbone, ibid., p.10.

[10] J. Willett, Art in a City, London, 1967, p.41.

The Liberal Review argued

> *Liverpool is a moderately rich old town...it is happy in the possession of meek and docile ratepayers, who will cheerfully bear any burden that their representatives choose to put upon them. This is a fortunate circumstance for some people. It must be especially gratifying to those ingenious gentlemen who have conceived the noble idea that it is their glorious mission to be art patrons at the public expense. We are afraid to say how much money Liverpool is at present spending in the furtherance of the sacred cause of Art as it is interpreted by the Prophets Samuelson and Rathbone...we believe that some money comes to the Prophets of Art from the surplus fund, some from the library rate, and some from the 'profits' of the Corporation's Autumn Exhibition.*[11]

There is some truth in the *Review*'s allegations of councillors acting as patrons at the public expense.

E.K. Muspratt noted that

> *as Chairman of the Arts and Exhibitions Sub-Committee, Rathbone visited most of the artists' studios in London every year, with a view to inducing them to send some of their works to the annual Autumn Exhibition in Liverpool. On these occasions he made friends among literary and artistic people, becoming a member of the Savage Club where he was always welcomed on account of his originality and good stories.*[12]

Muspratt supported his friend's visits and called him 'the man who did most in the way of encouraging a love of art in Liverpool'[13], but it is easy to understand why others chose to criticise such journeys.

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[11] Liberal Review, 6 April 1878.

[12] E.K. Muspratt, My Life and Work, London, 1917, p.258.

[13] Muspratt, ibid., p.252.

The central question was whether it was a municipal responsibility to provide art exhibitions. In 1873, the Walker Art Gallery was paid for at the personal cost of the Conservative mayor, Sir Andrew Barclay Walker, as a gift to the town. The Liberal Review observed that in spite of this, 'ratepayers may complain that art galleries, even when they are given, cost in maintenance a considerable sum and are expensive luxuries. We do not argue with ratepayers of this sort.'[14] One of the main planks of municipal Liberalism was the drive to keep rates low in accordance with the holy trinity of 'Peace, Re enchment and Reform'.

Consequently, the Review attacked

> *the advocates of economy who had gone to the Council pledged to reduce the rates by fifty per cent at least; the champions of Liberalism who had bound themselves under heavy penalties to abolish Tory supremacy or perish in the attempt; and the kid glove Liberals who cultivated a reputation for decided aesthetic leanings- were all united on one point, and that was their submission to Mr. Alderman*[15] *when pictures were in question.*[16]

Councillors who prided themselves on being 'Liverpool gentlemen' could not afford to leave their own credentials as cultured individuals open to doubt by opposing the acknowledged experts on the Council. The charge of philistinism would wound deeply.

However, critics of municipal expenditure did not command the fiscal high ground as an excluive stronghold. Attacks could be met on the grounds of political economy by marshalling the ideas of William Morris and John Ruskin. For thinkers like Rathbone, art was the starting

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[14] Liberal Review, 4 May 1878.

[15] Alderman Edward Samuelson.

[16] ibid.

point for a holistic approach to society which could revolutionise and revitalise social, economic and political spheres alike. At the Social Science Congress in Birmingham in 1884, Rathbone presented a paper entitled The Place of Art in the Industrial Progress of the Nation. He portrayed Britain's past economic dominance as having sprung from access to the cheapest labour in the world, but voiced fears that, with the greater resources of coal and steam, the United States would soon overtake Britain.

> *If therefore, we are to maintain our manufacturing position in the world, we must, in future, learn to manufacture the best and most tasteful fabrics rather than the cheapest...A few years ago, Mr. Morris devoted himself to introducing sound art into wall papers, and the general world gently smiled at the aesthetic craze. But what is the practical result? Why that as a direct effort of his action a large export trade (so I am told) in wall papers is growing up which did not before exist.*[17]

Even granted that Rathbone's argument of a need for quality might make sense, the question would still remain as to whether an increased concern with industrial design would require a municipal art gallery.

He was adamant that

> *it is not, however, only necessary that our workmen should be artistically trained; they must live in an artistic atmosphere, among a public ready and able to appreciate and criticise their work...Art thoroughly acquired in theory and in practice, trains the powers of observation, of discrimination, and selection, trains the eye to accuracy, the hand to prompt efficiency and gives command over materials.*[18]

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[17] P.H. Rathbone, The Place of Art in the Future Industrial Progress of the Nation, Liverpool, 1884, p.6.

[18] ibid., p.10.

Besides, Rathbone was swift to underscore other potential social benefits when he addressed the issue of drink.

> *Raise our workmen from the rank of machines and animals into that of thinking, reasoning life-enjoying men. They have as much right to the enjoyment of life as we...At present the means of enjoyment most freely offered them is drink. Can you blame them altogether if they avail themselves of it too freely? But it is said you cannot force these things upon our working population; certainly not, but let them be offered the option. If it be refused- and I believe it would not- then, and not till then, you may accuse our fellow countrymen of inna sensual instincts.*[19]

Returning to his earlier economic arguments, Rathbone concluded that it was necessary to

> *cultivate the taste of our population by art galleries and museums, by concerts and theatres, and they will not only patronise the latter, but they will crave to possess as their own such forms of art to decorate their houses as may be within their means...Day by day will elevate and purify their taste, till it creates a demand for artistic work that will overflow the limits of the country, and create an export trade which may do much to counteract the loss of that supremacy in mere cheapness.*[20]

Hence, an increased municipal investment in the arts would both encourage a qualitative improvement in supply and provoke a greater volume of demand. This was an ambitious and attractive vision, especially in a city which relied so heavily on trade as Liverpool did.

In a lecture of 1875, B.H. Grindley, an art dealer as well as a Conservative councillor had also recognised the potential of connecting art and manufacture more closely. He asserted that

> *the advantages of art knowledge and the opportunities of art culture in several cities have led to the promotion of art manufacture. Paris, not fitted by locality and resources as a field for art manufacture has been made so by the artistic education of its artisans...Liverpool itself once had business of this kind, and had it been as artistically*

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[19] ibid., p.14.

[20] ibid., pp.15 and 16.

alive as it has been commercially, the home of the highest style of pottery would have been in this town, which in former years possessed two or three noted potteries.[21]

Grindley was aware that 'there are those who object to any effort being made by municipal authorities to bring within the reach and view of the people the works of the greatest of our living artists...they object to such exhibitions being held, unless the result of private enterprise.' His counter-attack was that provincial exhibitions were not a luxury provided for the rich since they could 'visit the Royal Aca emy and the other metropolitan exhibitions, and as it is fashionable to do so, they rarely miss the opportunity.' On the contrary, he insisted that 'provincial exhibitions are the greatest blessings to the cultural and artistic classes who are not over-much blessed with this world's goods and to students and artisans.'[22] Grindley's assumption that the Royal Academy represented 'the greatest of our living artists' should be noted.

He backed up his arguments with a quotation from Ruskin's Political Economy of Art, 'the whole nation is, in fact, bound together as men are by ropes off a glacier- if one falls, the rest must either lift him or drag him along with them as dead weight, not without much increase of danger to themselves.' From this standpoint, Grindley concluded 'There is the whole subject relating to the duty of corporations in all matters that really affect the elevation of the masses- we can't clear them! We must raise them!'[23] He was convinced of the Corporation's obligation

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[21] B.H. Grindley, Exhibitions of Pictures and Municipal Management, Liverpool, 1875, pp. 6 and 17.

[22] ibid., p.6.

[23] ibid., p.6.

to intervene in the arts. Moreover, this duty did not merely involve the provision of exhibitions and galleries; the moral and didactic agenda upon which this ideology rested would be founded on a municipal policy which did not shy from making aesthetic judgements.

He conceded that 'it may be argued...why the necessity for corporations to interfere in the matter? Have not Exhibitions of Art been held- successfully held in many places- under other and efficient management?'[24] However he noted that 'in Liverpool we have had in the past good exhibitions; but the vicissitudes of our local Academy of Art we had the honour of reverting to in a previous lecture, and so now simply point out that after holding upwards of forty exhibitions, it was compelled in the absence of adequate support to abandon the work.'[25] In consequence he advanced that

> *the basis of corporation management would appear the most likely to succeed. It has, in the primary place, a responsibility to the people...It possesses too an influence that gives weight to its invitations to artists and guarantees that impartiality shall be strictly maintained in selecting the works to be hung. More it acts on behalf of the town, and so associates not a clique or set, or even an isolated body, but the whole town in its effort to promote really good exhibitions.* [26]

Grindley's argument was that the Corporation could claim to express the aesthetic preferences of the city disinterestedly. This putative independence would justify municipal intervention. However, it was wrong to assume that policy-making was a process in which the whole Council participated. Sets and cliques could dominate in the formulation of policy, as has been demonstrated above.

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[24] ibid., p.7.

[25] ibid., p.8.

[26] ibid., pp. 8 and 9.

In Grindley's writing two functions of a municipal art gallery can be discerned. It should act as a showcase for new talent, and should have a didactic element, directed at 'the people'- i.e. the working classes. As will be demonstrated, his view of these as the proper aims of a gallery was not unchallenged. Local artists, in particular, jealously protected their right to the authoritative voice where aesthetic judgements were concerned.

Grindley remained scornful of the objection

> *suggested by artists and artistic bodies. They suggest that the holding of annual exhibitions is their prerogative...Whether true or not, a general impression obtains in the laic mind that prejudice and cliquism rules over the artist mind in a peculiarly potential way; and, at all events, there is an absence of confidence felt by the purchasers and people in prominent exhibitions conducted by artists alone.*[27]

An obituary for Philip Rathbone echoed this view, assigning 'incalculable value' to his knowledge of Italian art and his connections with the capital, 'because it is of course, essential that if art in Liverpool is to be worth anything it should be superior to narrow provincial aims.'[28] The clash between the Corporation and local artists thus centred on the question of how artistic quality might be judged, by whom and by what authority.

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[27] ibid., p.11.

[28] Newspaper cuttings scrapbook held with the Rathbone Papers, Special Collections, University of Liverpool.

Artists rounded on municipal interference as a damaging influence. The Sport of Civic Life or Art and the Municipality was an attack on municipal art policy launched in 1909. Its editor, Charles Sharpe explained that

> *briefly this booklet is an endeavour on the part of a section of the artists of Liverpool to place before those interested a first hand statement of the disadvantage in which they are placed by the art administration of the city. It is a protest against the marked injustice accorded them with regard to representation in the local gallery...the whole question cannot but provide disquieting food for thought for those who advocate the municipalization of the arts.*[29]

The booklet argued for the recognition of artists as a profession, whose livelihood should be considered and whose advice was indispensable in artistic matters. One of the grievances aired was that the frescoes commisioned from the proceeds of the 1907 Pageant had not been given to Liverpool artists, but to students from London.

Sharpe wrote:

> *this, then, may be taken as the key-note of our agitation. We want fair play for the independent worker and reasonable chance of recognition for local ability; and while obtaining better conditions for ourselves, we aim at placing our art upon a basis more creditable to our city. The time has arrived when any real or fancied obligation to the R.A. or any other society may be set aside, and we wish what is so essentially an expert control. It is as ridiculous in our view that the destiny of Liverpool art should be at the mercy of 'the butcher, the baker and candlestick maker', as it would be to place in the hands of an artist the control of the tramway system.*

Will Rothenstein's article in the booklet was just as scathing. He chose to concentrate on the functions which a municipal art gallery should fulfil and asserted that

> *to furnish a gallery entirely with 'permanent' pictures chosen by men ill-equipped for the task of selecting just those examples of pictorial art which will serve as a basis for the advancement of a promising local school- pictures few of which will educate either*

[29] C.W. Sharpe (ed.), The Sport of Civic Life or Art In the Municipality, Liverpool, 1909, p.3

artists or laymen- is to miss the whole meaning of the ideal of the museum. I hold it to be more important that such culture as is native in any city should be tended, developed and ultimately employed, than that a hundred masterpieces adorn the walls of the public gallery.[30]

In 1904, H.C. Marillier had sought to define such native culture with 'an account of the Liverpool Academy from 1810 to 1867, with memoirs of the principal artists', which he entitled The Liverpool School of Painters. His reasoning was that 'a review was called for by the neglect which local apathy has allowed to obscure and almost obliterate the memory of a truly remarkable group of local artists.'[31] His thesis was that

one cause of the final decline of the Academy was the awakening of a municipal spirit of art in Liverpool, and the starting of annual exhibitions by the corporation which overshadowed all other efforts. But these exhibitions never treated local work generously and the purchases made annually for the permanent collection have in many cases shown a devotion to clap-trap art and an ignorance of real merit which characterises bumbledom in search of the beautiful. This policy has been as great a misfortune for Liverpool as it was for the artists who starved under its administration, and it accounts to some extent for the obscurity in which the Liverpool school of painters has been allowed to remain.

As has been indicated, the Autumn Exhibition was linked to the London art world by the visits which Rathbone and Samuelson made to the capital. In his autobiography, William Bower Forwood wrote,

upon Mr. Rathbone's death, Mr. John Lea became his successor and he has done yeoman service for our Autumn Exhibition. For many years he gave an annual dinner to the artists in London and he was honoured by the presence of the leading members of the Royal Academy and their wives. The dinners took place at the Grand Hotel and were extremely well done. They greatly assisted us in our work of collecting the best pictures of the year.[32]

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[30] W. Rothenstein, 'Art and the Municipality' in The Sport of Civic Life

[31] H.C. Marillier, The Liverpool School of Painters, London, 1904, p.viii

[32] W.B. Forwood, Recollections of a Busy Life, London, 1910, p.123.

Marillier was not alone in disagreeing with Forwood's assumption that the best pictures to be found were associated with London and with the Royal Academy.

In a review of the history of the Walker Art Gallery published in 1951, the curator, Frank Lambert, opined, 'the elected representatives of the people, out of touch with any artistic body other than the Royal Academy, limited the exhibits to academic and conventional work, and then, honestly thinking that they were buying the best of contemporary painting, acquired just those works that the people themselves would have chosen, if they had voted for their choice.'[33] In view of the objections from some quarters to the cost to ratepayers, the Royal Academy's name could be used to convince Liverpool's citizens of the quality (and value for money) of the purchases that their rates funded.

Lambert did admit that 'thanks to the energetic advocacy of Philip Henry Rathbone, Chairman of the Gallery from 1886 to 1896, three important works...were purchased, chiefly by subscription: Millais' Lorenzo and Isabella, Rossetti's Dante's Dream and Holman Hunt's Triumph of the Innocents.' Nevertheless, he levelled the charge that 'local artists, highly regarded elsewhere, were scorned if they showed unconventional tendencies. Wilson Steer, for instance, who was born over the water in Birkenhead and Augustus John...Consequently, after fifty years of accumulations the bulk of the collection consisted of large, anecdotal and photographic paintings of the late nineteenth century.'

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[33] F.Lambert, 'The Walker Art Gallery- Growth of a Policy' in Liverpool Libraries, Museums and Arts Committee Bulletin, October 1951.

This assessment of the municipal collection coincided with H.C. Marillier's analysis. He maintained that the Liverpool School had been handicapped by the Council's art policy, commenting

> *that the National Gallery should not know these men is easily explained. Official art does not so much inform as follow public judgement. What does seem remarkable is the fact, already pointed out, that the city which has vast reason to take a pride in the work of its own sons should remain comparatively callous to its existence. Very few representative pictures by the local men are to be seen in the great Art Gallery of the Liverpool Corporation, which has made no effort to secure them on such occasions as they have come into the market.*[34]

Grindley strongly refuted such allegations. He knew that 'it was thought that Corporation Exhibitions would injure local artists; that either they would be utterly ignored or that they would be so favoured by virtue of their being town's exhibitions and they citizens, that the poorest trash by local names would find places to the degradation of true art.' From his point of view, these fears were unfounded. Unlike Marillier, Grindley attributed the credit for a revival in local artistic interest to the development of the Autumn Exhibition. He boasted that 'these prognostications have not been realised, on the contrary it has been discovered that nearly two hundred persons claim to work as local artists, and that at the last exhibition, one hundred positively found places on the walls; and yet few can say that in a representative exhibition such as it was, most of them did not well deserve the places they had obtained.' [35]

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[34] Marillier, Liverpool School of Painters, p.39.

[35] Grindley, Exhibitions of Pictures, p.15.

Grindley's reading of the story of the Liverpool Academy was very different from Marillier's. Grindley observed that 'local art was thought a few years ago to be concentrated in the seven members of the local Academy, but since these exhibitions have opened, the Academy itself has found upwards of twenty deserving a place on its roll.' He was confident that

> *by these exhibitions an impetus has been given to the artistically inclined to such an extent that exhibitions abound;...a local Water Colour Society has been inaugurated...the students at our Government Schools of Art have increased in number...lectures on art have been popular; and to crown all a local Art Club has been opened.*[36]

Undoubtedly, the Corporation faced a dilemma in its treatment of local artists. The municipality should nurture native talent, yet both the didactic function of art and the need for the municipal collection to inspire civic pride by its quality, tended to direct attention towards the capital.

In connection with the local painter William Davis, Marillier complained that 'the Corporation of Liverpool, which can afford to buy modern pictures (many of them rubbish) at high prices, has never had a penny piece to spare for works by this really fine artist.'[37] The Liberal Review insisted at the 1878 Autumn Exhibition that

> *Art exhibitions should not be used to show off the daubs of young ladies and gentlemen who have gone from the nursery to a fine art school, and fancy that they have become artists because they can paint a geranium or produce a portrait of a gigantic plum...People do not go to exhibitions to see how the learners are getting on. They rather want to gaze at the grand works of the masters of the noble art.*[38]

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[36] ibid., p.16.

[37] Marillier, Liverpool School of Painters, p.113.

[38] Liberal Review, 14 September 1878.

Did the 'Liverpool School' produce artists who were able enough to be ranked with 'the masters'? Marillier was the chief advocate for the School and was very concerned to stress the high quality of the work associated with its artists. He conjectured that

> *poverty was a common feature with many of them, and 'pot-boiling' pictures, sold for a few pounds, or even shillings to keep body and soul together could not have been altogether unknown in their precarious lives. It is difficult otherwise to account for the occasional inferiority into which some of them lapsed; yet even 'pot boilers' in that age of strenuous effort were meritorious compared with the paltry works which now so often qualify for the name.*[39]

Such a defence allowed the blame for any works of a poor standard to be placed squarely with the municipal authorities for their lack of support, rather than to raise the possibility of shortcomings in the artists.

A second, highly ingenious defence of the School was as a 'school of colour'. Artists such as Henry Dawson, W.L. Windus, William Huggins, William Davis, W.J.J.C. Bond and Robert Tonge

> *agreed in having eyes for the wealth of colour in nature, and painted from a full palette, not in classical browns or greys. It is thus as a school of colour before everything that the Liverpool men deserve notice. Thus, they were quick to seize upon the new ideas offered by Turner...and when the 'Pre Raphaelite' outbreak occurred they were the sole body of artists in England prepared by previous training and experience to appreciate its significance. Headed by Windus, they welcomed it with enthusiasm.*[40]

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[39] Marillier, Liverpool School of Painters, p.46.

[40] ibid., p.34.

He quoted Ford Madox Brown, who found 'a host of good pictures by Liverpool artists- Davis, Tonge and Windus chiefly'[41] on a visit to the town.[42]

Having established that bright colours were an integral element of these Liverpool works, Marillier speculated

> *the only reason that can be assigned for them not having made a greater impression at the time they were painted is that they were designed to tone, and were probably crude and over brilliant in colour when fresh. Huggins when remonstrated with for painting a purple donkey remarked that it was not meant to be looked at for twenty years and today that donkey appears to be the perfective of glossy colour...Time and varnish according to Millais were the real old masters, and time has been an important factor in making the Liverpool pictures what they are today, models of sound, vigorous painting and rich colour. It is not the least part of their merit that, at the sacrifice of immediate reward, they were painted so as to ripen slowly under the eyes of another generation.*[43]

Marillier's suggestion that the Liverpool painters produced 'pot boilers' to survive does not fit with his assertion that they painted for the benefit of unborn generations 'at the sacrifice of immediate reward.' More significantly, he tempered his insistence on the merits of their work, which should have been obvious to contemporaries. This was a body of work which had become ripe for a sympathetic reappraisal. Marillier could hardly justify his attack on the Council. Sections of the press and of the Council were willing to criticise purchasing decisions on the grounds of taste and cost. In such circumstances, pictures of bright purple donkeys, which

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[41] ibid., p.43.

[42] Ford Madox Brown was visiting John Miller at the time. Miller's role as an important patron is examined later on in this paper.

[43] Marillier, Liverpool School of Painters, pp.47 and 48.

should not be looked at for twenty years, would represent a foolhardy and controversial investment.

The attempt to create a 'Liverpool School' proved problematic for Marillier. He believed that

> *the fact was that these men learnt to use their eyes and to draw, and having no studio training or traditions to warp them, they took, like Lord Bacon, all nature for their province. This was the binding link between them, coupled with a loose camaraderie, which did not include all however, and which depended more on the chance of residence than on community of tastes. They had no common style of painting, though an interchange of influence can be traced here and there.*[44]

A more promising approach was through the 'patron most intimately associated with the school as a whole'- John Miller, a Liverpool tobacco merchant. Miller had apparently taken 'a considerable interest in the 'Pre Raphaelite' artists and their career apart from Liverpool. Thus he did yeoman service in collecting and lending pictures for the exhibition of their works at Russell Place in 1858...He was also, together with Windus, Bond, Davis and others, an original member of the old Hogarth Club, which was formed to advance their principles.'[45]

'Mr. Miller's house,' wrote Marillier, 'was a rendezvous for Saturday evening gatherings...at which any of the artists who lived sufficiently near were accustomed to meet and discuss each other's work. Pictures were brought and handed round for approval, technical questions were debated, and in fact these reunions offered opportunity for such general interchange of ideas as

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[44] ibid., p.34.

[45] ibid., p.42.

is required in order to form anything like a regular school of painting.'[46] The patronage of John Miller and the circle of artists which he gathered around him as a result provides a reminder that the cultural milieu of the town was shaped by influences other than the official municipal line. Miller shared the interest of these Liverpool artists in the work of the pre-Raphaelites, and as Marillier indicated, he provided a focal point for meetings and discussions.

Marillier mentioned other local collectors who had bought works by the artists of the 'Liverpool School', including George Rae, and William Hope. He advised that 'seekers after the characteristic art of Liverpool...must apply to private collectors...their search will reveal to them a record of fine work which they will be surprised never to have heard of before.'[47]

It was Marillier's claim that

> *there existed even before the time of the 'pre-Raphaelites' and lasting well into the 'seventies' a group of provincial men who adopted these principles from instinct , and carried them out in practice as a matter of everyday work, with a very high degree of perfection. The Liverpool school of painters is a school in virtue of the same qualities exactly which characterise the British school as a whole...It was in a sense a prophetic epitome of the best modern British art both as regards naturalness of subject and individuality of method. It is from this point of view that we regard the Liverpool school as being more interesting, more original and on these grounds more worthy of recognition than the earlier school of Norwich which was based closely upon Dutch tradition and limited methods of expression.*[48]

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[46] ibid., p.45.

[47] ibid., p.113.

[48] ibid., p.29.

The crux of his argument lay in the essentially British nature of the work of the Liverpool artists. He set them in a tradition which developed from Turner and produced 'good, honest, forthright work, such as one associates with the best British masters of an old school.'

The significance of Marillier's work lay in its identification of a local school of some quality which had been concealed by a conservative municipal arts policy. This would represent a severe blow to Corporation interference. Marillier's criticisms would undermine the axis on which municipal aesthetic authority was based: a concern to promote the image of Liverpool as a city of culture and a claim to call upon a superior aesthetic judgement as a basis for doing so.

Recognition of the need for a distinctive, British contribution to the arts can also be traced in the writings of Rathbone and Grindley and was related to the spectre of Imperial decline. Grindley asked

> *do we refer with the pride of mankind to the glories of ancient peoples, cities and nations?- it is not to their deeds of valour, great though they were; not to their festivals and state pageants; not to their commercial greatness, their ships, their mines, their silver and gold; but to their Art, their grand temples, their monuments, their sculptured marbles and their pictures. The other elements of their greatness at the period of their power are all forgotten or passed away, but their Art lives on, lives now and will live forever...How important then that each municipality should promote to its utmost the cultivation of Art.*[49]

Rathbone subscribed to this viewpoint as well;

> *Liverpool with her half million inhabitants cannot expect to hold the same place in the world's eye or to have the same effect on the world's destinies as Venice or Bruges of old with their two hundred thousand. They were not only great and rich but did not*

[49] Grindley, Exhibitions of Pictures, p.7.

disdain to assert their dignity by the stateliness of their monuments and the graceful courtliness of their civic ceremonies.[50]

However, he did believe that 'we have one great advantage over former civilisations: the correct prosecution of Science, and if we can work up our spare energies by a sincere devotion to Literature, Science and the Arts, we may stave off the decline by which we are otherwise threatened.'[51]

His niece, Eleanor was aware of this connection between art and citizenship as the cornerstone of his thought. She commented 'he believed in strengthening corporate life and in quickening civic patriotism...making the visible city a place to be proud of'. Eleanor summed up his work

in a sentence occurring in an address which he gave to the Art Congress at Birmingham, 'Let us not be shamed to cultivate what I venture to call corporate egotism: to strive that the feelings, passions, affections and aspirations of a generation shall be recorded for future ages in the creation of a truly national art. '[52]

Principal Rendall, in an obituary for the University of Liverpool magazine, concurred with this assessment, suggesting that for Philip Rathbone 'the promotion of art was part of the functions of government, municipal and national...it is the business of corporate bodies to raise public edifices and galleries worthy of the larger life they represent.'

The didactic, moralistic conceptions of art which were favoured by Rathbone and Grindley, led them to press for greater municipal intervention in the arts to earn Liverpool a reputation as a

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[50] P.H. Rathbone, Realism, Idealism and the Grotesque, Liverpool, 1877, p.5.

[51] ibid., p.6.

[52] E. Rathbone, William Rathbone- A Memoir, London, 1905, pp. 460 and 461.

new Venice. Acknowledged aesthetes could exert a disproportionate influence on Corporation policy. A growing sense of the temporary nature of empires, in comparison to the eternal worth of the cultural artefacts which they left behind, intensified their eagerness. However, at the same time, movements such as Aestheticism were attaching greater value to the independence of the artist. The closing decades of the nineteenth century had witnessed artists such as Whistler prescribing 'Art for Art's sake.' They were seeking wider creative freedom by challenging the dominance of bodies such as the Royal Academy. Such metropolitan institutions had long been the guides for the Council in determining the quality of contemporary art and so conflict was assured.

Efforts to encourage corporate egotism and national character sat uneasily with an artistic profession which was coming to demand greater freedom. Rathbone and Grindley believed that social, moral, cultural and economic life could be regenerated through the inspiration of the best contemporary art. However, their definition of the acme of contemporary art as the output of the Royal Academy was unacceptable to provincial artists striving to break from what they perceived as its stifling constraints. There were two main areas for conflict over Liverpool's municipal art policy:

i) the dispute over whether art should be harnessed to economic or political programmes

ii) the rejection of the artistic canon which these programmes turned to for inspiration.

Marillier's determination to champion the existence and the quality of a Liverpool school of painters should be viewed in the context of this struggle between artistic freedom and municipal enterprise. If he could demonstrate that the Liverpool school could have provided a distinctive,

British cultural legacy but had been stifled by municipal interference, there would be undoubted implications for the relationship between artists and government, both local and central. Whether Marillier did prove his case is less certain.

Artists suggested that municipal intervention to create an attractive civic image ran counter to the promotion of civic patriotism. A pride in Liverpool was best fostered by a recognition of local art. Thus, the arguments about a municipal art policy for Liverpool were constructed, in part, around concepts of civic image, civic pride and participation. Liverpool's cultural duties were all the more onerous because of the historic contribution of ports and merchant cities to the arts. A municipal arts policy should aim to project an image of Liverpool as a new Venice. The challenge of discovering (or inventing) a distinctive British artistic legacy to match Imperial pretensions had posed fundamental questions concerning aesthetic authority. The expanding scope of Victorian urban government and competition with other cities (and other civilizations) had brought artistic output under the municiapl aegis. Where the municipality sought to subjugate the arts to civic image-building, as in Liverpool, such intervention might find artists ready to appeal to the inherent freedom of genius and to protect autonomous expression by calling on local pride.

Chapter Eight- Images, Perceptions and Participation: The failure to incorporate Bootle

In 1947, G.D.H. Cole suggested that the 1888 Local Government Act 'created a structure...quite extraordinarily resistant to major changes, however desirable they might come to be in the light of alterations in the distribution of population, in the scope of locally administered services, and in the technical condition of administrative efficiency.'[1] Between the autumn of 1902 and the summer of 1903, the City of Liverpool and the Borough of Bootle were engaged in fierce conflict as Liverpool attempted to incorporate its northern neighbour. There was keen national, as well as local, interest in the proceedings since a precedent would be established for other instances of cities hoping to extend their boundaries. The Municipal Year Book for 1903 identified a notable tendency 'towards the creation of larger areas for the purposes of municipal administration' and singled out the 'proposal made by Liverpool for the absorption of Bootle'[2] as an illustration. The Municipal Journal agreed that 'the fight is exceedingly interesting, and it is in its way of very great importance. Amalgamation and absorption seem to be the order of the day'[3].

The struggle between the two municipalities had important consequences for their images. During their attempts to persuade firstly the Local Government Board and subsequently the Select Committee to favour their proposals for the future of Bootle, the Corporations undertook a thorough examination of the ways in which both viewed and governed their communities. The substance behind civic rhetoric and imagery, the nature of the community, the representation of the interest groups within it and the ideological underpinnings of the system of local government were of paramount significance in the debates which took place.

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1 G.D.H. Cole, Local and Regional Government, London, 1947, p.12.

2 See the section entitled "Municipal Developmenmts in 1902" in The Municipal Year Book for 1903.

3 Municipal Journal, 16 Jan 1903, p.52.

By retracing the events of 1902 and 1903 these central themes will be explored to show how the fight for the right to govern Bootle encouraged thought about the relationships between image, identity and community and how differences in conceptual and theoretical approaches to communal life and the institutions for its administration were thrown into sharper relief.

The analytical foundations of this paper result in an account of the attempted extension of Liverpool which emphasises factors which have not been adequately explored in previous studies. The first section of the paper will outline these areas. The second section uses, as far as possible, a chronologically ordered narrative informed by a methodology which considers the dynamics of image, community and identity in greater detail.

The limits of economic analysis

In his account of the Corporation of Liverpool, Brian White noted that, 'by 1914...the city of Liverpool was only one part of a much larger urban and suburban area on both sides of the river which economically and even socially formed the single community or conurbation of Merseyside.'[4] The failure of the city of Liverpool to 'expand sufficiently to contain within its boundaries as citizens anything like the whole number of those who gained their livelihood from the port of Liverpool' accordingly required explanation. On an economic basis, Bootle's survival on the boundaries of Liverpool would seem to be a curious anomaly. Yet the reasoning behind White's understanding of the 'problem' was practically the same as that which informed the actions of the Liverpool Corporation- a view of community which was

[4] B. White, A History of the Corporation of Liverpool 1835-1914, Liverpool University Press 1951, p.167.

inherently flawed because of its emphasis on commercial and economic ties as being indisputably at the centre of communal life. The development of a concept of community which did not rely on commercial independence from the port of Liverpool[5] for its validity was one prong of a Bootleian strategy centring on civic image. The other was to undermine the grandeur of the city of Liverpool's image to reveal a sham.

White appeared perplexed that 'a strong and independent municipal spirit had come to exist in Bootle in spite of its lack of a separate economic life and the artificial character of its municipal origin.'[6] Whilst Bootle did not have a separate economic life, he remained convinced that the strength of opposition within the borough to Liverpool's aggrandisement must have sprung from economic self-interest. He suggested that 'the suburban population wished to avoid paying its share towards the inevitably high cost of the social services in an area with so much poverty as Liverpool, and that the exodus to the suburbs was in fact a flight from social responsibility.'[7]

The 'problem' of Bootle's continuing separate identity arose from the model of community based on economic relations which White[8], as a Marxist, adopted. Civic image offers a different perspective for understanding identity. The existence of Bootle as a separate municipality was a question with wide implications in terms of social, ceremonial and political affairs in the region. Bootle's argument came to centre on principles such as the vitality of civic life and the need to foster local patriotism. Meanwhile, Liverpool pointed to

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[5] This distinction between the port of Liverpool and the city of Liverpool is a key one with regard to the political economy of the Mersey region. Since 1857, the Liverpool docks (which included important dock frontage in Bootle) had been under the independent control of the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board, having passed out of the hands of the Corporation of Liverpool.

[6] White, History of Corporation of Liverpool, p.175.

[7] ibid. p.176.

[8] Margaret Simey explained to me in a conversation in May 1997 that White, probably her late husband Lord Simey's most outstanding student, was a Marxist.

the glory which would result from being part of the second city of the Empire. The Local Government Board and Select Committee inquiries were exercises in presenting an image to outside groups so the arena of images was of fundamental strategic importance and was correspondingly fiercely contested.

The intensity of feeling which the proposed incorporation aroused cannot be understood unless adequate explanatory power is accorded to the competing images involved. Economic autonomy was not a necessary condition for the development of a robust civic image and image, identity and community merit closer analysis in an account of Liverpool's unsuccessful northern extension.

A narrative of the attempted incorporation of Bootle

Hampson, the Parliamentary Committee and the 'official' vision

On 9 September 1902, the Conservative councillor R.A. Hampson led a deputation to wait on the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board. From the first the principal line of attack against Bootle was to be that of the commercial benefits which amalgamation would bring. Hampson commented, 'the Corporation have always understood that a very strong feeling has existed in commercial circles in Liverpool as well as in the general community in favour of Bootle being included in Liverpool.'[9]

The question had been raised because Bootle was planning a representation to the Local Government Board to include the townships of Litherland and Orrell. Hampson reminded the Docks and Harbour Board that the docks accounted for £200,000 of Bootle's total rateable value of £500,000 and argued that the municipal improvements which Bootle was offering to attract the two townships would mean increased expense for the Board. In addition, he highlighted the fact that the Board was assessed at £200,000 on £4,000,000 capital expenditure in Bootle, in contrast to just £178,000 on £16,000,000 in Liverpool. Should amalgamation be brought to a successful conclusion, he suggested that he would be prepared to devise 'some comprehensive scheme for dealing with the whole question of the rating of the docks along the river frontage.'[10]

The Bootle municipal elections of November 1902 encouraged a hardening of opinion against Liverpool which would later ensure a strong, united line from the Bootle Corporation. The Bootle Times advised its readers, 'one point should be kept in view by voters in the forthcoming November elections, and it is the question of the absorption of Bootle by Liverpool.'[11] The Liberal candidate B.S. Johnson drew attention to 'the great apathy of the people in connection with municipal contests' in 'the huge area of Liverpool'.[12] At a meeting of Liberal candidates, Johnson outlined his ideas at greater length.

'Freedom is the rock upon which the British Empire must be built...the loyalty and devotion of our self-governing colonies...the priceless boon of local self-government for our Municipal Institutions upon which our safety, comfort and prosperity depend.' After this paean which connected freedom, self-government and municipal independence, Johnson continued that

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[9] A Shorthand Note of the Deputation to the Dock Board, 9 September 1902, pp.1 and 2.

[10] ibid., p.5.

[11] Bootle Times, 18 October 1902.

[12] Bootle Times, 25 October 1902.

citizens should be able to influence 'the policy and conduct of the governing body. In a huge city like Liverpool, owing to the extent of its area and the vastness of its population, such a consciousness of citizenship seems to the average ratepayer impossible of realisation.'

Johnson insisted that 'a citizen should be a living force not a mere unit'. In order to see that this was not so in Liverpool, one only had to observe 'the lack of political interest, municipal patriotism and of social solidarity in the huge districts of the north end of the city...the great working class district- similar in every respect to Bootle, except its form of government- has been left to grow up a vast wilderness of bricks and mortar.' The Liverpool Corporation was to find its municipal record in the districts of Walton and Kirkdale, on the boundaries of Bootle, sternly tested over the next nine months. The Bootle Council hoped to find the city's image wanting on questions of efficiency and economy, as well as on political participation.

Johnson argued that 'to be a Liberal in Liverpool is to be for ever debarred from attaining the honourable position of Chief Magistrate and to be excluded from the higher honours and greater responsibilities of corporate life.' The Liberals were in a majority in Bootle and feared that their path to municipal honours might be barred in Conservative Liverpool. Nevertheless, doubts about the practical worth of a voice on the City Council cut across party lines. W.H. Clemmey believed 'if they were included in Liverpool the small number of members they would send would be but a drop in the bucket, and things would not be kept up to the mark as in their own government.'[13] Clemmey's example as mayor-elect of Bootle, despite being in the Conservative minority, further reinforced Johnson's case.

Following the municipal elections, both Bootle and Liverpool prepared applications to the Local Government Board with the intention of absorbing Litherland and Orrell. If Bootle managed to add these areas, any future attempt at amalgamation with Liverpool would be much less likely to succeed. Conversely if Liverpool extended to include the townships,

[13] Bootle Times, 1 November 1902.

Bootle would be practically encircled and the borough's prospects of remaining autonomous would be put in jeopardy.

The Bootle memorial indicated that the population of Bootle rose from 27,734 in 1881 to 58,556 in 1901 and rateable value increased from £143,704 to £509,311 over the same period. Pains were taken to point out that 'the recent growth of Bootle is due not to any works of the Liverpool Corporation but mainly to the development of trade in connection with the Port'[14] In addition, the memorial struck at one of the weak points of Liverpool's civic image- sanitary matters. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, Liverpool had been tarnished as the 'Black Spot of the Mersey' for its high death rate. The city had since acquired a more progressive reputation but the memorial did not miss the chance of comparing the death rates of the two municipalities. Bootle's gross death rate of 18 per 1000 inhabitants was contrasted with Liverpool's figure of 21.6.

It was proposed that the city's apparently progressive image in issues such as sanitary administration and housing was really a consequence of the existence of unparalleled distress which had necessitated the development of powers which were not required in Bootle. Therefore, according to Bootle, the programmes for slum clearance and the construction of municipal housing which the Liverpool Corporation had increasingly undertaken since the 1890s provided evidence of degrading conditions in the city rather than proof of a visionary City Council.

The Liverpool Daily Post recognised that in Bootle's manoeuvres to win over the townships 'something like a challenge was thrown down to Liverpool, and the Parliamentary Committee has without any display of tact hastened to take it up.'[15] The Daily Post was the city's most widely read Liberal newspaper and maintained that the internal politics of the Conservative

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[14] Bootle Memorial in Bootle Times, 22 November 1902.

[15] Liverpool Daily Post, 29 November 1902.

party were responsible for the belligerent approach which the Liverpool Corporation as a whole came to take regarding the northern extension. The Daily Post noted the resignation of the Conservative Alderman Bartlett from the Liverpool Parliamentary Committee and denounced the 'precipitation with which the aggressive section of the Conservative party is hurrying the matter on.'[16]

Councillor McGuffie was excluded from the Parliamentary Committee and a correspondent in the Daily Post insisted that 'Councillor Hampson, until recently the leader of the Conservative party in the Council lent his voice, his influence and his vote to the exclusion from the Parliamentary Committee.'[17] McGuffie had 'inspired the incorporation of Garston into Liverpool, believing that this district had 'immense industrial possibilities.'[18] Throughout the contest with Bootle, McGuffie remained unconvinced of the need for expansion. He argued that Garston, which had been absorbed by the city in 1902, provided plenty of scope for municipal enterprise and was concerned that the addition of Bootle would lead to the southern areas of the city being neglected by investors. Bartlett and McGuffie had also questioned the appeasement of Liverpool's Protestants which Tories like Hampson had advocated.

Hampson could not afford to have dissent with the aggressive line against Bootle represented on the Parliamentary Committee. This Committee took the lead in devising the strategy of the struggle and Hampson derived his power from his dominance on it. The secrecy surrounding negotiations and the practical autonomy of the Committee, which he secured by insisting on the need to present a common front within the Council to the outside world, enabled him to override any opposition as the campaign unfolded. The incorporation of Bootle was an important part of the policy of 'civic patriotism' which Hampson had outlined in an article in the Liverpool Review in 1901.

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[16] ibid.

[17] Liverpool Daily Post, 1 December 1902.

[18] Waller, Democracy and Sectarianism, pp.195 and 196.

He argued that the landscape of municipal politics in Liverpool had been altered by the boundary extensions of 1895.

> *When the Unionist Party came into power in 1895 upon the incorporation of 'Greater Liverpool', a new state of things was created, and it was evident that the future progress and prosperity of the City of Liverpool in a large measure depended upon the manner in which that party would discharge the trust committed to them. The programme which the party placed before itself was to get the broadest posssible view of the interests of the city. It was seen that upon the work of the new Council...depended to a large extent the maintenance of the trade and commerce of Liverpool. Acting upon these lines, the leaders of the party set themselves to work out what I may describe as the realisation of a policy of 'Civic Patriotism'.*[19]

He indicated that the municipalisation of the tramways, the improvement of the approaches to the Landing Stage, the remodelling of the Pier Head and the campaign against insanitary property were all aspects of this policy. Trade and commerce were recognised as the dominant interests of the city, and municipal expansion would serve those interests. Hampson's article concluded

> *We approach the First of November*[20] *with unshaken resolutions and faith in continued successes, and in the extended progress and prosperity of a still 'Greater Liverpool', which will now include Garston, and front the banks of the estuary of the Mersey for many miles.*[21]

Greater Liverpool was the key to this policy of civic patriotism. Municipal expansion, trade and commerce were inter-connected in Hampson's vision of Liverpool.He chose to portray the question of expansion as an all-or-nothing scenario to enforce agreement on the City Council, insisting that it would 'affect the prosperity and progress of the community of Liverpool for all time.'[22]

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[19] Liverpool Review, 26 October 1901.

[20] The date of the municipal elections.

[21] Liverpool Review, 26 October 1901.

[22] A Shorthand note of the Special Meeting of the Liverpool City Council, 29 November 1902, p.9.

Alderman Burgess, the deputy chairman of the Parliamentary Committee thought that Bootle had achieved municipal status 'because...our predecessors...were not...as much alive to the interests of Liverpool as we might have hoped they would have been.'[23] Thus the issue of the expansion of the city was elevated to one on which there could be no opposition to the policy of aggression. Any dissent could be portrayed as treasonable, damaging the prospects of the city and displaying a lack of a sense of civic duty in the same way as the Liverpool Corporation had in 1868.

The anxieties of Clemmey and Johnson appear to have been vindicated. By constructing an image of Liverpool in which expansion was both destiny and a fundamental test of civic virtue, Hampson and the Parliamentary Committee were able to confirm their powerful position. Along with this image came the connected ideological perspective of commerce as the raison d'etre of the community. Burgess was of the opinion that Bootle 'is as much a part of Liverpool as Toxteth Park, or as Everton, or as Kirkdale...I may almost say it is more so, because it contains some of the most important of our docks.'[24] He added 'if the affairs of Bootle were administered by a common authority, certainly in the interests of the community it would be very much better administered as part of this great City of Liverpool.'[25]

The interests of the community and the interests of business had become identical in this model, since commercial ties performed the dual function of stimulating the development of a community and of proving its existence. Hampson advanced that 'this was recognised in 1895 upon the incorporation of greater Liverpool, when the outer districts were brought in, and it has been recently recognised in the case of Garston, which only this last year has been made part of Liverpool.'[26]

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[23] ibid., p.4.

[24] Special Meeting of Liverpool City Council, 29 November 1902, p.3.

[25] ibid., p.5.

[26] ibid., p.12.

Although it was true that commercial links had been invaluable to Liverpool's success in the addition of Toxteth Park, West Derby, Walton and Wavertree to the city in 1895, and in the incorporation of Garston seven years later, the question of consent had been a vital one. An 1890 Extension Bill had foundered in 1890 at a cost of £20,000 because of a lack of consent. In 1902 Garston's elected body, unlike that of Bootle, had been split into two equal factions over the issue. Dr. Permewan insisted that coercion could only reflect badly on Liverpool's name, being 'a most undignified position for a great city like Liverpool, and a very unfair position to take against a small municipality like Bootle.'

The concerns raised in the Liverpool Council were largely confined to the style but not the substance of the policy of annexation. The English notion of 'fair play' made some reluctant to resort to outright coercion and also formed a central plank in the rhetoric of the Bootle case as the Borough tried to mobilise support. Captain Turner, an opponent of the Liverpool incorporation of Garston who now represented the district on the City Council, agreed that it would be 'a very undignified position if they rushed at Bootle, took her by the throat, and said "You must become part and parcel of Liverpool"'.[27] He contended that the recent extensions of 1895 and 1902 provided enough scope and expense for municipal energies 'during the next 25 years'. Turner's inability to defend what he saw as Garston's interests in the City Council provided further support for Bootle's arguments.

Since the case for annexation was challenged on the grounds of the need to represent different interests and to give consent its due importance, a defence against these charges was required. Burgess widened the issue and insisted that it was undesirable that 'in developing the port of Liverpool containing 700,000 people, they should be dependent on the whim of a Corporation representing 60,000 to say how the development should be carried out.'[28] This analysis had the

[27] Liverpool Courier, 1 December 1902.

[28] ibid.

benefit of blurring the clarity of Bootle's emotive appeal to the authority of the voice of the people, through an extension of the constituency in question. The conflict between Bootle and Liverpool revolved around the former insisting on its autonomy as a community and the latter asserting its hegemony as the community to which Bootle (as an individual) must defer.

The parties' criteria for the existence of a community were not congruent. James Webster, who had previously been an alderman in Bootle but who supported the expansion scheme, illustrated this in an interview with the Liverpool Courier. He split the interests at stake into social and commercial categories, explaining that 'he felt inclined rather to sacrifice the social interest for what he considered the more important, viz. the commercial.' However, he conceded 'one could not ignore the strong feeling with regard to the social work carried on in connection with the Bootle Town Hall...the people of Bootle would even sacrifice the commercial interests and the possibility of foreign competition in favour of Town Hall influence.' In conclusion, he recommended 'under no circumstances should the health and sanitary matters and the police court be allowed to pass away...as Liverpool was becoming...too unwieldy.'[29] The Representation to the Local Government Board by the Liverpool Corporation contradicted Webster to suggest that 'the increase in the number of the Council' enabled 'the individual members thereof, to devote more time and attention to the business under their control.'

The advantage of Bootle's position was that there was strong identification with the image of the community as a social entity among the people of the municipality. Bootle's defence emphasised these social and spiritual aspects of municipal life; it sought to test how firmly the ratepayers of the city supported the Liverpool Corporation and participated in the image of the community adumbrated by Hampson and his commercial allies. Mr. Geraghty claimed

[29] ibid.

Liverpool was 'on the brink of bankruptcy' and postulated that expansion would be 'at the expense of the already too heavily burdened people in Liverpool.'[30]

Geraghty maintained that the City's wealthy image disguised severe financial problems and he posed the question as to whether the municipal policy of glorious aggrandizement was worth paying for. This point was to become ever more crucial as Bootle's stern defence of its independence tested the commercially orientated concept of community propagated by Hampson.

Bootle Corporation and the concept of community

The meeting of the Bootle Town Council on 3 December 1902 found the councillors determined to resist Liverpool. Dr. Wild, a former mayor of Bootle, believed that the Town Council 'looked after the interests of the borough and district in a way which could not have been done by a body which is so remote from our town, and so remote from considering the interests and property of such a district as this as is the City Council of Liverpool.'

Liverpool had claimed that there was a community of interest between the two Corporations in municipal ventures such as water and gas. The city did little to nurture this 'community of interest' by the aggressive, high-handed style in which the question of extension was approached. Tactically the community of interest represented a quandary. Mutual concerns were to be cited to underline that the two municipalities were practically one and the same and should be united. Paradoxically, the Local Government Board would be persuaded to approve the extension if Liverpool were able to prove that Bootle was acting **against** the interests of the city and the surrounding area.

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[30] Liverpool Courier, 2 December 1902.

Those who were fighting for Bootle depicted the community of interest as a fiction and presented Liverpool as a greedy and aggressive Corporation. The struggle was made all the fiercer because of the development of what might justly be called a siege mentality. Captain Oversby, a Bootle councillor, compared the affair to the siege of Ladysmith and derided Liverpool as the school bully.[31] The imagery which was used in connection with Liverpool played a part in articulating and fuelling the sense of injustice at the proposed extension, allowing opposition to be emotionally mobilised.

Dr. Wild imagined Liverpool as an unscrupulous squire seeking to win over a maiden whom he had ignored for years because now she has developed to womanhood.[32] By such imagery a municipal conflict was to be invested with all of the moral certainty and sense of adventure of a medieval quest. Two poems in the Bootle Times were couched in similarly emotive terms. One described Liverpool

> *Like an octopus spreading its suckers afar*
> *She sucks dry her victims, in peace and in war;*
> *Thou'lt never more know the sweet freedom once thine*
> *Till the sun fails to rise and the stars cease to shine.*[33]

The other set the struggle for Bootle's independence in the traditions of the English Commonwealth, admonishing readers that

> *Cromwell, Pym and Hampden*
> *Have fought for such as this;*
> *Defeat would never damp them*
> *Their object never miss...*
>
> *Then here's a health to Bootle town,*
> *The lighthouse, shield and crest,*
> *What care we for the Liver's frown,*

[31] Bootle Town Council Meeting, 3 December 1902.

[32] Shorthand note of Bootle Town's Meeting, 30 December 1902, p.7.

[33] Bootle Times, 6 December 1902.

THE COAT OF ARMS OF BOOTLE

The Bootle coat of arms were created and adopted in 1869, the year of the Borough's Incorporation.

The three gold stag's heads on the blue chevron were taken from the arms of the Earls of Derby;

The three blue fleur-de-lys on their silver background were taken from the arms of the Linacre family from Yorkshire; and the three mural crowns were adopted from the arms of the Bootle family.

The crest is surmounted by a rock lighthouse, which is rare and indicates the Borough's position at the mouth of the river Mersey.

The motto 'Respice, Aspice, Prospice', means 'Reflect on the past, consider the present and provide for the future'.



Figure 1- The 'lighthouse, shield and crest' of Foulkes' poem.
Source: P. Woolley, Bootle in Picture Postcards.



A MYSTERY GIRL
Harry Dowden, the official Photographer for the Borough, took this photograph in c. 1905. The young girl's dress appears to have been made from 'Bootle Times' newspapers. On her right shoulder can be seen the word 'Times' and a picture of a lady. The front of the dress must have been beautifully designed because it had copied the Borough coat of arms. Part of the Latin motto ('Res' of Respice) is just visible bottom left and her head-dress is made up of the castle and lighthouse from the coat of arms. Who was this girl?

Figure 2- A personification of Bootle as the helpless maiden.
Source: Woolley, op.cit..

The bird that fouls its nest.[34]

Bootle's coat of arms, 'the lighthouse, shield and crest' featured on a number of picture postcards (see *figures 1 and 2)* produced at this time which would have encouraged support for the borough's identity.[35] While Bootle's insignia were celebrated, Liverpool's health record was ridiculed with the undignified image of the Liver fouling its nest. The attack on Liverpool's image which such speeches contained, encouraged Bootleians to identify more closely with their town and to become more aware of their existence as a community which defined itself against the tyranny and disease of the city.

Fertile ground for attacks on Liverpool was provided by the issue of how representative the Corporation was. Oversby was shocked that

> *Hundreds of men within a stone's throw of the Liverpool Town Hall who are very large ratepayers, and have been all their lives...have never hobnobbed with the current jelly section, and never received an invitation to the Town Hall in their existence, whereas in Bootle there is hardly a ratepayer of any importance at all who does not at some time or other participate in the hospitality of this Town Hall (Hear, hear).*[36]

Civic functions were occasions on which ratepayers could come to feel that they participated in the municipality in a real sense. As well as fostering identification with the Bootle Corporation, civic ceremonial supported the hierarchies of local society, by indicating the importance of particular citizens. This was considered to be the legitimate function of civic hospitality. As such, it was to be distinguished from the wasteful 'hobnobbing' which saw an oligarchy of Liverpool men abuse the system. Consequently the removal of Bootle's

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[34] Bootle Times, 14 February 1903.

[35] Peter Woolley's book Bootle in Picture Postcards provides two examples.

[36] Bootle Town Council Meeting, 3 December 1902, p.14.

independent municipal social events was to be resisted, since this would remove a stimulant to civic pride and an important prop from the local elite.

By the first few days of December, the areas on which the contest would be fought had emerged. On 12 December, a conference was held between the Parliamentary Committees of the two municipalities but it failed to make progress. The Bootle Times had been suspicious of the Conference and believed that 'it is our social life, our public advantages and our chances of still further development and not the mere fact of a few pence in rates, which makes us staunch to our Charter, our Corporation and our town.'[37]

Since Bootle was not a geographically distinct entity, and shared the city of Liverpool's dependence on the port in commercial terms, the borough's identity as a separate municipality had to be constructed on the basis of the ideal of local self- government as embodied in the 1868 Charter of Incorporation and on the importance of municipal independence to the social life of the town. Hence, a combination of strategic concerns and the hopes and fears of Bootleians led to the elevation of what the Liverpool Courier labelled 'sentimental and social considerations'[38] to become the crux of the borough's opposition. Many in Bootle were anxious about their ability to participate in the municipal life of a greater city.

Liverpool's image was not one which was widely identified with. Speaking at the annual dinner of the Liverpool Press Club, the Lord Mayor of Liverpool pontificated that 'if they could all sink their differences, if they could make different parts of the city, which time had welded together, into one, they could work to raise the prestige of Liverpool and make it the second city of the Empire.'[39] For many Bootleians the 'second city' appeared to be a hollow boast. Amalgamation with Liverpool was not seen in terms of a greater glory on the Imperial

[37] Bootle Times, 13 December 1902.

[38] Liverpool Courier, 15 December 1902.

[39] Bootle Times, 13 December 1902.

stage, as it was by many in the Liverpool Corporation, but as an event which would bring about the loss of a social centre, a political voice and a sense of identity rooted in pride in the English system of local government. The Bootle Times[40] wondered how Liverpool could have come to the conference, dangling the city's

> *greatness before their eyes as if it were the be all and end all of life...The vital principle is absolute self government, independence of action, freedom to act as may be expedient...Life is not all work and no play, and social existence should be cherished and not stamped out so that a place may become the Second City of Empire.*[41]

Whilst the negotiations were dismissed on the Bootle side for not offering anything, in Liverpool fears began to arise that the Parliamentary Committee may be offering too much. Herbert Rathbone[42] was anxious because the proposals were being kept secret, thus giving Hampson and the Committee a free hand. In a letter published in the Courier, Rathbone argued that the costs for Liverpool ratepayers could be high.[43] There had been no attempt to convince the ratepayers of the city of the wisdom of the extension, beyond the rhetoric of the need to outstrip Glasgow and be the second city. The leader column of the Liverpool Daily Post on New Year's Day conceded that 'Liverpool contests with Glasgow for the honour of being the second city in the Empire' and that the extension would put Liverpool ahead in trade and in population, but questioned whether the glory to be won from expansion was accompanied by any other practical reward.[44]

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[40] It is important to recognise that the Bootle Times had clear economic motives for encouraging the intensity of Bootle feeling. By the start of 1903 its headlines proclaimed it proudly the 'Only newspaper printed in Bootle'.

[41] Bootle Times, 27 December 1902.

[42] The Rathbone family were amongst the most prominent of Liverpool's merchant families.

[43] Liverpool Courier, 17 December 1902.

[44] Liverpool Daily Post, 1 January 1903.

Hampson and the Parliamentary Committee could not explain how the city as a whole would gain from the project. The commercial reasoning which informed the actions of the City Council was geared to appeal to business interests. A re-examination of the way in which the rates were assessed appealed to institutions such as the Dock Board, but held out little to win over the residents of the districts of Liverpool who might face increased rates to meet the shortfall. The need to be the second city of the Empire was blindly insisted upon as a self-evident truth; the development of an image of the expanded city, which many Liverpool interest groups could have a stake in and could identify with, was neglected.

The Town's Meeting held in Bootle Town Hall on 30 December was a chance to underline the extent to which the ratepayers of Bootle opposed annexation. Liverpool's proposals to maintain social events at Bootle Town Hall met with forthright rejection. An unpalatable scenario was sketched by Mr. J.W. Hall- 'They will give us social functions. The way that will be worked will be that there will be a grand ball at Liverpool on the Monday, and a second rate ball in Bootle on the Tuesday. We shall be sent all the scraps, all the small beer, and we shall only get gooseberry, no good fizz.'[45]

The fear of Bootle becoming overlooked as part of Liverpool was felt by other speakers. Mr. J. Bruce praised the splendour of Liverpool's Town Hall and St. George's Hall but continued, 'when you come to the outskirts you have a negation, an absolute negation of anything that will uplift the masses of the people.'[46] Bruce was drawing attention to the gap between the civic image propagated by the splendour of the public buildings in the centre of the city, and the social problems to be found in districts like Everton, Kirkdale and Walton. Liverpool's reputation as a city was to be judged on the welfare of the whole community and not just on the public facade of the municipal buildings.

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[45] Bootle Town's Meeting, p.15.

[46] ibid., p.21.

B.S. Johnson developed this attack on Liverpool, and linked it to the city's claims that Bootle's rates were too high. He retorted that

> *Liverpool seemed to forget that something more was expected of a municipal authority than the mere elementary duties...He was in favour of money being expended freely in promoting not only the physical, but the moral and intellectual and social life of the community at large (Loud applause). He contended that in Bootle the humblest burgess had an opportunity of proving himself useful in municipal matters.*[47]

Strategically, there were three principal elements to this analysis. Firstly, there was the attempt to drive a wedge between the ruling elite of the city and the masses, by stressing their different experiences of Liverpool life, to undermine the model of a community of interest. Secondly, the primacy of social and spiritual concerns in shaping identity and community was asserted. Finally, Johnson was trying to prove the necessity of an independent Bootle in providing an arena for the activities of individual citizens. The yardstick of the efficiency of municipal government was not to be the level of the rates, but rather the extent to which it enabled the individual to participate in civic affairs and the social good that might result from the greater public expenditure which higher rates funded. The contention was that Liverpool was a city which was run by an oligarchy and that it was too large to allow such participation.

In addressing the Town's Meeting, Geraghty adopted a similar approach, tying in the scope for individual activity in Bootle with the charter of incorporation. His passionate speech did not

> *deal with...the financial aspects of the question, because they were trivial when compared with their right to hold within their hand their own charter, and the right of power to shape their own destiny (Hear, hear)...They were fighting for freedom, and for that men had sacrificed everything. The saint had prayed for it, the patriot fought for it, and the martyr died for it.*[48]

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[47] Liverpool Courier, 31 December 1902.

[48] ibid.

The employment of a discourse which emphasised themes such as rights, destiny and freedom served to deny the worth of commercial arguments. Furthermore, this emotive language sought to mobilise affective support for Bootle and to advance the concept of freedom and the symbol of the charter as rallying points for the cause. These ideals had the great advantage of allowing a wide identification with an image of the community of Bootle which was not based upon sectional economic interests. Consequently, whereas Liverpool's support for the annexation could be splintered by exploiting class issues and the differing conditions of various districts, Bootle could present a more united front and keep consent as a major obstacle to the project.

The Bootle Times reminded its readership that

> *We are fighting for a principle, the right of a free people to retain their Charter...a priceless heritage...which secures for us the precious gift of local independent government...From the time that King John*[49] *unwillingly granted Magna Carta the Englishman's home has been his castle and the locality in which he lived worked and enjoyed himself has been his pride...Of what interest is it to the people of Bootle that Liverpool should be the first city in the Empire. Will that fact teach the ignorant, feed the hungry or give work to the idle?*[50]

The references to the 'Englishman's home' reinforced the importance of a vision of the community in which commercial connections were secondary. The Bootle Times explained loyalty was owed to the home and not the workplace (which for many was Liverpool). This pride in the place of residence was invaluable to the conduct of municipal government. 'Local self government calls into play knowledge of one's fellow man...We observe men clearly in small communities...A small town...is human.'[51] The criticism aimed at the Liverpool City Council was that so few of its members lived in (or in some instances even near) the wards

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[49] King John was especially significant in local affairs because he had granted Liverpool's own Charter in 1207.

[50] Bootle Times, 3 January 1903.

[51] ibid.

which they represented. Another check to the ruling body was removed by relaxing its accountability to its constituents. In 1907, of 137 members of Liverpool City council, 25 lived in the wards they represented, 50 lived outside the city limits and 44 lived in the six richest residential wards. It is still more revealing that of 80 aldermen and councillors representing working-class wards, only eight lived in the wards they represented and 53 lived in the six richest residential wards[52]. Hampson himself was a councillor for St. Domingo ward in Everton, but lived in prosperous Aigburth. Bootle felt justified in making the stock comparison between a vital, smaller community and a vast soulless city.

It would not be true to say however, that all of Bootle society had united around its Corporation. It was actually the support of the some of the most important commercial interests in the borough for annexation that had encouraged the development of a defence of the charter which insisted on its popular credentials. More than half of Bootle's rateable value was drawn from the docks, railways and businesses of the borough, and, although the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board remained neutral until the Local Government Board inquiry, there were powerful voices in the commercial community who aligned themselves with Liverpool. Charles Lancaster from the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce (which included Bootle businessmen) noted in the Liverpool Daily Post, 'It is said that a large majority of the inhabitants of Bootle do not want to be incorporated with Liverpool. This may or may not be so, but the people who pay the bulk of the rates do desire to join Liverpool...ratepayers of the magnitude of the Grain Storage Company and the White Star Line are in favour.'[53]

Since there was a sizeable amount of commercial rateable value which was in support of Liverpool, the Bootle tactics necessitated the development of a distinction between residential and commercial ratepayers. The Bootle Corporation tried to mobilise mass ratepayer support by elaborating a concept of community which was attractive to a wide base, enshrining local

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[52] A.L. Lowell, The Government of England, London, 1908, p.156.

[53] Liverpool Daily Post, 7 January 1903.

self-government and freedom rather than the dictates of commerce at its centre. Therefore, the significance of residential ratepayers and of popular participation in the image of the community was enhanced at the expense of local business interests. In order to exploit the need for consent as effectively as possible, the Bootle Corporation came to portray its mandate as based on numerical support rather than on its ability to represent the wishes of those with the largest stakes in the town in terms of property.

A mass meeting of protest was held on 10 January with all trades and labour organisations invited to take part in the proceedings.[54] The Corporation also organised a vote amongst burgesses, ratepayers and householders on the 'independence' issue.[55] The result was that 95% of those who replied supported the position of the Bootle Corporation, providing evidence of a lack of consent to Liverpool's plans which could be pointed to when the Local Government Board Inquiry opened on 14 January.

The Local Government Board Inquiry and the Select Committee's decision

The inquiry was presided over by Mr. H.H. Law, who had supervised the inquiry into Garston's future the year before.[56] The major difficulty confronting Liverpool was the matter of consent, and it appears that the Parliamentary Committee, operating through the Town Clerk had created and funded 'mushroom' organizations to engineer some semblance of

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[54] Liverpool Daily Post, 9 January 1903.

[55] ibid.

[56] The account of the proceedings of the Inquiry is taken from the daily report in the Liverpool Daily Post between 15 and 19 January 1903.

support for the city's proposals to impress Mr. Law. These organizations were swiftly exposed under cross-examination. Their chairmen showed themselves to be ignorant of when they had been founded, of how many members they had and, most damagingly of all, of what their precise titles were![57]

Despite these setbacks Liverpool pulled off a coup on the last day of the inquiry. The Dock Board withdrew their opposition to the Liverpool application. At a conference the previous day, the Corporation had agreed to freeze the rates on the whole dock estate for the next fifteen years if the provisional order for incorporation were granted.[58] As the Liverpool Council spent more and more in attempting to secure the extension, it was becoming less obvious what the concrete benefits for the city might be. In the words of a Bootle surveyor, Thomas Taylor Wainwright, 'I have not considered the matter from the point of view of Liverpool, but I cannot see in my own mind where the advantage would come in, save in the name of 'Liverpool'. It would enable them to say, possibly, that it is the second city of the Empire (laughter).'[59]

The Bootle Times pondered at the end of the inquiry 'how long the ratepayers of the city of Liverpool, who seem to be no more considered than puppets in a show, will submit in silence to having their burdens increased for the honour and glory of a few leaders of the city council?'[60] The Liverpool Parliamentary Committee could justifiably be accused of having acted beyond its powers during the inquiry. However, Hampson's deal with the Dock Board, struck without consulting the City Council, seemed vindicated when Mr. Law ruled in favour of Liverpool. Bootle's next step was to emphasise that the case would establish a precedent. An appeal to tradition could bolster its case and could widen the issues involved in order to

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[57] Liverpool Daily Post, 16 January 1903.

[58] Liverpool Daily Post, 19 January 1903.

[59] ibid.

[60] Bootle Times, 24 January 1903.

attract support from other threatened municipalities in contesting the provisional order in Parliament.

Local support continued to be canvassed for the next stage of the struggle. Councillor A.W. Short wrote an article for the Bootle Times suggesting that 'the working men of Bootle feel that now they are directly represented and are in touch with, and taking a part in civic administration and that they are free to have hopes and ideals for the future which they may reasonably hope to see realized.' He indicated 'The futility of almost every effort to secure direct labour representation in Liverpool.'[61] Short warned 'little will it benefit the workingman to be able to boast that he belongs to the second largest city in the Empire. The bigger it is the less he counts.'

He took the essentials of Bootle's opposition- the lack of municipal institutions, the unrepresentative nature of the City Council and its lack of accountability and the impossibility of sustaining a vibrant municipal political life- and cast them in a new form which turned class consciousness against Liverpool. Local patriotism was to be understood as indispensable to the ambitions of the labour movement. As well as involving such attractive principles as freedom and self-government around which the whole community could rally, the question of the independence of Bootle had a class resonance. It would protect the material benefits which were of special significance to working men and provide a forum for their opinions and aspirations. The annexation of Bootle, it was inferred, would have the effect of removing working-class representation in civic affairs.

Just as the part played by the labour movement in Liverpool was placed under scrutiny, so was the city's attitude to its Irish population. At a Town Council meeting, Mr. P. Regan demanded enquired

[61] Bootle Times, 14 February 1903.

What had Liverpool ever done for the Irish people living in it? Nothing, they were to be found in the slums in Liverpool, whereas in Bootle they had never been so badly treated as they were in the greater city. What had the Irish population of Liverpool to be proud of? Nothing. The Town Council of Liverpool had never done anything for the Irish people.[62]

While Bootle's spokesmen were trying to damage Liverpool's image and to break up identification with the city by activating categories such as ethnicity and class, efforts were underway to cement community feeling within the borough. The Bootle Times reported on a series of civic 'At Homes' held by the Mayor for the ratepayers of Bootle. Speaking at the Bootle Workingmen's Conservative Association, Councillor Oversby transmitted a request from the Mayor for its members to attend the events 'in force with their wives or sisters, and thereby assist him in making the series very successful.'[63] Consequently, when the Bootle Times reproached the Liverpool citizens for 'living in a fool's paradise...worshipping at the shrine of Hampson and Co., making sacrifices which will keep them groaning for years', it could announce in the same issue that 'The Mayor and Mayoress...have brought to a conclusion a series of Civic At Homes by which means every ratepayer or resident in the various wards of the borough has had an opportunity of enjoying Town Hall hospitality.'[64]

In May the paper noted that the promise made to the Dock Board at the inquiry had become a source of controversy. It jeered 'it seems that Liverpool has promised to do something which they cannot perform and if they attempt to secure a clause giving them that power the Toxteth Board of Guardians, the Liverpool Select Vestry and the West Derby Guardians will oppose them might and main.'[65] The latter bodies had complained that the promise to the Dock Board could not be held to include the poor rate, as this was their responsibility.

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[62] Bootle Times, 7 February 1903.

[63] Bootle Times, 21 February 1903.

[64] ibid.

[65] Bootle Times, 16 May 1903.

Attempting to accentuate class divisions, it mused

> *it is all very well for the local magnates, who live in beautiful rural surroundings miles from the City, to waive the question of rates and remit thousands to a body well able to pay them, but where is the consideration for the toilers who cannot, even by means of cheap tramways get beyond the city boundaries?*[66]

The charge against the City Council was that they did not share in the experiences of other ratepayers because of their geographical separation by residence and their distinct social and economic status.

This perspective, with its damaging perceived image of civic pride, jarred with the intended image of municipal government in Liverpool. The Bootle Times maintained

> *Liverpool has nothing but pride to boast about...Freedom of discussion is impossible in the Council. By an intimate knowledge of an intricate set of standing orders, by an ingenious use of technicalities, and by party tricks and dodges, anything can be defeated and anything passed which is desired by the few who rule the board.*[67]

A City Council meeting in June did little to dispel such allegations. During the meeting, the question of the terms which Liverpool was offering to Bootle's northern neighbour Waterloo were discussed. Waterloo had initially remained neutral on the question of amalgamation but had been persuaded to agree to join Liverpool. This was a significant victory for the City Council, since it strengthened its hand in applying for the annexation of Bootle which lay in between the city and the Waterloo. However, the meeting highlighted differences in the Council concerning the terms which were offered.

Hampson hoped to silence any dissent by arguing that the Parliamentary Committee had been given the freedom to negotiate a settlement. 'Now that the matter came before them for

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[66] ibid.

[67] ibid.

confirmation he asked that they would say 'When Liverpool's prestige is concerned we must do our best to give the Committee this authority."[68] Dr. Permewan lamented that

> *the Council were being in a way dragooned into not opposing this proposal so bitterly as they would have done otherwise, because they were told that they would prejudice the cause of Liverpool before the House of Commons...It was an extravagance which could not be prolonged for very long without resulting in something like financial disaster to the city (Hear, hear).*[69]

The Select Committee (chaired by Colonel Welby) represented the final step towards a settlement. It commenced its investigation on 23 June, and Liverpool's case continued to emphasise the commercial arguments which H.H. Law had been swayed by. However, the chief problem in proving the commercial case was to find concrete evidence of obstruction by Bootle, rather than simply to repeat the opinion that the two municipalities would be better governed as one. Charles Lancaster, for instance, spoke of his support for the movement 'of the Corporation to include Bootle. There is no feeling in it, it is one simply of a pure business character.' However he could submit no example to the Committee of how Bootle had constituted a commercial obstacle.[70]

The Select Committee assigned a far greater importance to consent in coming to a decision. On 7 July, Welby overturned the amalgamation. The Committee stated that the principle of mutual consent could 'only be overridden in the case of unsatisfactory administration or if it were proved that separate municipal existence were opposed to the interests of "the community at large." Neither of these conditions had been met in this instance.'[71]

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[68] Bootle Times, 13 June 1903.

[69] ibid.

[70] City Extension (Bootle). Select Committee Proceedings. Parliamentary Proceedings and Local Government Order and Bill.,pp. 43 and 45.

[71] Liverpool City Council Proceedings 1902/03, p.1758.

The Aftermath

> *Bootle has won! And at the words the pulse of the borough throbbed fiercely as the pent up feelings of the populace found vent in frenzied cheers...The decoration of private residences and shops was meanwhile entered into with zeal by the occupants, and even in the poorer quarters of the borough, flags, banners and patriotic devices were freely displayed...One of the most comical devices was that adorning the front of a house in Oriel road, it consisting of a Liver trimmed with crepe and bearing above its head the following inscription:- 'No flowers by request'. The Corporation steam roller which was at work in this road was quickly decorated with flags.*[72]

Addressing an excited crowd, the mayor, W.H. Clemmey, reminded Bootleians that 'they owed that due allegiance to the great God of Battles, who had decreed in days past, and was still with them that day, in their hour of distress, and had seen them, through his Divine Providence, successfully through the trying ordeal (Cheers).'[73] Homemade postcards celebrated Bootle's victory (see *figure* 3). Unless attention is paid to the images which were developed and deployed, much of the depth of feeling which would cause bunting to be strewn over a steam roller or a mayor to invoke the avenging God of the Old Testament cannot be understood.

The Bootle Times gave its opinion on the reasons for the borough's success noting that 'Bootle took a plebiscite of its people' whereas the Liverpool Council 'dared not to submit their iniquitous proposals to its (Liverpool's) people and simply allowed the fame of the City to be dragged into the mire in order to please a few ambitious men.'[74] The struggle had

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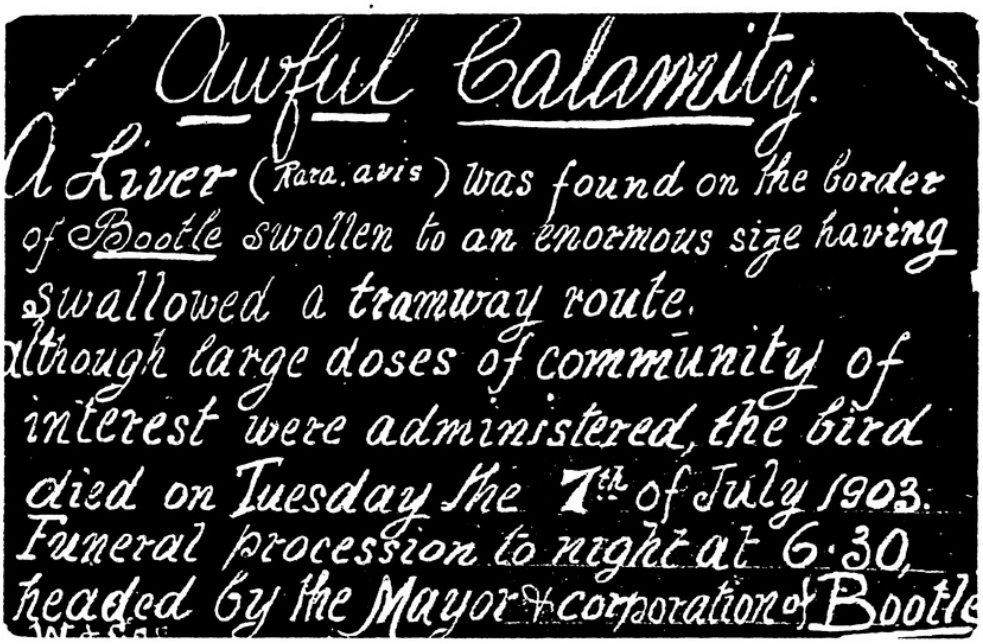
[72] Bootle Times, 11 July 1903.

[73] ibid.

[74] ibid.



'AN AWFUL CALAMITY', c. 1903
The sad story about the death of a Liver found on the border of Bootle and Liverpool.
The homemade comic postcard was produced by photographing the chalked details that had been written on a blackboard.
Does anybody know the origin of this story?

Figure 3- A home-made postcard of Bootle's triumph. One of the sources of contention during the dispute was Liverpool's intention to build a tramway along Balliol Road in a residential area of Bootle.
Source: Woolley, op. cit..

encouraged a view of the borough in which the popular will was afforded a central place ahead of commercial interests. The social life and municipal spirit of Bootle had been boosted by the need to propagate an image of the community with which many could identify, so that the numerical superiority of ratepayers against amalgamation could help to offset the weight of rateable value in favour of the scheme.

In Liverpool there was a backlash against the amalgamation. The Daily Post suggested 'it would have added to the greatness of Liverpool, and perhaps placed it on an equality in point of population with Glasgow, but at a very high, and to existing ratepayers scarcely a fair, price.'[75] The question of the substance of the civic image of the city had been raised. A vital consideration in this sphere was the degree of accountability which the City Council had to the ratepayers. Now freed from the need to uphold a common front and doubtless hoping to distance themselves from a failed enterprise which had cost £12,404 8s 4d, more and more councillors expressed their disagreement with the policy of expansion.

The Select Committee's decision had national implications. In their survey of local government in England, published in 1903, Redlich and Hirst noted that 'all attempts of larger corporations to absorb smaller ones against their will have been unsuccessful'. They added, 'the case of Liverpool and Bootle is very much in point.'[76] The Municipal Journal argued that the refusal to allow the extension revealed a conflict between the central institutions responsible for municipal incorporation and amalgamation.

> *The decision of the committee is important, and if the grounds upon which it was given are generally followed, a serious obstacle will be placed in the way of what is known as the amalgamation movement...The committee's grounds of refusal are not those upon which is founded the policy of the Local Government Board in regard to these matters. All proposals for borough extensions are opposed for some reason or other, and non-consent is not considered a conclusive factor against annexation. The Local Government Board approved the change for (1) geographical reasons and (2)*

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[75] Liverpool Daily Post, 8 July 1903.

[76] J. Redlich and F. Hirst, Local Government in England, London, 1903.

because it considered that there was a community of interest between the two boroughs.[77]

As Jose Harris has suggested, British society at this time was fiercely variegated and local and 'the preservation of local autonomy and custom was seen as a quintessential feature of British national character and culture...local communities were represented by local authorities that were seen as something more than convenient administrative subdivisions of a centralised state.'[78]

In Liverpool, the northern extension scheme had shown how the image of the city could be used to bolster the power of a particular faction within the Council. In this instance Hampson and the Parliamentary Committee had attempted to impose unity by insisting on the need for concerted action if Liverpool was to outstrip Glasgow as the 'second city of the Empire.' The elections of November 1903 saw Hampson lose his seat on the Council, after a campaign in which his opponent drew attention to how costly the failure to incorporate Bootle had been.[79]

The desire for aggrandisement was not unique to Liverpool. In 1926, E.D. Simon suggested that 'if Salford and Stretford, which are entirely dependent on Manchester, were absorbed, Manchester would have a population of over a million and take her rightful place as the second city of Empire.'[80] Simon claimed that such a distinction might enhance the quality of the city's administration, for 'Manchester would be a very great city...it is to be hoped that civic pride would be stimulated among the whole body of citizens and that the very best men

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[77] Municipal Journal, Vol. 2, 10 July 1903, p.640.

[78] J. Harris, Private Lives, Public Spirit, Oxford, 1993, p. 14 -18.

[79] Hampson was promptly raised to the Lord Mayoralty by the Conservatives and was subsequently knighted when Edward VII visited the city to lay the foundation stone of the Anglican Cathedral.

[80] E.D.Simon, A City Council from within, London, 1926, p.201.

would consider it an honour to serve as members ot the governing body of the second city of the Empire.'[81]

However, Manchester had been careful not to mirror the Liverpool approach in absorbing Withington in 1904. The city established a Withington Committee with powers to administer services conected with public health. Simon explained, 'it was hoped that, in this way, while securing certian benefits by becoming citizens of Manchester, they would still to some extent preserve their local independence.'[82] Manchester had doubtless learned from Liverpool's experience, but the central position which Hampson accorded to 'Greater Liverpool' in Conservative municipal policy had made such an arrangement unlikely between Liverpool and Bootle.

In Glasgow, however, the municipal authorities had emphasised the positive aspects of the city's expansion, so that 'civic patriotism and national patriotism were seen to be mutually reinforcing.'As the nineteenth century came to a close, Glasgow had found itself encircled by a ring of nine burghs, such as Partick and East Pollockshields. A 'propaganda onslaught' had emanated from the Glasgow Council Chambers as part of the campaign for 'Greater Glasgow'. The Town Clerk, J.D. Marwick had painstakingly collated evidence in favour of expansion and authored a Statement of Municipal Expansion in 1879.The need to 'articulate the positive dimensions of Glasgow's civic government played no small part in shaping perceptions of the "model municipality" which were to be such an integral feature of the city's public image by the turn of the century.'[83]

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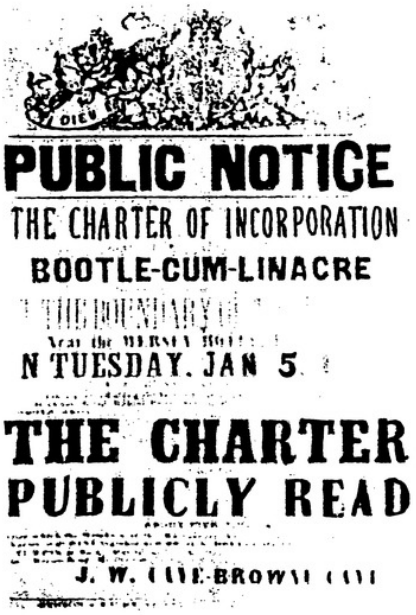
[81] ibid., p.220.

[82] ibid., p.214.

[83] W.H. Fraser and I. Maver (eds.), Glasgow Vol. II 1830 to 1912, Manchester, 1996, p.465.

The struggle between Liverpool and Bootle certainly had important economic causes, but the account presented above has argued that the construction and propagation of images was crucial in mobilising support and shaping opinion both within the 'Greater Liverpool' area and with regard to the institutions of central government. The events of 1902 and 1903 clearly indicate the role of images in fostering an awareness of belonging to a community. The Bootle Corporation had succeeded in pointing to the 1868 Charter (see *figure* 4) as the rallying point for the borough's separate identity because it stood above the conflicts of party and class. It is significant that in 1907, Liverpool held a week long pageant to celebrate the 700th Anniversary of its Charter in an explicit effort to stimulate civic awareness and a sense of identification with the city.

Commercial concerns were not accepted by all as the supreme purpose and the point of origin of a community. Liverpool's proposal to incorporate Bootle had failed because the Select Committee had recognised and deferred to the image of the borough as a traditional element of the English Commonwealth. In contrast, Liverpool had been shown to be a fragmented city, which was still coming to terms with its previous expansions and which needed to progress from being an agglomeration of districts to be bound together as a united city. The northern extension posed questions as to the nature and function of the Liverpool community. Those who lived in the city, worked in it and governed it were encouraged to reassess their images of Liverpool and the ways in which they identified with them.



THE CHARTER OF INCORPORATION

With the opening of the Canada dock in 1859 and the expansion of the docks in Bootle, it was feared that Liverpool would widen its boundaries and incorporate Bootle.

A Charter of Incorporation for the Borough of Bootle was granted by Queen Victoria following a rates levy.

The postcard illustrates the poster giving public notice that the Charter would be presented at the boundary of the Borough, near the Mersey Hotel, Derby Road on Tuesday, 5th January, 1869 and then carried in procession through the streets of Bootle for a public reading at St. Mary's school at 5.00 p.m.

Figure 4- Peter Woolley, author of Bootle in Picture Postcards, has dated this card to between 1900 and 1910- just when the Borough was encouraging the cult of the Charter.

Chapter Nine- The University of Liverpool

In 1878, a Town's Meeting was held at Liverpool Town Hall to discuss the formation of a university college in the city[1]. The gathering was

> *the outcome of a feeling which had been gradually gaining ground that Liverpool ought not to be left behind in a movement of such importance as the one in progress in Manchester, Sheffield, Leeds, Nottingham and Bristol for establishing colleges for the higher education of the youth of those towns after leaving school.*[2]

From its inception, the scheme for a college was envisioned in terms of civic rivalry. Liverpool's University College would add to the reputation of the city and demonstrate that commercial success was not attended by a lack of interest in learning and culture. Yet the arrangement which saw University College take its place in the federated Victoria University, alongside similar institutions from Manchester and Leeds, was to prove ill-suited to the expression of civic patriotism. Liverpool's rivalry with Manchester contributed to the rift which resulted in the dissolution of Victoria University in 1902.

In his account of the early years of the universities of Manchester, Leeds and Liverpool, David Jones argued that these institutions were 'a method of expressing local pride and of elevating the tone of local society.'[3] Although this chapter concurs with Jones in citing civic pride as a central motivation behind Liverpool University, it suggests that he has overstated the extent to which the 'colleges were perceived as both expressions and agencies of a

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1 This chapter is intended to examine the connections between civic image, civic patriotism and the University of Liverpool and not as an exhaustive narrative of the origins of that institution. For such an account see T.Kelly, For Advancement of Learning, Liverpool, 1981.

2 Liverpool University College Public Meeting, 21 July 1880, bound copy of verbatim report held in the Special Collections, Liverpool University, p.5.

3 D.R. Jones, The Origins of Civic Universities, London, 1988, p.167.

provincial culture striving for self-assertion.'[4] Jones set Liverpool University in a 'long cultural tradition of the "Liverpool Renaissance"' and advanced it as

> *perhaps the most perfect example of a phenomenon of basic importance to the foundation and support of every college. The stratum of society in a provincial city which was concerned with cultural and intellectual affairs and the repute of their city in these matters formed a close-knit group which could be mobilized to support such a prestigious and useful endeavour as a college...*
> *The merchants, manufacturers, and professional men of Manchester, Liverpool or Leeds were united by financial, religious and other interests...they also created an intellectual and artistic culture of which the civic colleges were an important, perhaps a culminating part...they asserted their independence and cultivation by creating the institutions and ethos of a new civic culture: intellectual societies, museums, orchestras and art galleries.*[5]

The output of the 'Liverpool Renaissance' was limited to the writings of William Roscoe and the poems of Felicia Hemans and hardly constituted a cultural ferment. Liverpool's native artists, according to H.C. Marillier, had been largely ignored by the city's elite.[6] The museum and art gallery had not been paid for from the public purse or by subscription, but had been gifts from Sir William Brown and Sir Andrew Walker respectively. Liverpool, unlike Manchester, could boast no orchestra of the first rank. Aesthetes, such as Philip Rathbone (who was alarmed that Liverpool was neglecting its cultural responsibilities), were subjected to suspicion and ridicule.

It may be countered that, in such unfavourable circumstances, the project of a university college could never have succeeded. It is argued below that the scheme was able to win civic support because of the development of visions of the University which stated the city's commercial glory and because of civic rivalry. The constitution and mission of the University were closely tailored to the dominant civic image of Liverpudlian commerce. There were those who saw the University as a step towards a 'New Athens', or who pointed to the cultural riches which it would bring to the city. However, these hopes stand as further evidence of a

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[4] ibid., p.3.

[5] ibid., pp.112 and 113.

[6] H.C. Marillier, The Liverpool School of Painters, London, 1904.

cultural malaise: academics came to deliver Liverpool from philistinism rather than to experience a city teeming with cultural energy.

The Professor of Modern History, Ramsay Muir, wrote in his History of Liverpool (1907) that

> *the pioneers of the movement...found themselves faced by many obstacles. When they tried to arouse interest among the great merchants of the town, they found, as one of them has testified, that most of them were interested only in two things- money-making and good living; while others forming their ideas of a university upon the lawns and ancient buildings of Oxford, laughed at the idea of turning a trading town into the seat of a university.*[7]

At a second public meeting, held in 1880, commercial logic and civic rivalry were watch-words. The Mayor, Bernard Hall, maintained that 'it would ill become the position and repute of our own city if she continued to send forth her sons to fight the battle of life less efficiently equipped than those of Manchester or Bristol.'[8] In a letter promising £10,000 to endow a Chair of Classical Literature and History, Alexander Brown and William Crosfield[9] professed to have been swayed by

> *the feeling that if Liverpool is to keep her place among the great towns of the country it is necessary to improve the educational advantages it possesses...the advantages of a collegiate education are becoming more and more recognised, and nowhere do these advantages tell with more force than in a commercial community. We do not share the view expressed by many that science and literature are antagonistic to commerce; on the contrary where they exist side by side they mutually assist each other.*[10]

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[7] R. Muir, A History of Liverpool, Liverpool, 1907, p.333.

[8] ibid., p.5.

[9] Alexander Brown was a banker and Liberal M.P. whose grandfather, Sir William Brown, was the donor of Liverpool City Library. William Crosfield's family firm was based in Liverpool. He promoted Mansfield College, Oxford as well as University College, Liverpool. P.J. Waller, Democracy and Sectarianism: A social and political history of Liverpool, Liverpool, 1981, pp.481 and 486.

[10] Liverpool University College Public Meeting, p.5.

William Rathbone and two of his brothers also advanced £10,000 to endow a Chair. The Rathbones suggested that the College might enrich the social lives of Liverpool's elite, because

> *it would draw men of distinguished learning in various branches of knowledge to Liverpool and thus establish a centre of society in our midst which would guard against the danger of being too...absorbed in that attention to the acquisition of material prosperity which necessarily has such a prominent place in a mercantile community.*[11]

The College would enhance the city's image by dispelling the charge of materialism which might attend commercial success. William Roscoe's work with the Royal Institute and the Athenaeum earlier in the century presented an opportunity to connect the venture with the name of the city's most lauded citizen. Sir James Picton was swift to set the project in the Roscoenian tradition and effused 'all honour therefore to that illustrious name'.[12]

The proposed college was not the only institution attempting to harness civic pride for financial support. The establishment of the See of Liverpool in 1880 was also making demands of philanthropists in the city, but Samuel Smith was adamant that this should not excuse Liverpudlians from donations to the College. He reminded the audience that Manchester had successfully endowed both a bishopric and a college and admitted 'I think it is a matter much to their honour, and will be so regarded in time to come, that these two great objects have been accomplished pretty nearly simultaneously.'[13]

Smith, Crosfield, Picton and the Rathbones were not Anglicans and B. Guinness Orchard subsequently pointed out the important Unitarian contribution in the genesis of the University. Reverend Charles Beard and William Rathbone were leading figures at the

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[11] ibid.

[12] ibid., p.44.

[13] ibid., p.38.

Unitarian chapel in Renshaw Street. Both had experience of the German university system from their travels in Europe.

> *The establishment of University College is the work of no one man or one sect, yet a singularly large proportion of the honour belongs to a group of gentlemen connected with Renshaw Street Chapel...These [Rathbone and Beard] were the two most potent among several originators of a movement which bore magnificent fruit, the more notable because, although many gentlemen not in their orbit had similar views and aims, it happened that just then no Churchman or Presbyterian felt equally willing to make such vigorous efforts as they contemplated, and their success was the greater because there existed among Churchmen and Conservatives, as a body who were predominant , politically and socially, strong and natural repugnance to accept such leaders, even in an enterprise approved by all. Nevertheless, there were some Churchmen, prominent among them Messrs. Christopher Bushell and Edward Lawrence, with whom this sentiment did not prevail.*[14]

There was a danger that the endowment of the bishopric and the foundation of the University might polarise civic philanthropic effort on religious grounds. Ramsay Muir thought that 'some who might otherwise have thrown themselves into the movement, were diverted from it by the synchronous movement for the establishment of the bishopric.'[15] William Forwood, the organiser of the bishopric project, persuaded William Rathbone not to press the college scheme while fund raising for the see was in hand.[16]

Notwithstanding, it would be wrong to conclude that the University was a Nonconformist venture. Canon Lightfoot, a native of Liverpool who was later to become bishop of Durham, delivered an address in 1879 which provided an inspiring image of the institution's future at a time when funds were slow to gather. He 'pictured with all the enthusiasm of an antiquarian, the varied life and stir of college life in the olden days, when merchant princes appreciated and supported learning.'[17] The speech made such an impact because it portrayed a university

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[14] B.Guinness Orchard, Liverpool's Legion of Honour, Birkenhead, 1893, pp.103- 105.

[15] Muir, History of Liverpool, p.333.

[16] P.S. Morrish, 'The Creation of the Anglican Diocese of Liverpool' in Northern History Vol. XXXII (1996), p.184.

[17] Orchard, Liverpool's Legion of Honour, p.107.

as part of a civic mission which centred on commercial glory. The patronage of learning had long been a demonstration of commercial pre-eminence and a proof of civic virtue. In Lightfoot's vision, the importance of the university lay not merely in educational achievements, but in the way it reflected commercial grandeur and offered an outlet for citizenship.

> *I was in a great seaport city, bristling with masts. The exact year I cannot remember: but the twentieth century was still young. I stood before a stately pile of buildings, graceful in character and harmonious in proportions...'This central pile,' said my guide, 'is University College...not a few of the professorships are endowed by the munificence of individual benefactors, whose names they bear. The inhabitants of a sea port, 'he continued, 'are naturally given to liberality. They contract something of the open-handedness which is characteristic of sailors. Our wealthy men here are careful not to amass larger fortunes than they can employ with advantage...All the citizens are proud of University College.*
> *Along with their shipping, they regard it as the great glory of the place. Accordingly, when a wealthy merchant, or shipowner, or banker has had an exceptionally prosperous year, almost his first thought is how he may increase the efficiency of this institution.*[18]

Lightfoot's intervention and the Town's Meeting of 1880 gave the scheme a sorely needed fillip; Orchard remarked that the first fund raising attempts had been 'sadly discouraging.' Before the public meeting 'local support amounted only to conditional promises of £10,000- a tenth of what would be needed.'[19] Contrary to the impression given by Jones, widespread financial support did not immediately materialise. Indeed, William Rathbone was keenly aware of the tight constraints within which the college was to operate. He was convinced that

> *living stones were more important than dead ones, and that not an unnecessary penny should be spent upon building until a sufficient initial staff of professors and lecturers had been adequately endowed. In this point, they resisted the wish of some of the friends of the College to begin by erecting stately buildings upon a conspicuous and dignified but inconvenient site, and insisted on being content with the modest accommodation afforded by a disused lunatic asylum.*[20]

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[18] Quoted in ibid., pp.115 and 116.

[19] ibid., p.106.

[20] E. Rathbone, William Rathbone- A Memoir, London, 1905, p.337.

It was Rathbone's assertion that 'a College thus arising out of the "conviction of a community" and built up by slow degrees by the efforts and sacrifices of the citizens was a healthier and likely to be in the end a more powerful institution.'[21]

Assistance was forthcoming from the Corporation, too. In September 1881, it undertook to raise the £30,000 cost of the land and buildings for the College. Nevertheless, there was scant evidence of the rarified atmosphere of learning and culture. When both day and evening classes were opened in January 1882, there was 'an arrangement of studies well adapted to the ideas prevalent in a great modern seat of commerce.'[22] University College, Liverpool, together with Owens College in Manchester and the Yorkshire College in Leeds, constituted the federated Victoria University. Walter Raleigh, appointed as the Professor of Literature in 1889, found Liverpool's materialism unleavened. He wrote to his sister lamenting, 'Words could not convey an idea of the people here. Their hearts are fixed, O God, their hearts are fixed on the individual and temporal and accidental and trivial.'[23] In slightly better spirits he told his wife, 'the more hopeless the condition of Liverpool, the more room and work there is for a professor of Literature, even the ignorantest.'[24]

William Rathbone's suggestion that academics would enrich the social lives of the Liverpool elite has already been noted, and Raleigh soon found himself engaged in the visiting round.

> *This afternoon a kind patroness lent us a carriage- and we paid nine hollow calls. I went because I have to see the people and I have refused several invitations. A great many of the patrons of the college live in huge houses, miles apart, in a lordly district called Aigburth and calling on foot is no joke, especially as they give no address but the name of a house. But we got a carriage and one swoop cleared them. We now*

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[21] ibid., p.338.

[22] Orchard, Liverpool's Legion of Honour, p.109.

[23] Walter Raleigh to Jessie, January 1890 in Lady Raleigh (ed.), The Letters of Sir Walter Raleigh, London, 1926, p.142.

[24] Walter Raleigh to L.J., January 12, 1890, ibid.

have a clean bill of health until dining fatalities befall us. The mere formalities and necessities of life oppress me quite disproportionately.[25]

Other professors also found these duties irksome. Charles Reilly, who held the Chair of Architecture from 1904, confessed that he found an Augustus John sketch of three nude women 'very useful later on for shocking the more Philistine and tiresome of the Liverpool ladies when they called on my wife or came to dinner.'[26]

In choosing academic staff, there was 'a declared preference for youth, thinking that young men would be less wedded to the traditions of the old Universities and more interested in making out a new type, suited to the conditions of the city.' The first five professorships and the post of Principal were filled 'with men none of whom was much above thirty years of age.'[27] Gerald Rendall served as the first Principal. When William Rathbone acted as a referee for his move to Charterhouse School in 1897, he described Rendall as

an ideal Head of his College...a power for culture, refinement and progress in our City. Heartily backed by his colleagues, the College is saving us from the reproach of being a mere city of moneymakers and has already had an agreeable, powerful and ennobling influence.[28]

Civic pride and civic patriotism were important in the recruitment and retention of staff. When there was a slight delay in the confirmation of Walter Raleigh's appointment as Professor of Literature, he warned J.M. Mackay, the Professor of History who had first approached him: 'If your Council does not elect me, a lot of good patriotism will be lost, for I

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[25] Walter Raleigh to L.J. (his wife), 18 February 1890, ibid., p.145.

[26] C.H. Reilly, Scaffolding in the Sky, London, 1938, p.89.

[27] Rathbone, William Rathbone, pp.342 and 343.

[28] William Rathbone's reference for Rendall, December 1897, in Rathbone Papers, Special Collections, University of Liverpool.

have transferred a considerable bulk of mine to Liverpool proleptically.'[29] Oliver Lodge's prospects were similarly advanced by civic patriotism.

Lodge was made a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1887 and earned international renown for his investigations of electrical phenomena. He struck up a particularly close friendship with William Rathbone. Thus, Lodge 'in a quiet way wielded immense influence in College affairs.'[30] Lodge flattered Rathbone by inviting his opinion on his research and Rathbone viewed him with awed respect. In 1893, apologising for losing some papers which Lodge had lent to him, Rathbone wrote, 'You are a practised scientific investigator, and I, as St. Paul says, speak as a fool; and it is your own doing, in asking me to read the papers that has brought this my folly upon you.'[31] Rathbone was aware of the fascination which Lodge and his experiments held for him,

> *You are a very dangerous fellow. You have established a most dangerous speechless, wireless influence over my intellect and will which threatens to reduce me to one of your ingenious instruments...I have never found any ideas or plans of yours contrary to those which experience and thought convinced me to be best.*[32]

Lodge became the College's brightest academic star and was rewarded accordingly. By 1894, he was the second-highest paid member of staff with a salary of £1045; when he won the prestigious Rumford Medal in 1898, there was a civic banquet in his honour.[33]

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[29] Walter Raleigh to J.M. Mackay, 30 November 1889, Letters of Sir Walter Raleigh, Vol. II, p.142.

[30] Kelly, For Advancement of Learning, p.92.

[31] W. Rathbone to O. Lodge, 30 December 1893, Rathbone Papers, University of Liverpool.

[32] Rathbone to Lodge, 8 February 1899, ibid.

[33] Kelly, For Advancement of Learning, pp.91 and 109. H.S. Hele-Shaw, the Professor of Engineering was the highest paid member of staff in 1894 with a salary of £1315 and the Principal was third, receiving £1000.

Rathbone pressed for improved facilities and increased funding for his friend. He presented both Lodge's work and financial support for it as expressions of civic patriotism which would enhance Liverpool's civic image. In 1899, Rathbone wrote to Mrs. Whitley whose late husband had helped to fund the Professorship of Physics. He asked her to consider donating £2500 to support Lodge's work.

> *We were fortunate enough to secure as our Professor Dr. Lodge- one of the most brilliant discoverers and teachers not only in England but in the world...we are sure you will understand what an immense advantage it is to a University College like Liverpool to have such a distinguished man as one of its Professors. But it also has for us its dangers; for in his position Dr. Lodge is sure to have the offer of some of the most coveted positions in the metropolis or elsewhere.*
> *But Dr. Lodge is deeply attached to Liverpool, its College and its associates, and cares far more for the opportunity of carrying on his researches than for those honours and advantages which are the temptations of most men...if we can retain about us the able men we have collected here, we shall go from strength to strength in the exceptionally rapid career which we have secured for our native city.*[34]

Rathbone portrayed Lodge as a civic patriot who would bring honour to Liverpool. Retaining Lodge would enhance the city's reputation.

The following year, Rathbone proposed the toast at the reception for the new Principal, Alfred Dale. After reviewing various branches of work being conducted at the College, Rathbone urged

> *the most important thing perhaps to do, is to bring to a conclusion a work which seemed rapidly approaching to security last century, and I believe would have been secured but for the war and the Indian Famine. I mean finding a Laboratory for our friend Lodge.*
> *Here we have, in this comparatively small, but most rapidly progressing College, a man who might have succeeded Lord Kelvin if he had chosen to leave us*[35] *and whose work is essentially important to this great city. If we have not altogether lost that energy and public spirit which has placed us where we are, we must complete that work at once, towards which several of our best friends, the Holts, Sir John Brunner, Sir Henry Tate, Alfred Booth and others, have given such a noble start.*

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[34] W. Rathbone to Mrs. Whitley, July 1899, ibid.

[35] Lord Kelvin had carried out research at Glasgow and Rathbone may have intended to suggest that Lodge had chosen Liverpool ahead of its great Scottish rival.

With wealth beyond any precedent which has been gained in Liverpool during the past 12 months, our wealthy classes will show themselves quite unworthy of their position if they cannot do what is necessary at once for patriotism, for India and for Education.[36]

Dale was the son of R.W. Dale, who was a formative influence on Birmingham's 'civic gospel' in the 1860s and 1870s. Rathbone ended his oration by alluding to the Principal's Midland origins and by reasserting Liverpudlian civic pride.

He has not come to a stagnant place but to a living, growing place, with greater problems to solve than even his native town has. He cannot be expected to admit that Liverpool is superior to Birmingham, but I hope he will find in our city a worthy rival of Birmingham in public spirit and progress.[37]

Rathbone's words were prophetic, for on 7 April 1900 Lodge wrote a confidential letter to him which recounted how Joseph Chamberlain had summoned Lodge to 'sound' him for the Principality of the new University of Birmingham. Chamberlain had orchestrated Birmingham's municipal achievements of the 1870s. He knew that Lodge's capture would be a coup for Birmingham and indicated that Lodge might expect a salary of £2000. Lodge prevaricated and admitted to Rathbone

Well if it had been 3000 I should be tempted so much to give way- so mercenary is a man with 12 youngsters.
But at 2000 I don't know...
The present Principal of the College would be Vice Principal of the University. I suppose J.C. would be the Chancellor. I have no wish to sell my soul nor any temptation in that direction: but it isn't selling one's soul to try to found a new University ideal which is what they are aiming at...You are of course the first I write to.[38]

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[36] Rathbone Papers.

[37] ibid.

[38] Lodge to Rathbone, 7 April 1900, ibid.

Rathbone replied that the burden of university duties would reduce Lodge's opportunities to continue his research. Lodge countered that he would have a competent administrative staff to perform these tasks and that 'the Principal is expected to set an example of Research work and be a figure head.' Moreover, there was the question of status. 'It seems quite different from the Principalship of a College as at Liverpool- that would **not** attract me. But the Principalship of a University with its stimulating traditions I feel it may be utter madness to decline.'[39]

In a letter dated 7 May and signed 'your spiritual son', Lodge informed Rathbone of his intention to take up the Birmingham offer. However, Lodge found it difficult to make a final decision, especially when E.K. Muspratt promised to pay for an extra demonstrator to relieve him of some of his teaching responsibilities. On 8 May he changed his mind: 'so permanently to Liverpool like a limpet I adhere.'[40] Finally, the allure of Birmingham proved too strong and Lodge agreed to accept the Principalship.

Thomas Kelly has claimed that when 'in February 1900, Mason University College, Birmingham, was granted University status and Oliver Lodge became its first Vice-Chancellor, the pressure for independence at Liverpool became irresistible.'[41] The turn of the century also ushered in attempts to delineate a civic mission for University College, Liverpool. This was shaped by Liverpudlian commerce.

J.M. Mackay, the Rathbone Professor of History, was convinced that a civic university was the only educational institution which could express civic pride appropriately. He emphasised that the College was attempting to meet the needs of the city. In 1897, he maintained that the City Evening School of Commerce, a body which received a grant from the City Council, was

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[39] Lodge to Rathbone, 20 April 1900, ibid.

[40] Lodge to Rathbone, 8 May 1900, ibid.

[41] Kelly, For Advancement of Learning, p.127.

'our important work this session, for it relates us to the very life of the city, and shall attract to our classrooms many youth of the commercial houses for an education, liberal and practical.'[42] Mackay hoped that 'a great city shall have a great University' and argued, 'outside it is not coteries, but representation also in true extension on the administrative Council and professional school, that alone can satisfy and win great cities, their complex educational interests and their municipal pride.'[43]

Mackay's vision carried weight. Thomas Kelly notes

> *The influence wielded by Mackay over some of his colleagues was remarkable. 'I have never,' wrote Ramsay Muir in later years, 'seen any parallel to the kind of spell he was able to cast.' ...Nor was it only his Liverpool colleagues who were impressed: in Birmingham also, as E.A. Sonnenschein later testified, he acted as midwife to a new University.*[44]

The Thompson Yates laboratories were opened in 1898, and Mackay marked the occasion with an article in the College magazine, The Sphinx. He portrayed the new facilities as proof of the vitality of citizenship in Liverpool.

> *The new laboratories for Physiology and Pathology...are worthy a dies festus in our University. They rise as one symbol of University life and education in this city...Here where the mother country teems with a rich and active people and faces the successes of her race in sister cities over the sea, earnest minds have at our end of the century yearned for a loftier local education for the citizen...the desire for fuller local opportunity for the complete training and thinking of citizenship has been whetted on the hard self knowledge of shortcomings in and apathy towards the nation's effort for its children.*

The rise of the College attested to wider patriotism, too, because education had its part to play in the race with Germany.

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[42] J.M. Mackay, The Relations and Functions and Work of Senate and Faculty of the Modern University in France and England together with an Account of the Faculty of Arts in Liverpool, Liverpool, 1897, p.51.

[43] ibid., pp.52 and 57.

[44] Kelly, For Advancement of Learning, p.126.

A rival nation despite the scourge of Continental war and the upkeep of armaments far heavier than our own has by her lavish and buoyant university system, supported on the large handed sympathy of the State, outstripped us of late years in progress and invention...Trade is no peaceful thing. Each people must equip its citizens not necessarily with the sword but with the body and mind.[45]

Other Liverpool academics shared Mackay's zeal to establish the College as a civic enterprise for which the inculcation of citizenship would be a vocation. The Sphinx, in one of a series of satires entitled 'Lives of Our Professors', described Ramsay Muir's infancy thus:

A small sturdy boy with thick black curls and big black eyes...rushing wildly around his nursery playing 'Ancient Britons' or schoolmaster or at being the Mayor of Liverpool. For he loved the very sound of the word 'citizen' and would never play with little girls because his nurse told him that only little boys could be citizens. Perhaps he had heard his elders talking of the interests of the city...when his nurse was busy, and wished to keep him quiet, she gave him paper and pencil and told him to write a letter to the City Council.[46]

John MacCunn, whose interest in citizenship had been sharpened by studying under Edward Caird at Glasgow and T.H. Green at Oxford, held the Chair of Philosophy and Political Economy. On 9 October 1901, he delivered the third annual Inaugural Lecture to open the College session. He chose 'Local Patriotism and Education' as his theme and argued that the city and the civic ideal could provide a purpose for individual lives.

The city...[is] nothing less than a marvellously evolved organism...which persists while generations come and go, in which, and through which, its citizens can redeem the span men call life, by living for ends which are great and enduring...it is not by elementary education alone, even if this were perfect that our civic ideal can be adequately enriched.[47]

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[45] Cutting from The Sphinx, October 1898 in the Twemlow Papers, University of Liverpool.

[46] The Sphinx, Vol. XV No. 8, 19 February 1900.

[47] J. MacCunn, Local Patriotism and Education, Liverpool, 1901, pp.5 and 6.

The civic patriotism which the College nurtured was one of the most valuable assets of British life.

> *It is one of the most fortunate political characteristics of our country, and one of its greatest blessings, that much of the most energetic, enterprising...fruitful life of the commonwealth goes on in the provinces...*
> *The service of the city has that to offer which the larger politics can never give. It has the inspiration that comes from the nearness, the urgency, the definiteness of its problems, it has the comradeship of co-workers, it has the prospect of comparatively quick and definite results.*[48]

MacCunn's choice of analogies for the future of the institution was instructive.

> *What we want here, as I imagine- and I think it may well content us- is a university which shall be , in its spiritual fabric as massive and well compacted as our provincial dock walls, and as hospitable in the commerce of ideas as are our provincial harbours to the flags of all nations.*[49]

The logic of the argument ran counter to the organisational structure of the Victoria University. If the College's role was to encourage and express civic patriotism, surely this duty was not best performed within a federal framework. Liverpool needed an independent university.

> *The students of a local University would, as the years go on, become bound to the community by ties that are increasingly strong, intimate and enduring...[This] will certainly enrich a man's local patriotism...we may claim that our studies here will give us an enhanced respect for the city...*
> *It is not enough that our citizens should love Liverpool, or work for it however patriotically. If the destinies of the city are to be fulfilled, and its problems solved, they must also* ***understand*** *Liverpool, understand the economics of its commerce and industry, and charity, understand the politics of its races, its denominations, its parties, its factions. We can at least help towards that.*[50]

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[48] ibid., p.7.

[49] ibid., p.8.

[50] ibid., pp.10,11 and 14.

Civic patriotism demanded a civic university, as had been established in Birmingham. Three days after MacCunn's lecture, at the opening of the session, Oliver Lodge visited Liverpool as Vice-Chancellor of Birmingham University to give an address entitled 'The City University'. Both University College Council and Liverpool City Council had passed resolutions which recognised that a University of Liverpool was a necessity.

Lodge spoke of 'the enthusiasm which can be excited in scholars by the idea of a Civic University, and the crowning glory which such an institution can confer upon its parent city.' He advised

> *Keep in close touch with the community. Do not seek for independence or isolation. Encourage the leading men to take a living and personal interest in college government and give them plenty of real power. Welcome civic control...In every new departure carry the community with you.*[51]

Furthermore, he indicated that links between the University and the community should be forged by commerce in particular. Amongst the University's aims must be

> *to turn out men truly educated for the highest kind of commercial pursuits...to raise the status of the commercial man into a truly professional position- a position which practical men of genius have already attained...to raise the general level of commercial training and make it worthy of the greatness of the part which commerce plays in the history of the world.*[52]

Lodge added that 'a University has an advantage over a College in its ability to legislate for itself and to try educational experiments...[The] advantage of local self-government, viz., that each Municipality can try its own experiments, is not limited to Municipalities.'[53]

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[51] O. Lodge, The City University, Liverpool, 1901, p.7.

[52] ibid., p.9.
[53] ibid., p.12.

The main elements of the case for a University of Liverpool were that it would provide a more suitable vehicle for civic (and hence national) patriotism and that it would allow specialisation in the commercial knowledge which would ensure the continued primacy of British trade. These points were pressed as University College petitioned to leave Victoria University and establish a University of Liverpool.

On 27 January 1902, a Town's Meeting was held to support the movement. The Lord Mayor outlined the reasons for an independent institution:

> *we all feel that in a great commercial port like this it is our duty to maintain and make progress with education amongst our young people, because we feel that in commerce, as in other matters, the greatest competition is offered to us by France, Germany and other countries.*[54]

Where the Lord Mayor had cited the challenge of international competition, Liverpool's largest landowner, Lord Derby, indicated the spur which civic rivalry had provided.

> *Perhaps we should not have moved quite so soon, if it had not been for the example set elsewhere in the City of Birmingham, to whom it was reserved to start an independent University...we have an important and interesting and useful precedent to appeal to...We do not see why Liverpool should stand behind...I would ask you as citizens of this great town to consider what vast interests lie within our borders- what great industries are conducted by these citizens over whom you, my Lord Mayor, so ably preside.*[55]

Sir William Mitchell-Banks had been associated with University College since the campaigns of the 1870s, and he reminded the meeting that Liverpool had to match the achievements of other municipalities. He recalled noting in 1881 that Glasgow and Manchester, the cities 'most aptly comparable with it [Liverpool] as regards size and character of population and commercial prosperity' could point to a host of famous scientists such as Lord Kelvin,

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[54] 'The University of Liverpool: Case For and Against', a collection of pamphlets held in the Special Collections and Archives of the University of Liverpool, p.5.

[55] ibid., pp.8 and 9.

Rankine, Allen Thompson, Jowle, Roscoe and Calvert. Liverpool, meanwhile, did not 'possess even a single Fellow of the Royal Society. These are humiliating facts.' Mitchell-Banks continued, you can now imagine the pleasure with which I stand here today and note the change that has come over the spirit of our town.'[56]

In Sir William Bower Forwood's opinion, the creation of a University was one of the civic duties of commerce. Liverpool's commercial eminence imbued this duty with an Imperial dimension, thus connecting local and national patriotism.

> *Commerce and learning from time immemorial, from the days of old Tyre, have been intimately associated together and every successful intellectual effort, I believe, has emanated from some commercial centre...[Oxford and Cambridge] repose in their somewhat sleepy position on the banks of the Cam and the Isis, and one can hardly expect from their surroundings and environment any very great intellectual activity; but when you come to a University established in Liverpool, surrounded by the hustle and bustle of daily active commercial life, it cannot fail to be influenced by the spirit by which it is surrounded.*[57]

The responsibility for securing a charter for the University of Liverpool fell on the members of the Parliamentary and Charter sub-committee. Some members of the College Council joined members of the Corporation Parliamentary Committee on this body. Thus, figures such as Councillor Hampson and Alderman Bartlett, who were pushing for the amalgamation of the Corporations of Liverpool and Bootle, found themselves arguing that the structure of the Victoria University was too cumbersome and unwieldy to express local patriotism. Bartlett and Hampson constructed the case for an independent University by using the tactics which were used against them in Bootle. In both instances, ceremonial functions, identity, consent, civic pride and participation comprised key strategic points. The party which could take this terrain would carry the day.

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[56] ibid., p.23.

[57] ibid., p.25.

The petition in favour of independence stressed that the College owed its origin 'not to the munificence of an individual but to the public spirit of many citizens and to the conviction of the community.'[58] The petitioners argued (as Bootle did) that ceremonial was stripped of its significance in a larger institution and that it failed to perform its function of stimulating participation. The seat of the Victoria University was in Manchester; civic rivalry accentuated these concerns.

> *The provision of the Charter...that all university meetings shall be held there...practically excludes the unacademic laymen of Liverpool from any active part in university affairs. A man engaged in business or public life...can rarely sacrifice the time required for journeys to and from Manchester.*
> *...ceremonies...exercise a unique power. In the absence of such functions there is little in the activity of the University to touch the imagination or to impress the community. They are object lessons of the most effective kind. The fact that Liverpool graduates are admitted to their degrees in another city, that illustrious visitors receive the honours of the University elsewhere, has helped to remove the University from the interests and the sympathies of the public of Liverpool...*
> *Civic patriotism asks for a University of its own; for a University that it feels to be its own; in the business of which it can take part; at the ceremonies of which it can assist; a University for the city, of the city, and in the city, not a University with its seat and centre elsewhere.*[59]

A further advantage of a local University, it was contended, was that

> *the more truly local a university becomes...the more successfully it develops the study of those subjects which bear most directly upon the occupations and industries of the people of its district...A University of Liverpool would follow its line of natural development if it originated exceptionally strong schools of law, economics and geography in their special applications to commerce, of engineering, of technological chemistry and of tropical medicine.*[60]

A civic university would offer a focus for local patriotism and encourage productive rivalry. This would provide another means by which local pride could harness energies to national

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[58] 'Case For Liverpool University Committee, University College, Liverpool and the Liverpool Corporation' in University of Liverpool- Cases Lodged Petitions For and Against the Charter, a collection of pamphlets held in Special Collections and Archives, University of Liverpool, p.4.

[59] ibid.,, pp.12 and 15.
[60] ibid., p.24.

improvement. Legislation such as the Education Act of 1902 made such local involvement all the more desirable.

> *Local patriotism is a power that may be turned to lower or to higher ends; it is no evil in itself: he would be a bold man who would assert that we have too much of it; an ignorant man who would assert that we have too much of it in the field of education...A generous passion for education, a pride in educational rivalry between city and city would make England strong where now it is weak...*
> *To enlist the force of local patriotism in the cause of education is a matter of supreme importance at a time like this, when the control of elementary and secondary education is being entrusted to local governing bodies.*[61]

The argument ran parallel to Bootle's argument for municipal independence: local patriotism could deliver the identification and participation which gave communities vitality, and organisational structures which dismissed this pride as mere sentiment would be deprived of such benefits. This justification of local patriotism was essential, for it was on this point that those who opposed Liverpool's secession from the Victoria University attacked most fiercely.

The opposition included some graduates of the Victoria University and drew considerable support from Yorkshire College in Leeds which did not feel itself ready for independence. Manchester had followed Liverpool's lead and declared itself in favour of a University of Manchester. The opposition insisted that 'the Victoria University dominates the higher education in the North of England. It is too strong to fear any rival or excite any jealousy...its disruption and the creation of other Universities in Liverpool, Manchester and Leeds would be steps in the direction of educational anarchy.'[62]

One former student of the Victoria University argued

> *It was proposed to destroy the Victoria University out of local jealousy; but it had not been considered that by setting up separate Universities a whole host of jealousies would be raised. Why should the large towns of Lancashire, to whom Manchester was*

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[61] ibid., p.24.

[62] The Case Against the Proposed Disruption of the Victoria University, Manchester, 1902, p.7.

simply a rival town, support a Manchester University? They would support a Northern University but they would not support a purely local University.[63]

A Professor Wilkins concurred and warned

the concession to local patriotism would be dearly purchased at the sacrifice of the growing prestige, the better balanced views, the greater variety of experience among teachers and the keener competition among candidates which were secured by the present constitution...
Manchester, Liverpool and Leeds have all different aims and pursuits: together they cultivate a far wider knowledge and more universal sympathy than would, or could, any of the three cities by itself. By itself each of the three new universities would cultivate those branches of learning for which there was most demand in its own neighbourhood.[64]

Presenting the case as Counsel for Liverpool University College before the Privy Council in December 1902, Alfred Lyttleton did not deny that such specialisation would occur. He upheld the merits of such a scenario and insisted on the value of local patriotism.

Our weakness is in the department of higher education in the sciences which are necessary for the conduct of business. That is to say for those who are to become the scientific chiefs of industry...for such men who are not generally able to get a university education at the older Universities there is the need of a university education within their own cities...
The association of the civic life with the university life is most valuable and the association of the leading men of business in the respective cities with the University in its governing body is a matter on which very great stress is laid...Victoria University applies as one see, to these three places, and the result is that you dilute the springs of civic and local patriotism which would exist in each of the several places were they to have Universities of their own.[65]

Lyttleton explained the crucial role of civic patriotism in English local government.

I think it will not be denied that that sentiment, the sentiment for their city in the North of England (and indeed in the South, except in London) is one of the ruling and strongest feelings that the Briton has. It is fruitful in munificence and liberality. Men will consent to bear burdens of rates; they will themselves give large sums to institutions that belong to their city which they are entirely opposed to do, or

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[63] ibid., p.21.

[64] ibid., pp.29 and 31.
[65] ibid., p.10.

> *reluctant to do, when a larger body than the city applies for their munificence and expects their liberality...*
> *Is it not a pity (there not being much enthusiasm for education in England) when you have it assisted and aided by this strong municipal spirit, this strong sentiment for the city, is it not a pity to dilute it by gathering together cities...to disperse and weaken that sentiment by a union which has no real solidarity?*[66]

The Privy Council decided in Liverpool's favour and, just as the Select Committee which considered Bootle's case had done, recognised the importance of local feeling in shaping institutional structures. The University of Liverpool received its Charter on 15 July 1903. An Act of Parliament which separated University College from the Victoria University and bestowed a Charter on the Victoria University of Manchester took effect on 1 October.

The Liverpool lawyer, James Alsop, was to the fore in drafting the new University's constitution. In his biography his wife wrote

> *he saw a new position for the modern University, not managed on academic lines only but on broad business lines too...He saw the widening influence of the business life of the city touching the academic life...raising and improving the business methods of the city.*[67]

Alsop's ideal of a University was that it should be 'founded on the broadest lines of democracy, serving the city and with scholarship kept at the highest possible level, but the city itself serving it and its great business men sharing in its government.'[68]

Procedural ties bound the University to commercial Liverpool and the Corporation. The links which had been emphasised to win the argument for an independent University thus acquired formal status. A curriculum orientated towards commerce proved less viable or durable. In 1907, in an article in The Sphinx which assessed 'Early Relations with the City', John

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[66] ibid., pp.10 and 12.

[67] C. Alsop, The Life of James W. Alsop, Liverpool, 1926, p.78.
[68] ibid., p.77.

MacCunn conceded that the business curriculum had been a failure. 'Students never presented themselves in sufficient numbers to give it a fair trial and the companies and firms on their side found it difficult to translate the abstract promises into concrete performances.'[69] Nonetheless, he insisted that it had been a worthwhile exercise in promoting the College.

Indeed, Liverpool University owed much more to the civic image of commercial Liverpool and the strain of civic patriotism which this encouraged than it did to a 'Liverpool Renaissance'. The University articulated conceptions of civic duty which were based on Liverpool's place in the Empire. The patronage of culture was a duty which had traditionally been performed by cities of wealthy merchants. Rivalry with Manchester and Birmingham also spurred on the emergence of an independent university as a demonstration of civic ambition.

The new institution won support because it succeeded as a perceived image. It invested the activities of Liverpool, and Liverpudlians, with an enhanced grandeur by intertwining commerce and local patriotism with such concepts as Imperial duty. Yet commerce had been enshrined in the attempted incorporation of Bootle, too; in this instance the image had failed. This apparent paradox is best explained in terms of civic patriotism and the participative elements of image. Both the University and the Bootle Corporation demonstrated that the institutional arrangements for which they campaigned were superior to the alternative in encouraging civic patriotism. This pride in the locality and the sense of participation in the community which it fostered were recognised by central institutions as vital elements of the process of self-government on which the English Commonwealth was built.

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[69] J. MacCunn, 'Early Relations with the City' in The Sphinx, Vol. XIV No.10 (March 1907).

Chapter Ten- Adjunct or Alternative? Football and Emotional Communities

In October 1901, during Liverpool F.C.'s first reign as Football League champions, a correspondent wrote in the Liverpool Review

> *Monday is the greatest day of the week for your football enthusiast. He sets out early and seeks whom he may bore. He talks volubly of leagues, points, goals and players, and of prospects. He asks your opinion on Smith, Brown, Jones and then gives you his, at some length. After a time you probably inform the enthusiast that you know absolutely nothing about what he calls 'the game', that you have never watched a football match in your life and that you don't care a kettle drum about the thing. Upon which he goes off and finds another victim. It is really a work of art getting to town on a Monday morning. I invariably slink along side streets watching out at every point for enthusiasts.*[1]

The furtive correspondent would not have found himself alone in his agonised progress, for many historians have also chosen to slink along in shadowy side streets to escape the gargantuan presence of football in late Victorian and Edwardian urban life. This is inexcusable, because many football clubs were supported by a robust social and economic framework, expressing the ideals and ambitions of many diverse groups. These imagined communities encouraged an increased awareness of civic identity. They received municipal recognition as civic institutions and performed central functions in defining the temporal structure, the financial habits and the social activity of thousands of people. The relationship between civic imagery, community identity and the mass spectatorship of football and its fierce emotional capital has been evaluated by few historians.[2]

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1 Liverpool Review, 26 October 1901.

2 The main exceptions are A. Mason, Association Football and English Society, Brighton, 1980; W. Vamplew, Pay up and Play the Game, Cambridge, 1988, C. Korr, West Ham United, London, 1986; R. Holt, 'Working Class Football and the City' in British Journal of Sports History Vol. 3 no. 1 (May 1986); J.Hills and J. Williams (eds.), Sport and Identity in the North of England, Keele, 1996.

The acerbic humour of the Liverpool Review correspondent relied on readers finding the scenario confirmed by their own experience. The Liverpool Review was an independent Liberal paper which was intended for those who were involved in the commercial milieu of 'town' centred on Exchange Flags. It is evidence that football was rapidly becoming inescapable, for all that some might resent its tyrannical sway over conversation. Football was an important part of the daily fabric of lives as separate as the broker on 'Change and the labourer of Scotland Road. It was much more than a game, for it refracted key points concerning power, status and participation in communal life.

These dimensions of football's place in the city have been imperfectly understood by models of the development of the sport which have sought to explore how it fitted into capitalist society. Such models have tended to underplay the emotive appeal of football for all classes and to result in limited Marxist analyses of the connections between football and business. Steven Tischler's work may be cited as an example of what J. Hill has termed the reflectionist approach.[3] Tischler's thesis is that

> *In the 1880s businessmen club directors introduced a new version of the game which reflected their aims and interests...The growth of football along commercial and professional lines was not a spontaneous occurrence. It was the result of calculated nurturing by entrepreneurs who extended to football an ethos which touched numerous endeavours outside of sport.*[4]

In the instances of Liverpool's two League clubs, this argument corresponds more closely to the history of Liverpool than of Everton; nonetheless the identification of a calculated plan is difficult. The course of football's development was an organic process in which the middle classes invested a great deal of money and energy, in many cases with scant hope of financial returns.

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[3] Hill and Williams, Sport and Identity, p.3.

[4] S. Tischler, Footballers and Businessmen, New York, 1981, p.3.

Tischler contends that 'a system of wage labour and the necessary purchase of admission rights to matches reproduced entrepreneurial control of economic life in the cultural realm' and heralded an 'extension of the cash nexus in the area of recreation.'[5] The extremity of this reductionist approach discounts the complexity of motives which the middle classes had in investing in the game emotionally as well as economically. The consequence has been the emergence of a discourse which portrays football embattled in the face of bourgeois depredation and lack of empathy with the communal values which it enshrined[6]. The assertion that football was but an adjunct and a reflection of other social and economic relationships does not comprehend the full picture of middle-class involvement. A peculiar set of relationships characterised football; and it is against this wider context that issues such as participation, identity and power are best judged.

Models which force football to stand as another example of dominance by a capitalist elite sit uncomfortably with evidence that football was a poor and uncertain form of investment and that many shareholders and directors were not the eminences of Liverpool's commercial firmament.[7] Directors such as George Mahon of Everton, the head partner of a prominent firm of solicitors in the city, **were** successful businessmen, but it would be mistaken to make this economic circumstance the cornerstone of any investigation into their motivations. The lower strata of a middle class which was firmly rooted in the districts of Everton, Anfield and Walton found football to be a means of affirming a jealously protected status. Moreover, conceptual approaches of capitalist hegemony conceal the reality of a football culture in which knowledge of the sport and the rights of ownership stemming from paying for admission could also be empowering influences.

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[5] ibid., pp. 133 and 137.

[6] It may be noted that such an interpretation has proved attractive to some commentators since it provides a comparative perspective with clear analogies for current issues in football and its relationships with business and the middle classes.

[7] see A. Mason, 'The Blues and the Reds' in Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, Vol.134, 1985.

The exploration of football in Liverpool which follows attempts to rediscover and reinterpret these experiences; and the relationship of the football community to the larger identities of city, nation and empire is also considered. The imagery and ideology which attended football endowed it with a potent capacity to define such affiliations. Those who might be termed the stakeholders in football were bound together by complex relationships which elude simplistic analysis. Once the dynamics of the bonds of club, director, shareholder and spectator are more rigorously investigated, the relative orbits of club and city in the affective schema of citizens can be more accurately described.

In 1869, St. Domingo's Methodist chapel was established in Breckfield Road North in the Everton district of Liverpool. The chapel football club proved popular with local players and its name was changed to Everton in 1879 to indicate that the team was no longer drawn exclusively from St. Domingo's. After a meeting with John Houlding[8], a prominent local Conservative politician and brewer whose houses included the Sandon Hotel in Everton, the team began to play on a field in Priory Road from 1882.

From these beginnings, the club advanced and viewed the entire city of Liverpool as its constituency from which to draw support. The backing of local businessmen was sought. The club issued an 'adroit circular to the well-to-do gentry of the city.'[9] This letter noted 'there are large gatherings of persons numbering from 1500 to 2000 seeking Saturday afternoon recreation which public parks are intended to provide. In order to popularise the game, we are this year, 1882, playing a number of clubs of considerable renown.'[10] Such an approach to

[8] Robert Holt described Houlding as 'a self made man, perhaps a little uncertain about his "H's"', Diary of Robert Holt, 9 November 1897, in Holt Papers at Liverpool Central Library.

[9] Tischler, Footballers and Businessmen, p.10.

[10] Deborah Quaile, The Development of Professional Football in Liverpool 1877-1914, available in file at Goodison Park, Liverpool, pages not numbered.

such civic figures demonstrated that the members of Everton believed that football was a civic enterprise, worthy of a place in the municipality's life.

When the club moved to a new ground at Anfield in the 1884/85 season, 'the members and players turned themselves into a gang of labourers with spades and barrows, boards and hammers and nails.'[11] Here was evidence of a lack of cash but plenty of dedication. Houlding was the president of the club, and he acted as the intermediary with Everton's landlords at Anfield, the Orrell brothers. John and Joseph Orrell were brewers who owned two fields next to Anfield Road. One of these was loaned to Everton F.C. on condition that a small donation should be given to the Stanley Hospital in Bootle each year in lieu of rent.

Everton was one of the founders of the Football League, playing in the inaugural season in 1888/89. Thomas Keates- a director of the club who wrote a history of Everton F.C. in 1929- recorded that many members joined the club in 1889. The added lustre of participation in a national league plainly contributed to this upsurge of interest and many of these new members brought administrative experience and wider connections to the club.

John McKenna, who worked as a clerk for the West Derby Poor Law Union and was to play a central role in the establishment of Liverpool Football Club, was one such new member. Another was Abraham Coates, a surveyor for H.M. Customs. The involvement of George Mahon has been noted already. His co-operation was adjudged 'a great asset. His experience as an accountant, and as a member of the Walton Local Board was invaluable.'[12] Moreover Mahon was 'persona grata with the substantial man of Merseyside and his joining the committee was expected, it was opined 'to popularise 'the great game' amongst the better classes of our community.'[13] Dr. James Baxter also joined: he was a Roman Catholic 'in touch

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[11] T. Keates, A History of Everton Football Club, Liverpool, 1929, p.15.

[12] ibid., p.40.

[13] P. M. Young, Football on Merseyside, London, 1963, p.32.

with that large number of Irish immigrants from which Everton drew so much (sic) of its more modest supporters'.[14]

In return for their investment of money, time and energy, the new members could expect a social dividend in terms of prestige because the club was becoming recognised as a civic institution of some importance. The 'men of '89' were numbered amongst those first to discover that football could confer exalted status in the Liverpool community. Everton was not merely a district team, but rather was a source of pride and likewise, on occasion, of sorrow, throughout the city. As an anguished report in the pages of the Liverpool Athletic Times confessed in 1890,

> *The supporters of Everton were equally dismayed and annoyed with the way the Blue and Whites were cut up before Accrington. The people of Liverpool too, who have been educated to believe that the Oakfield-road*[15] *combination was one of the best Association football teams in Great Britain and, as such a credit to the good old town, will feel their trust betrayed and their confidence shaken.*[16]

In newspaper commentaries the names of Everton and Liverpool were often used interchangeably in connection with the club and, despite the set-back against Accrington, the results on the field overall were a cause for civic rejoicing. Everton finished as runners-up in the 1889/90 championship before winning the League in 1890/91.

These successes on the pitch served to camouflage a growing disharmony at Everton, which had surfaced briefly after the disappointments of the 1888/89 season. Rumours that Houlding, who had bought the Anfield ground, was considering selling the land, and speculation that there was a clique intending to oust the executive, induced the Liverpool Review to instruct its readers thus:

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[14] ibid., p.32.

[15] Oakfield Road was one of the approach roads to the ground at Anfield.

[16] Liverpool Athletic Times, 25 February 1890.

> *It is the duty of all Liverpudlians, footballists or not, to take some interest in the future of Evertonian football. At its best the club is one of the first in England; its gate receipts are perhaps the largest in Great Britain; its enclosure at Anfield is one of the best appointed in the country, and altogether the whole concern is a credit to the 'good old town'. Therefore it is the duty of the press and the public to keep an eye on Everton's position in the football world.*[17]

Football's remarkable ability to stimulate and express municipal pride thus made it a subject for public attention. The note of responsible vigilance sounded by the Liverpool Review was a clear indication that Everton was a civic institution.

The so-called clique of potential takeover bidders had levelled the charge that 'certain members of the executive are not practical footballists; are mere theorists, in fact, and that most of the matches lost by the Everton men would have been won had the players been handled properly.' Football knowledge represented a promising platform for opposition, not least since football 'science' was subjective and could not be monopolised by any dominant grouping. Practical football knowledge ensured that marginalised elements always retained access to an important source of power and the vagaries of football performances helped to amplify the resonance of such an appeal.

If football savoir-faire could confer the right to a voice in club affairs, the admission fee effectively opened a similar avenue. Football supporters exhibited a precocious awareness of their rights as consumers and were swift to advance the notion that buying a ticket could constitute a form of ownership and should invest the supporter with commensurate rights. The Liverpool Review concluded that 'If ambition or jealousy is the motive actuating the agitators they will only bungle matters and create a bad feeling against the club. After all it is the public who are to be considered. They pay £4000 into the club's coffers in a season; the club members subscribe about £150.'

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[17] Liverpool Review, 25 May 1889.

The speculation about a possible coup died away as the club began to enjoy success on the field, but the sums of money connected with football spurred criticism from other quarters. A correspondent in the Liverpool Athletic Times accused the big local clubs, namely Everton and Bootle, of neglecting citizenship in their affairs. He enquired 'How many of the big clubs play a match in the name of charity...At present football is conducted on the lines of self and self only, but let all this football descend to citizenship and a common interest in the welfare and happiness of many a poor hungry urchin.'[18] In urging Everton to extend its activites into the arena of philanthropy and social welfare, the writer was also attesting to the club's status as a municipal institution. As the letter suggested, such an initiative would 'command the interest of many' and an acceptance of civic responsibilities would also serve as a statement of the club's position in Liverpool.

Everton had staged a 'pantomime' match for charity in February 1889 and these became annual fixtures. The first match was attended by around 10,000 spectators who watched Everton take on a theatrical team of sixteen players. Mike Higgins, a well-known Evertonian, played for the theatrical side dressed as a clown. Two actors kept goal with a pulley system for narrowing the goalmouth and 'the antics...were most amusing and caused a continuous roar on all sides.'[19] Predictably, the half-time lemons inspired an interval fruit fight between the two teams. The proceeds of the match went to the Stanley Hospital, whose links with the club have been noted already, and the Royal Infirmary and the presence of the mayor at the match underlined Everton's good citizenship.

John Houlding had acted as host to the mayor in his capacity as the president of the club, but three years later he was at the centre of a contest at Anfield which was far from light hearted. Houlding owned the land adjoining Orrell's Anfield plot and he proposed the formation of a

[18] Liverpool Athletic Times, 18 December 1889.

[19] Liverpool Review, 16 February 1889.

limited liability company to remodel Anfield so that it could be used as a venue for other sports all year round.

This suggestion was not taken up and the members decided to continue to pay the rental until the close of 1891 when the situation would be reassessed. At a meeting on 25 January 1892, Houlding's proposal was thrown out decisively and steps were begun to move the club to a site at Goodison, less than a mile away across Stanley Park. When the anti-Houlding faction went to register the club as a limited liability company, they discovered that Houlding and those members who supported him had already registered a company called the Everton Football Club. On 15 March the split became complete. Houlding was forced to give up the Everton name and his opponents moved the club to Goodison Park. In May, Liverpool Football Club was founded by Houlding and his supporters to play at the Anfield ground.

In 1929, Keates argued that Houlding's demands to the sole right to supply Anfield, 'if at any time refreshments should be required'[20] had contributed greatly to the split. The team had used Houlding's Sandon Hotel as changing rooms. A meeting to establish a guarantee fund for Everton's move to Goodison was marked by an undertaking 'to sell no intoxicants on the ground (cheers). They intended to put their dressing room on it and to have refreshments (A Voice- 'A cocoa room.').' [21]

A further reason for resentment of Houlding was perhaps the increasing identification of Everton as **his** team. When Everton defeated Wolves to go top of the table during the 1890/91 campaign, the Liverpool Athletic Times proclaimed 'The valiant army of King John of Toffydom have reason to lift up their voices and shout with a great shout, for they have covered themselves with glory.'[22] Houlding's humble origins[23] may have made his celebrity

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[20] Keates, History of Everton, p.38.

[21] Liverpool Echo, 19 March 1892.

[22] Liverpool Athletic Times, 9 December 1890.

the harder to bear for men like Mahon (a respected solicitor), Baxter (a surgeon of considerable means) and W.R. Clayton (he lived in Formby- a favoured retreat for moneyed Liverpool men) who were at the forefront of opposition.

The Everton-Liverpool F.C.s split should act as a corrective to an analytical framework which posits the simple extension of middle-class entrepreneurialism to football. Indeed the Everton story, so far as it can be read in class terms, is one of staunch professional middle-class resistance to an entrepreneurial brewer from a working-class background.

The image of bourgeois exploitation of the economic opportunities of football receives a further blow when the early history of Everton F.C. at Goodison is examined. The effective re-establishment of a club necessitated the commitment of exceptional reserves of emotional stamina, energy, time and money. Whereas 'at Anfield the Club had lived from hand to mouth, crept very slowly, waiting for the gate money to pay for the erection of stands',[24] the costs of developing Goodison Park could not be spread out. Keates explained, 'if Everton in its new quarters was to have a chance of competing successfully with the Club on the old ground, it must start right away with accomodatory appointments at least equal to those it left behind.'[25] A thousand pounds of the Everton guarantee fund of £1517 was proffered by eleven men. Dr. Baxter further advanced an interest-free unsecured loan of £1000. Impressive as these sums were, support was not only expressed through financial investment.

According to Keates,

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[23] Houlding had started out by delivering milk door to door before gradually building up a chain of public houses. An account of his career can be found in the paper John Houlding- Founder of Liverpool Football Club. The paper is held at the Department of Football Research at the University of Liverpool but there is no author given. My thanks are due to Dr. Rogan Taylor for allowing me to consult this paper.

[24] Keates, History of Everton, p.125.

[25] ibid., p.125.

The 'split' involved a considerable sacrifice of time by the revolutionists- mental anxiety, diversion from their urgent business responsibilities, monetary risks, partisan denunciation and misrepresentation. The constructive responsibility entailed was intimidating...the ordinary Committee men in those early years were manual labourers as well as mental...they did anything their heads suggested their hands might do, things which we can now afford to employ servants to do...The members made two good captures when they secured the election of J.M. Crawshaw and Ben Kelly to the board. The former was a retired superintendent engineer...the latter a well known builder. In the designing and construction of the grand stand, and all the wood, iron and brick erections, their suggestions and supervision ensured good work and economy in the cost.[26]

In interpreting this evidence, it is important to acknowledge that Keates was himself a director. Such imagery as he employed could form an ideological prop to enable directors to lay stronger claim to ownership of the club. They would be able to point to expertise, the rights of labour and financial investment as bestowing upon them the authority to run the club.

However, this depiction cannot be wholly dismissed as ideological image-making. It is unquestioned that the early directors **did** make substantial sacrifices with a disproportionately small hope of financial reward. At West Ham, the club lost £900 in two seasons and the local bank only extended credit on the reputation of the directors. The directors provided some £3000 in loans.[27]

Wray Vamplew has pointed out that returns from football investments were limited by the Football Association to 5%- a level above that of government bonds, but which was certainly not high.[28] Vamplew has demonstrated that football clubs cannot easily be categorised as

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[26] ibid., pp.40, 113 and 119.

[27] Korr, West Ham United, pp.11-13.

[28] Vamplew, Pay up and Play the Game, p.5.

profit-maximisers, for winning and profits were not always compatible objectives. Where clubs did make money, the bulk of it was not distributed to shareholders.[29]

It is equally important to recognise these sacrifices as manifestations of a genuine love of football. An article in The Nineteenth Century entitled 'The New Football Mania' underlined this[30]. The author, Charles Edwardes, noted that football stock was not very valuable, firstly because of the expense of the team and secondly because some of the shareholders expected the profits to be ploughed back into the team with no dividends.[31] The administrative burden and the challenges of finding and keeping players ensured that 'the secretaries of the important clubs do not find their position a sinecure.'[32]

The emergence of a new rivalry with Liverpool F.C. must have added to the anxieties of the Everton members. As Liverpool began to string together victories in the Lancashire League their support grew. The Liverpool Athletic Times congratulated the new club after a success against West Manchester, 'Bravo Liverpool! and likewise vive! King John.'[33] A week later, the paper related that 'Liverpool...were in the winning track as usual...the club are rapidly adding to their list of supporters and if they go as they have begun King John will be able to scorn those prognosticators of failure.'[34]

By contrast, Everton F.C. suffered a run of poor form in the Football League.

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[29] ibid., pp.77-111.

[30] C. Edwardes, 'The New Football Mania' in The Nineteenth Century Vol.32 (1892), p.625.

[31] The five per cent dividend on both Everton and Liverpool shares would have represented an increasingly modest return. Bank interest rates fluctuated between two per cent and seven per cent, with a slight upward trend, in the period between 1892 and the First World War.

[32] Edwardes, The New Football Mania, p.626.

[33] Liverpool Athletic Times, 11 October 1892.

[34] Liverpool Athletic Times, 18 October 1892.

The Everton supporters are getting seriously perturbed concerning the doings of their team, or perhaps disgusted would be the more appropriate term. Considering the trouble and expense which the committee have been to in trying to gather together a strong team the series of defeats now in progress is eminently calculated to account for these feelings.[35]

In response to the threat from Liverpool F.C., the directors of Everton looked to assert their civic status forcefully. Everton played Sheffield Wednesday in November and 'with a view to lending additional prestige to the occasion, Mr. Mahon the chairman, and his colleagues in the management of the Everton club, invited his Worship the Mayor and a number of civic dignitaries to witness the match.'[36] At the start of the month the mayor, Robert Holt, had become the head of the first Liberal administration in Liverpool for fifty years. It is probable that the invitation represented a deliberate swipe at John Houlding, who was a Conservative councillor and the chairman of the Everton Conservative Association. Holt walked 'majestically round the grounds to the strains of the Beacon Lane orphanage band'[37] in what may be termed a sedate lap of honour designed to improve Liberalism's popular credentials.

Notwithstanding this episode, it should be emphasised that the overall course of the history of Liverpool and Everton F.C.s does not bear out theories which align the clubs with other affiliations, either political **or** religious. In a city which was at times fiercely divided by sectarianism and popular Toryism[38], one of the most startling features of its football experience is the absence of such discord. The Liverpool Courier and the Liverpool Daily Post were avowedly Conservative and Liberal respectively, yet the imputation of a political aspect to each club's support was not made by either publication. Staunch in Conservatism and Protestantism as the Everton municipal ward and parliamentary constituency were, the

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[35] ibid.

[36] Liverpool Courier, 27 November 1892.

[37] Liverpool Athletic Times, 29 November 1892.

[38] See P.J. Waller, Democracy and Sectarianism, Liverpool 1981.

club counted on large numbers of Irish supporters from the adjacent districts of the North End. The Nationalist councillor J.G. Taggart was one of its shareholders. Everton and the surrounding districts were riven by bloody sectarian clashes on a number of occasions during the first decade of the twentieth century, yet these popular disturbances are remarkable for their failure to impinge on football relations.[39] Support for the clubs has to be explained in other terms.

The mayoral visit to Goodison was not the only instance of Everton F.C.'s insistence on its civic precedence. A fortnight later, there was 'some unpleasantness...as to the auspices under which the forthcoming theatrical match shall be played and also its venue.' Liverpool F.C. had been making arrangements for the game to take place at Anfield as usual, but the fixture was set for Goodison. A journalist for the Liverpool Athletic Times could not understand why Liverpool would not agree to co-operate in the arrangements, turning 'a deaf ear to the suggestion unless the game should take place on their ground.'[40] Everton had transplanted the fixtures and stands from Anfield to Goodison after the move, so the writer argued that it was obvious that the game should take place there.

This would appear to be a petty squabble only if the civic implications are ignored. The pantomime match was a symbol of Everton's position as **the** city team, and the Anfield club could not be allowed to wrest it away. The invitation to Liverpool to participate could not be taken up as to do so would be tantamount to Liverpool recognising Everton's superiority.

By the end of the 1893/94 season, Liverpool had been admitted to the Football League. The club won the Division Two championship and defeated Newton Heath (the future Manchester United) in a Test Match to win promotion to the First Division. These achievements made

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[39] The evidence against the myths of Catholic Everton and Protestant Liverpool is more fully set out by Stephen Kelly in Liverpool: The Hamlyn Illustrated History 1892-1996, Godalming, 1996, p.13, and by A. Mason in The Blues and the Reds, pp.123 and 124.

[40] Liverpool Athletic Times, 13 December 1892.

Everton's lofty condescension impossible to maintain. The attitude slipped into open contempt. The Liverpool Review recorded this scorn on the occasion of Liverpool's vital clash with Newton Heath. Everton were being beaten at Goodison while the Test Match was in progress. Goodison officials had always been quick to chalk up Liverpool defeats on the scoreboard for the crowd to see, and when pressmen discovered that Liverpool had won promotion they demanded to know why this result was not chalked up. When one journalist pinned up the result himself, he was thrown out of the ground.[41]

The final of the Liverpool Cup pitted the two sides against each other, but Everton put out their reserve side, thereby refusing to accept Liverpool as an equal opponent. Liverpool's pride was such that they also put out a reserve side. As the Liverpool Review reported, this reduced the game to 'a reserve team of amateurs against the Combination Champions.' The reaction made it clear that Everton could no longer expect to be synonymous with the city's footballing interests. The Liverpool Review decried the Evertonian action as 'a slur upon the Liverpool Association, for they have purposely cheapened the principal trophy in the greatest football city in the kingdom and have also alienated to a very considerable extent the sympathy and respect of their supporters.'[42]

This warning note, that local football supporters of any stripe were also Liverpool citizens, will be seen to be a leitmotiv of the Press' general approach to the competing claims of club and city. To favour one of the clubs was acceptable, but not if it were to run contrary to the overarching loyalty due to the city of Liverpool.

The fierce passions excited by the Everton/ Liverpool rivalry throw into doubt the likelihood of all supporters recognising and accepting such a hierarchy of identities. Under the headline 'The Big Battle At Last!', the Liverpool Review's editorial page previewed the first league

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[41] Liverpool Review, 5 May 1894.

[42] ibid.

derby match in October 1894.[43] The piece stressed the importance attached to the game by thousands in Liverpool.

> *There are some people in this world who are foolish enough to hold in light esteem...a pastime which has been known to draw together at one assemblage a vast congregation of persons numbering between forty and fifty thousand strong- amply sufficient to people a good-sized town, or to furnish recruits for a fairly formidable army...This is a battle for which your football war-horses have been pawing at the ground for months- nay, years.*

The partisan feeling which naturally attended city rivals was magnified because 'the Liverpool Club is in reality a limb of the Everton Club'. The Liverpool Courier concurred with this, believing 'partisanship has run unnecessarily high.'[44]

If there were any doubts that this was a conflict for civic supremacy, these were dispelled by the invitations which the Everton directors extended to city dignitaries. According to the Liverpool Daily Post, the guests included the Lord Mayor, the Mayor of Bootle, John Willox (the Conservative M.P. for the Everton constituency which included both clubs), the Official Receiver, the Coroner, the Collector of H.M. Customs, the Chairman of the Liverpool Stock Exchange, the Chairman of the Walton Local Board, Alderman F. Smith and five councillors (both Conservative and Liberal).[45] The game ended in a 3-0 triumph for Everton.

By the start of the new century, the derby game had assumed epic proportions. The savagery of the brawling lions of a Liverpool Football Echo cartoon of 1900[46] (*figure 1*) was a striking representation of the majesty and gravity of the spectacle. Rival supporters were not segregated in the ground, and this engendered dramas of loyalty and betrayal worthy of Shakespeare.

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[43] Liverpool Review, 13 October 1894.

[44] Liverpool Courier, 13 October 1894.

[45] Liverpool Daily Post, 13 October 1894.

[46] Liverpool Football Echo, 22 September 1900.



Figure 1- Liverpool and Everton as brawling lions.

> *The great roar that went up showed pretty clearly that the Goodison contingent were well backed by partisans and this fact did not serve to make matters smoother. The game became even more fiercely contested, while amid the crowd of onlookers every man viewed his neighbour with suspicion. The ancient feud of the Capulets and the Montagnes was as nothing compared with the rivalry of these.*[47]

Journalistic licence might add colour to the games, but such analogies and images were an integral part of the mental landscape of derby fixtures. Hence the rivalry was both articulated and fanned.

Conflict between the clubs continued to have a basis in substantive issues as well as in cartoons and similes. In 1901, Liverpool was engaged in a tense run-in in which the club eventually overtook Sunderland to claim the League Championship. The Liverpool Review confessed,

> *The bare possibility of a Liverpool League Club taking foremost honours is enough to make the footballing Liverpolitan feel dizzy. As a football centre, Liverpool's reputation is second to none in the kingdom, and has been so since the League Championship was established, but somehow, in spite of our enviable records in the way of crowds and 'gates' and 'captures' of star players, we have only once in all our history secured the League 'pot', while the English Cup* ***the*** *prize of the season- has never yet come our way...It is therefore high time indeed that something really big was done to preserve the city's credit in the football world.*[48]

Glory for Liverpool F.C. would bring glory upon the city, hence all Liverpudlians should wish the Anfield club well. However, the call for the lions to lie down together was lost in the uproar over the proposal to stage the F.A. Cup Final at Goodison which erupted but a fortnight later.

The Liverpool directors feared that the F.A. Cup might affect the gate for the crucial League game scheduled for the same day at Anfield and approached the Football Association. The

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[47] Liverpool Echo, 19 January 1901.

[48] Liverpool Review, 13 April 1901.

final was then switched to Bolton, sparking a furious reaction and reopening the question of how the ties of sentiment to club and city might be negotiated. The Liverpool Review fulminated that in the face of financial considerations, Liverpool had exhibited no signs of 'reciprocity, or patriotic sentiment, or consideration for other people's interests...in fact the history of the whole miserable affair deserves to be printed in capitals- on the Liverpool Football Club's flag.'[49]

The views of the public as expressed in newspaper correspondence were mixed. Some were swift to condemn Liverpool,

> *Through the selfish ignorance of the Liverpool Club officials the city is to be deprived of this great historic treat and honour...I have supported them for several years and I have been in conversation with many other of their supporters today, and they all say they will not support the club again.*[50]

> *The workingmen who have given out 'tanners' week after week to support the local clubs are entitled to demand that when the chance of the English Cup Final coming to Liverpool arises the local clubs should have helped us to secure it.*[51]

Liverpool was held to have forgotten civic duty and to have ignored the claims of local patriotism.

In defence of Liverpool, correspondents asserted the independent rights of the club, but continued to employ the discourse of civic patriotism and responsible citizenship to mount a counter-argument, in one case exploiting the power of Boer War imagery.

> *Give a good cheer of encouragement to the lads who are fighting, not in South Africa, but for the League Cup.*[52]

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[49] Liverpool Review, 27 April 1901.

[50] Liverpool Echo, 23 April 1901.

[51] ibid.

[52] Liverpool Courier, 25 April 1901.

How sportsmanlike is it to throw all the mud they can pick up at the accused party instead of weighing up the pros and cons of the affair in a sensible manner. I, for one, can't blame Liverpool in the least for looking after number one.[53]

Sunderland by their flukey victory over Newcastle yesterday have given to the Liverpool Club an almost herculean task...surely under such a crisis those selfish beings who are preaching a boycott...will drop their unpatriotic attitudes...Citizens of Liverpool to the rescue: drop your individual opinions, assemble in your thousands on Saturday...and thus assist our gallant team by your cheers to victory with the cry 'Liverpool and victory'.[54]

When challenged by an apparent divergence between the allegiance owed to club and city, there were three possible responses. The first two attached a high valency to the concept of civic patriotism. One affirmed this affective preference by formulating a schema in which club loyalty was subsidiary to city loyalty. The other rationalised away any behavioural and attitudinal inconsistency by insisting that the two loyalties were coterminous. The third rejected civic patriotism and revealed club identity to be the predominant social orientation.

The opposition of affinities for club and city might be problematic, but equally the alignment of these allegiances could result in the powerful reinforcement of identities. In 1906, Liverpool were closing in on the League Championship again, but this time Everton had reached the F.A. Cup Final. They were to play Newcastle, having twice lost in finals before. Now, supporters vied in suggesting ways of honouring the two teams and expressing their mutual respect and civic pride in triumphal poems.

These stanzas ranged in style from Homeric epic to doggerel.

Shall I tell you the tale of the Reds sir-
How Liverpool fought and died?
To win the League and the English Cup
That would have been their joy and pride...
The story is old sir by now I don't doubt

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[53] ibid.

[54] Liverpool Courier, 26 April 1901.

And could do with a rest I dare say
But if the Blues beat the Stripes and win the tin pot
Then we'll all help to shout 'hip hooray'.[55]

Now that honours are divided
We with them go all the way
With our smiles and cheers to help them
Bring both cups the Mersey way.[56]

Thousands in Liverpool will eagerly await
The cry 'Football Echo' to know Everton's fate.
The third time of trying they say does for all
Reds and Blues should rejoice at Newcastle's fall.

Then the Reds and Blues both together could sup
Reds from the League, Blues from the F.A. Cup.[57]

For though I'm for Liverpool, I bear no malice-
I hope Everton find the cup at the [Crystal] *Palace.*[58]

These verses shared the image of Liverpool and Everton supporting each other in winning glory for the city. Nor was this an artistic convention. Liverpool were playing at home against Sheffield United on the day of the Cup Final and 'a little before the finish of the game word was received from the Palace that Everton had scored. This was the signal for tumultuous cheering which did not subside for several minutes.'[59]

The cartoon artists who had previously sketched discord now turned their craft to celebrating communal Liverpudlian triumph. Liverpool and Everton could be friends having 'done themselves proud' (*figure 2*)[60]. Their joint achievements were promoted as a wellspring of

[55] Liverpool Football Echo, 14 April 1906.

[56] Liverpool Football Echo, 21 April 1906.

[57] ibid.

[58] ibid.

[59] Liverpool Echo, 21 April 1906.

[60] Liverpool Football Echo, 28 April 1906.

civic pride and were expressed with the imagery of a victorious city. In one cartoon, the artist used the civic coat of arms as a framework of symbolic reference (figure 3)[61]. The familiar elements of the Liver Bird and Neptune were reinterpreted with Neptune waving his trident at a Liverpool longship bearing off the trophies of war. The Liver Bird was emblazoned on the sail, crowing with triumph and bearing a football in its talons.

The festivities which marked the arrival of the F.A. Cup in Liverpool expanded on this theme of separate successes becoming common property. This was to be an affirmation of Liverpudlian superiority which received both official and popular acclaim. The Liverpool Courier hoped that there might be 'a public celebration of the unique event' which 'would cement the bond of good fellowship and friendship which ought to prevail between honourable opponents.' It forecast 'in the annals of the game this will be known as the Liverpool year.'[62]

The Liverpool Echo, in keeping with its more populist tone, was even more forthright in pressing the significance of the twin victories. These proved Liverpudlians were the godly elect, the chosen race of the national game. 'We are THE people of football' was the boast under the headline 'Our Cup. Liverpool City take all the honours.'[63] No doubt moved by the coincidence that the celebrations took place on St. George's Day, the leader column proclaimed 'the footballers of the Mersey city the envy of all the towns...when the heroes return let us reward their labours with our unstinted applause...that they may know that in our eyes they represent the pluck, the endurance and the dash of the great Red Rose.'[64] Football and Englishness were explicitly linked. The power of the sport to forge this mystic union

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[61] Liverpool Football Echo, 21 April 1906.

[62] Liverpool Courier, 23 April 1906.

[63] Liverpool Echo, 23 April 1906.

[64] ibid.



Figure 2- In 1906, Liverpool were League Champions and Everton won the F.A. Cup.

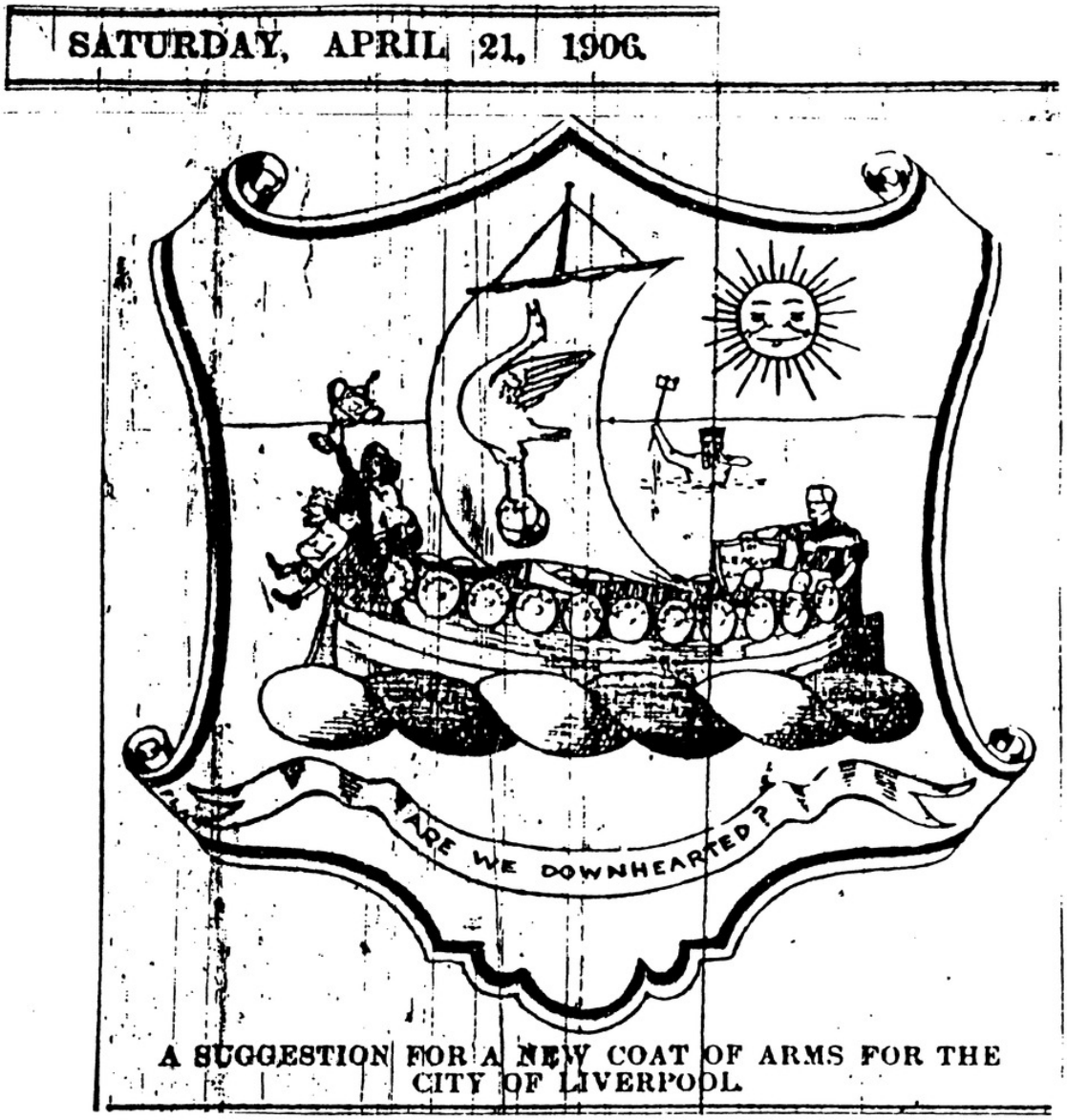

Figure 3- Liverpool's civic coat of arms reinterpreted.

should be seen as all the greater since Liverpool's star player, Alex Raisbeck, and two of his Everton counterparts, were Scots.

Professionalism in football had intensified the dilemma of how identification with a local club, and a sense of civic pride could be squared with the reality of teams patently made up of 'outsiders'. The Liverpool Athletic Times even suggested that local patriotism, 'steadfast allegiance to the organisation which represents one's native town or district and pride the superiority of such town or district over its neighbours' was no longer a feature of football. 'The townsmen of Slocum take no delight in beating the townsmen of Podger...whether the team which bears the name of the town is constituted of fellow townsmen' or 'of Zulus or Afghans is immaterial.'[65] Most people, however, adopted the commonsense attitude that such a Dickensian ideal was not attainable because League success, and the civic glory which attended it, was best pursued by engaging the best players, regardless of origin.

This knotty issue could be cut by an informal recognition of players as honorary Liverpudlians. In 1889, the Liverpool Review claimed that 'Geordie Farmer, the oldest Evertonian has almost been Liverpoolised.'[66] The Review similarly celebrated a Liverpool victory over West Bromwich Albion on 'foreign soil' in 1897 as proof of 'what Liverpudlians can do when put to the test.' It is striking that such a conclusion could be drawn about a team nicknamed 'the team of the Macs'.[67] Even the Liverpool Athletic Times did not allow its misgivings to grow to the point of demanding an outright rejection of outsiders, but instead proposed a three years' residential qualification as sufficient to acquire naturalisation rights.

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[65] Liverpool Athletic Times, 7 February 1893.

[66] Liverpool Review, 26 October 1889.

[67] The first ever Liverpool team fielded contained no Englishmen but eight surnames with the 'Mac' prefix (see Kelly, Hamlyn Illustrated History of Liverpool, p.7.) and thirteen signings from Scotland were in the squad.

As in 1906, success, or the promise of success could make the boundaries of civic identity more malleable. Individual citizens and civic authorities were eager to bask in the glory of football teams, and so the sport was accorded a place in the pantheon of municipal virtue. AS Hill has argued, 'the reception of the Cup Final team was gradually transformed from being a spontaneous celebration of *club* into a semi-official glorification of *town*. The reception was appropriated into civic ideology.'[68] The relationships between city, nation and empire could be rethought and recast through football to add to the honour of being a citizen of Liverpool. A correspondent in the Liverpool Courier suggested

> *The second city of the Empire has achieved the height of urban ambition by becoming the first city of the Empire in the football sense...let us show our appreciation practically by burying the hatchet for ever and becoming ardent supporters of both teams, loyally impartial in our local patriotism, proud of our local prestige by whichever club obtained. Thus may we hope for the football millenium when every football enthusiast will be in deed and in truth an Evertonian- Liverpolitan.*[69]

The Lord Mayor himself was sharply aware that this was a civic moment of some import. Addressing the Everton and Liverpool directors as he was handed the Cup for inspection by the Everton captain, he said he

> *felt he could do no less in his official capacity as Chief Magistrate of the city than be present at their arrival...He felt it was his duty to congratulate the team on behalf of the citizens of Liverpool upon their triumph. At least one half of the male citizens of Liverpool and a large proportion of the female population were sympathisers with the game of football.*[70]

This was the formal expression of a remarkable surge of popular enthusiasm. The Liverpool Daily Post and the Liverpool Courier concurred in describing the celebrations as worthy of comparison with Mafeking night. That contemporaries turned to an Imperial analogy to

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[68] J. Hill, 'Rites of Spring: Cup Finals and Community in the North of England' in Hill and Williams, Sport and Identity, p.160.

[69] Liverpool Courier, 24 April 1906.

[70] Liverpool Echo, 24 April 1906.

express footballing success is revealing. The Liverpool Courier claimed 'The spectacle quite eclipsed that which would be seen on the occasion of a Royal visit. 'Mafeking night' bore a closer similitude, but the crowds of last evening were much in excess of those which thronged the streets of Liverpool on that historic occasion.'[71] The Liverpool Daily Post reported the events under the suggestive headline of 'Cup Mafficking.'[72]

Thousands of people took part in a torchlight procession accompanied by bands. 'Partisans of both Everton and Liverpool clubs shared alike in the enthusiasm.'[73] The route followed originated in Ranelagh Street, outside Central Station, and proceeded past the city's foremost civic building, St. George's Hall, and continued through the heart of the Irish district, up Scotland Road. Previous civic receptions, such as that of the Prince of Wales in 1881, had only ventured up Scotland Road cautiously[74], but the football parade had no hesitation in choosing this passage.

There was further evidence of an entente between the clubs as the procession wound its way towards Goodison. A man nicknamed 'Nuggets', sparingly yet eloquently described by the Liverpool Daily Post as 'fat', boomed out 'Are we downhearted?' and periodically asked for cheers for Liverpool and Newcastle. Both sets of fans were happy to enter Goodison where there were shouts of 'Play up the Reds! Play up the Blues! Play up the town! League Cup!

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[71] Liverpool Courier, 24 April 1906.

[72] Liverpool Daily Post, 24 April 1906. Stan Kelly writes, 'My father was convinced that the destinies of his beloved Liverpool F.C. were somehow divinely intertwined with those of the British nation. He blamed our early setbacks in the Boer War on West Bromwich who knocked Liverpool out of the Cup in the second round in 1899. To those who queried the logic of this, he was quick to point out, as proof positive, that Mafeking was relieved only when Liverpool won the First Division Championship in 1900.' Quoted in D. Hodgson, The Liverpool Football Book, London, 1970, p.7.

[73] Liverpool Courier, 24 April 1906.

[74] Sir W.B. Forwood, Recollections of a Busy Life, Liverpool, 1920, p.91. Forwood explained that as the Prince's cortege entered Scotland Road, the carriage was sped up and the outriders came in closer to its wheels.

English Cup!' In all it was estimated that 150000 people in a city with a population of 700000 had watched the Cup procession, making it 'the most remarkable popular demonstration that had ever taken place within the city boundaries.'[75]

An explanation for such powerful identity with football clubs is best sought in the social and emotional nexus between supporters and clubs and not in the extension of the cash nexus to sport. Although historians such as Tony Mason and James Walvin and sociologists such as Rogan Taylor[76] have shown an awareness of these analytical dimensions, theoretical frameworks to explain this sort of support are underdeveloped. Too often, the existence of support has been taken as given.

Even when analysis has turned to the social and occupational background of supporters, the nature of the emotional bond between supporters and clubs has been overlooked.[77] Wray Vamplew observed in Pay up and Play the Game that 'the assumptions of economists are often the research topics of other social scientists.'[78] The preface explained that this otherwise impressive work was not concerned with 'why people play or watch sport...I have taken it as given that many people wish to participate, vicariously or actively, in sport of some kind.'[79]

The result of these analytical shortcomings has been to divorce support from its fundamental components of identity and participation. Efforts to illustrate the dominance of market forces or the Gramscian hegemony of ideology over working-class supporters have thus tended to

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[75] Liverpool Daily Post, 24 April 1906.

[76] see A. Mason's Association Football and English Society, J. Walvin's The People's Game, London, 1975 and R. Taylor's Football and its Fans, Leicester ,1992.

[77] Exceptions to this trend are R. Holt's Working Class Football and the City and W. Vamplew, 'Ungentlemanly Conduct: The control of Soccer-crowd behaviour in England 1888-1914' in The Search for Wealth and Stability, (ed. T. Smout) London, 1979.

[78] Vamplew, Pay up and Play the Game, p.18.

[79] ibid., p.xv.

treat supporters as an inert mass. The significance of the tie of support was however, that it provided many attractions; a wealth of myths and heroes; a meaningful temporal structure for the week; a purpose for planning savings; an entry into new experiences of travel and comradeship; a possible avenue to a more exalted social function; a world of specialised knowledge where educational disadvantages were no bar to becoming a savant and a burgeoning awareness of the rights which being a consumer might bestow. For the imbalance in historical evaluation to be redressed, there must be some attempt to restore the legitimacy of the magical and imaginative allure of football as a theoretical concept.

The folklore of the game entwined classical stories, urban myths and heroic exploits to fashion a vivid emotional landscape. Although it must be conceded that the allusions made in some of the literature connected with the game would have eluded a mass audience, the employment of such imagery and devices is significant. The widespread use of classical comparisons indicates that they were believed appropriate to express the grandeur of football. Even when allowance has been made for hyperbole, itself a classical literary technique, the sagas of football were clearly adjudged worthy of epic treatment. Football journalism was characterised by the language of gladiators and amphitheatres, battlefields and laurel wreaths and combat and glory. Newspapers both chronicled the romance of football on the written page and lent events on the field an added lustre- creating as well as recording myths.

A journalist for the Liverpool Review opened his piece on his first experience of football by declaring 'it would be sacrilege to compare the enclosed field of the Everton Football Club...with the Amphitheatre of Titus'. Having thus blasphemed he continued,

> *It is a most impressive thing to see twelve thousand people- a sea of faces- standing and sitting within the barriers which enclose the green upon which the game is to be played. Then the players with their tight fitting costumes and naked muscles peeping out bring to mind recollections of Rome and her gladiators. Football played as it is at Everton is deprived of its brutality and raised to a high degree of skill.*[80]

[80] Liverpool Review, 25 October 1890.

Having fallen under the spell of football, he concluded: 'My visit was an experience which I would not have missed, and which I am sorry to have delayed for so long.'

In a similar vein, another article, inspired by Byron's poem The Dying Gladiator, compared the crowd noise from Anfield with 'the shouts that went up from the Flavian amphitheatre when the fierce combatant, whose rude hut by the Danube lay, succumbed to his adversary and was butchered to make a Roman holiday.'[81] The Liverpool Review did not count many of the working classes amongst its readership, being aimed at the better educated middle class. It is noteworthy then, that the glamour of football was attractive to different sections of society. Clifford Geertz has famously defined culture as the stories which people tell themselves about themselves. Football's ability to provide plots and characters for many such tales was prodigious.

The classical experience of mass spectator sport was an appealing model for the more educated to interpret football. There was a pleasing fit between the centrality of the amphitheatre to Roman civic life and the emergence of football as the sport of the new imperial order. The classical allusions also raised the game's intellectual credibility to justify it as a respectable passion for middle class men. Note, for example, the language used by the Oxford-educated Liverpool lawyer and local Conservative M.P., F.E. Smith. He pointed out that Athens

> *where sane and discriminating judgment bound immortal garlands upon the brow of the athlete, produced poetry more sweet, philosophy more profound and history more elevated than it has been granted to the specialists of intellect in a later generation to achieve.*[82]

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[81] Liverpool Review, 6 March 1897.

[82] F.E. Smith, 'The Vogue of Games- Is it worth it?' in The New Fry's Magazine, Vol.1 No.1, April 1911, p.10.

Smith was conspicuously present at Liverpool and Everton's triumphs in 1906, filling the F.A. Cup with champagne for the Everton players. His thoughts appeared in The New Fry's Magazine, a periodical whose existence was an additional indication that essays and *pensees* about sport were to be taken seriously.

The Liverpool University magazine, The Sphinx, approved of Lord Rosebery's claim- 'I know of no sport which affords such lessons for national success as Association Football...the meanest intellect can grasp that it implies incessant watchfulness...that indolence and selfishness are fatal.'[83] The Sphinx had recognised the intellectual and physical appeal of the game in an earlier article.

> *It has been questioned whether a man who has never played football can be said to have really lived and it is indisputable that certain of life's pleasures are to him as a sealed book...the science of the accurate centre and the screwing shot which gives the goalkeeper no chance...He must be left to his own fate, probably that of increasing corpulence and subsequent dyspepsia.*[84]

The links between the University and the city's football teams were further reinforced because the University First XI occasionally used Anfield as their home ground.

More populist papers, such as the Liverpool Football Echo, paraded colourful images of football culture. A confident Liverpool accepts humble Everton's congratulations on a victory over Aston Villa in *figure 4*.[85] Liverpool, dressed in shorts which bear a resemblance to the garb of a Boer War general, stands against the rays of the setting sun. Behind him the dejected 'Villans' trudge homeward with heads bowed, leaving him master of the battlefield which is strewn with corpses and with the broken frame of some goal-posts. The personifications of

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[83] Quoted by The Sphinx, Vol. VIII no.3, December 1900.

[84] The Sphinx, Vol. III no.23, December 1895.

[85] Liverpool Football Echo, 17 November 1900.



LIVERPOOL'S WHOLESALE SLAUGHTER OF THE VILLANS.

Evefton.—Oh—er—may I congratulate you on—er—your—um—what shall I say?—

Liverpool.—Tut, dear chap! Don't mention it. Assure you it was a—er—very simple smash up—no exertion—dear me, no.

Figure 4- Football as a metaphor for war.

Mersey and Tyne as bearded Neptunes reaching out for the F.A. Cup of 1906 were a further example of how football issues might be visualised (*figure 5*).[86]

Spectators evidently went to football matches to watch men kicking a ball, not expecting lions to burst from the dressing rooms or trident-wielders to emerge dripping from the ocean depths. But the imagery and literature of football affirmed the sublime quality of the game. Football matches and players were elevated from the mundane to become the objects of cultic fascination.

A poem now in the Goodison archives immortalised the early Everton hero George Farmer.

> *Have you seen George Farmer play*
> *If not- you've missed a treat-*
> *His 'demon' arrows spectators say*
> *Have never yet been beat*
> *The sympatheic Anfield crowd*
> *Sing Geordie's praises long and loud.*
>
> *E'en children in their humble cot*
> *Have learnt to lisp his name*
> *And if reverses are our lot*
> *George Farmer's not to blame...*
>
> *I care not where you go*
> *May Everton still hold their own*
> *Against their mightiest foe.*[87]

In 1892, when Charles Edwardes claimed that football 'is a passion nowadays and not merely a recreation', he explained that players had become

> *objects of the popular adoration. They go to their wars in saloon carriages. Their supporters attend them to the railway station to wish them 'God speed' and later in the evening meet them on their return...They are better known than the local Members*

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[86] Liverpool Football Echo, 12 April 1906.

[87] Geordie Farmer- Old Everton's Pride, typewritten manuscript available in a box-file of cuttings held at Goodison Park, Liverpool.



Figure 5- Tyne and Mersey contest the 1906 F.A. Cup.

of Parliament...Even in their workaday dress they cannot move in their native streets without receiving orations enough to turn the head of a Prime Minister.[88]

The powerful identification with football clubs can only be appreciated fully if due attention is paid to their legends and heroes. Football grounds, for better or worse, have always been theatres of dreams.

A football match was the social and emotional pinnacle of the week. As the Liverpool Athletic Times argued, 'many thousands of people enjoy their half holiday in the football field...look forward keenly to the healthy excitement and recreation to be derived from the Saturday afternoon's match of the organisation to which they hold allegiance.'[89] In his evidence before the Royal Commission on the Licensing Laws in 1898, Liverpool's Chief Constable, Captain Nott-Bower, related that 'a great number of working men, the instant they get paid, rush off home as quickly as they can, get a wash and change, leave their wages with their wives and are off to see the football.'[90]

Special fixtures such as the F.A. Cup final were such that the domestic budget for the year might be planned around them. In 1906, the Liverpool Courier mused,

It is extraordinary to what pains the most enthusiastic lovers of the winter pastime will go in order to witness the final struggle for the English Cup...clubs were started with the purpose of providing the wherewithal to undertake the journey, just as the cotton operatives in Oldham pay so much per week into what they term 'gully' clubs in order to meet the expense of their annual week's holiday.[91]

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[88] Edwardes, New Football Mania, pp. 622 and 623.

[89] Liverpool Athletic Times, 20 September 1892.

[90] Royal Commission on the Licensing Laws, Parliamentary Papers Vol. XXXVI, 1898, Cd. no. 8693, p.2.

[91] Liverpool Courier, 24 April 1906.

The Cup Final was not the only fixture for which such financial planning was necessary. From the earliest days, fans had been prepared to pay to travel with their team. In 1890, 1500 Evertonians accompanied the Blues to Bolton and 8000 took advantage of cheap rail fares to visit the champions, Preston. Travelling under the aegis of their respective clubs, supporters could enjoy visiting new towns and seeing unfamiliar sights, as well as confirming esprit de corps amongst supporters. At Derby in 1890, the Liverpool Athletic Times reported

> *The usual enthusiastic crowd of 'King John's' retainers accompanied the boys on their journey to Derby, which, by the way, so far as scenery is concerned, is one of the most beautiful imaginable and was much enjoyed by the occupants of at least one compartment who dis **card** ed the **cards** and the usual **nap** in favour of the **belle vue**.*[92]

At the matches themselves, conditions might not be so comfortable. That many were prepared to endure discomfort is an indication of their commitment to their clubs

> *It is astonishing what the average football enthusiast will go through in order to get a good view of a match in which the club he owes allegiance is taking part. If by taking up his position an hour or two before the start, he secures a favourable coign of vantage from which to witness the struggle, the fact of being half frozen during the wait is a mere trifle to him.*[93]

Such stoic heroism and sacrifice in the name of the club heightened the emotional pitch of loyalty. The participative nature of support and the organisation of social intercourse around football tied these imagined, alternative communities together. Chanting and singing were the exception before the Great War, but the expressions of solidarity could be no less boisterous. During an 1891 clash between Everton and Preston attended by 20000, the Liverpool Echo stated 'A loud hurrah and flourish of trumpets and foghorns greeted a good bit of passing by Holt, Kirkwood and Latta.'[94]

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[92] Liverpool Athletic Times, 16 December 1890.

[93] Liverpool Athletic Times, 18 November 1890.

[94] Liverpool Echo, 10 January 1891.

The shared experiences of the game would continue into the evening. Following a defeat by Preston the previous year in the so-called 'Battle of Deepdale', the Liverpool Athletic Times lamented 'many were the expressions of regret heard at the places where footballers most do congregate on Saturday night.'[95] The purveyors of entertainment recognised that an appeal to supporters' football identities was a means of attracting their custom. The Royal Wine Bar of South John Street advertised that arrangements had been made 'to have the telegraphic results of all the Principal Football Matches, both half-time and finals. This pleasant lounge has been entirely redecorated and refurnished, and is one of the favourite resorts of Liverpool athletes.' On the same page, the Lecture Hall in Everton Road was suggesting its 'Popular Saturday Evening Concerts' to 'the Members of the EVERTON FOOTBALL CLUB and their Supporters' as 'the Place to spend your Saturday Nights.'[96]

The scalene geometry between an individual's status and role in the football community and his wider social position opened opportunities to a degree of informal social mobility. Hence, the corpulent 'Nuggets', otherwise an insignificant figure in civic life, achieved celebrity and revelled in a position of leadership in orchestrating the songs and banter which welcomed the English Cup in 1906. For adolescents, football could be a rite of passage into manhood and an expression of independence. Two oral testimonies illustrate this.

At fourteen, Bert Fearns[97] moved with his parents from Southport to Liverpool. His parents sent him to stay in Rock Ferry on the Wirral with his aunt and her two grown-up sons. They worked at Cammell Laird's shipyard and were aged about 25. Bert recalled that they were

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[95] Liverpool Athletic Times, 25 November 1890.

[96] Liverpool Athletic Times, 9 December 1890. Elsewhere in the same issue, the Liverpool Athletic Times recounted that the audience for the first in this series of concerts was 'not as numerous as the attractions merited.' The organisers evidently believed that the popular appeal of football might constitute a possible advertising strategy.

[97] I am grateful to Andy Tennant of BBC Radio Merseyside for providing me with a tape of Bert Fearns' reminiscenses. The tape of How I Became an Evertonian was never broadcast owing to poor sound quality and Bert died recently.

'rabid Liverpudlians, nothing was worthwhile in football except what Liverpool did.' He confessed that he 'rather resented this' and so one day in January 1911, finding himself with sixpence to spend, he saw an advert in the Liverpool Echo for Everton's F.A. Cup tie with Bury. 'I got the boat across, I'd never been to Liverpool except with my mother and father.' Bert caught a tram to Spellow Lane and followed the crowds to Goodison Park. He had seen Southport Central matches but admitted 'a First Division team like Everton was something out of this world.' Tempted by a gargantuan Eccles cake, Bert spent his penny for the tram home and had to walk to Pierhead for the return ferry.

When he arrived home late, his two cousins asked where he had been. 'I just blandly said, "I've been to Goodison Park." The two grown-up sons they stood up out of their chairs..."You went to Goodison Park- on your own?"...I couldn't have put the cat amongst the pigeons better.' The next Saturday Bert's cousins came home from work, washed and changed, and announced 'Come on, you're going to Anfield to see a real football team.' As Bert commented 'their idea was by taking me to Anfield they'd get the lure of Goodison out of me, but they never did. I've remained an Evertonian ever since.'

Percy Harwood[98] lived in Crosby and attended his first match in 1913. He explains 'all my brothers were Liverpudlians so I decided I'd be an Evertonian...it was always mixed...you'd get wives being Liverpudlian and husbands Evertonian.' The decision of which club to support could therefore be an important psychological moment, linked with issues such as sibling rivalry and adolescent expressions of autonomy and independence.

Alongside prominent supporters, those with recognised superior knowledge of the game might earn respect and a degree of authority amongst their peers. As has already been noted, the unpredictable nature of the game made questions of player selection and tactical approach

[98] I would like to take this opportunity to thank Percy for agreeing to be interviewed in July 1997. I am also indebted to Linda McDermott of BBC Radio Merseyside and Dr. Rogan Taylor of Liverpool University for their assistance in making the interview possible.

to a large degree subjective. Moreover, football knowledge did not have to be acquired through formal institutions and did not depend on accidents of birth or commerce. Knowledge and the status which it could deliver were in the public domain. In 1896, Everton made a mediocre start to the season with eight points from seven games; and the Liverpool Review carried an ominous warning for the club's directors.

> *I can imagine such replies as 'The directors don't know their business', 'The team is badly balanced', 'Some of the players are not worth their places'...there are ways and means of dealing with directors as there are ways and means of dealing with recalcitrant and inferior players...Any and every sane follower of the game with the interest of the club at heart must have known at the time, that when Mr. George Mahon was allowed to resign active participation in the affairs of the Everton organisation, a very severe blow was dealt...That a change in the personnel or the methods of the present directors is imperative goes without saying.*[99]

A fortnight later came evidence that these protests had not gone unheeded. The Liverpool Review revealed that

> *The executive have come to an arrangement...the selection of the team is to be left to a more limited number of officials for the future...Mr. 'Dick' Molyneux, the able and well experienced secretary of the club should have a say in the naming of every team...There are ruling spirits connected with the Everton organisation who, from a practical point of view, scarcely understand the rudiments of the game.*[100]

George Mahon was also induced to return to the club in 1897, and while it would be mistaken to believe it was the sole cause, the power which supporters could exercise en masse should not be underestimated, particularly where allies could be found in the Press.

Developing this theme of knowledge, it is instructive to consider the importance which Benedict Anderson has attached to shared language in allowing the construction of 'imagined communities'. He argues that 'print languages' fostered a communal self-consciousness which

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[99] Liverpool Courier, 31 October 1896.

[100] Liverpool Review, 14 November 1896.

formed 'the embryo of the nationally imagined community.'[101] In such a variegated city as Liverpool, class, religion, nationality, political persuasion and date of incorporation within the city's boundaries[102] presented potential and actual fault lines. Football terminology might provoke an awareness of communities at whose core was the ennoblement and celebration of civic patriotism through football (and vice versa). The notion of 'Liverpoolness' thus acquired, constituted a significant (and sometimes the paramount) element of civic identity.

Imagination and emotion can serve to illuminate bonds of support and identity, but do not represent the limits of participation. Supporters were quick to stand on what they perceived as their rights. Therefore any portrayal of football as a commodity or as a bourgeois financial venture must reflect that an application of capitalist ideology could protect, and even advance, the rights of the working-class paying supporter. Admission cost 6d and attendance figures and gate receipts show a steady increase in paying crowds (see *figures 6 and 7*). After a goalless match between Liverpool and West Bromwich Albion in 1896, the Liverpool Review argued that crowds would not 'pay to witness defensive expositions of the association code. The man who pays his sixpence, and he is **the** supporter of football, wants to see goals...he wants something for his money.'[103] Supporters invested in the club through buying tickets and were justified in expecting a return.

A journalist for the Liverpool Review proposed further incursions into the directorial realm of decision-making.

> *I do not consider the necessary expenditure to bring to Everton the very best players in the country and to pay them as such to be an extravagance. The supporters find ample means and it is for the directors to see that the play is kept at a high standard so that value is received...Hitherto that value has been wanting, the expenditure on*

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[101] B. Anderson, Imagined Communities, London, 1991, p.44.

[102] Liverpool's boundaries expanded on several occasions around the turn of the century. Hence, any allegiances felt for Everton and Liverpool could offer a starting point for the inhabitants of newly incorporated districts to evolve an identity within the city.

[103] Liverpool Review, 3 October 1896.

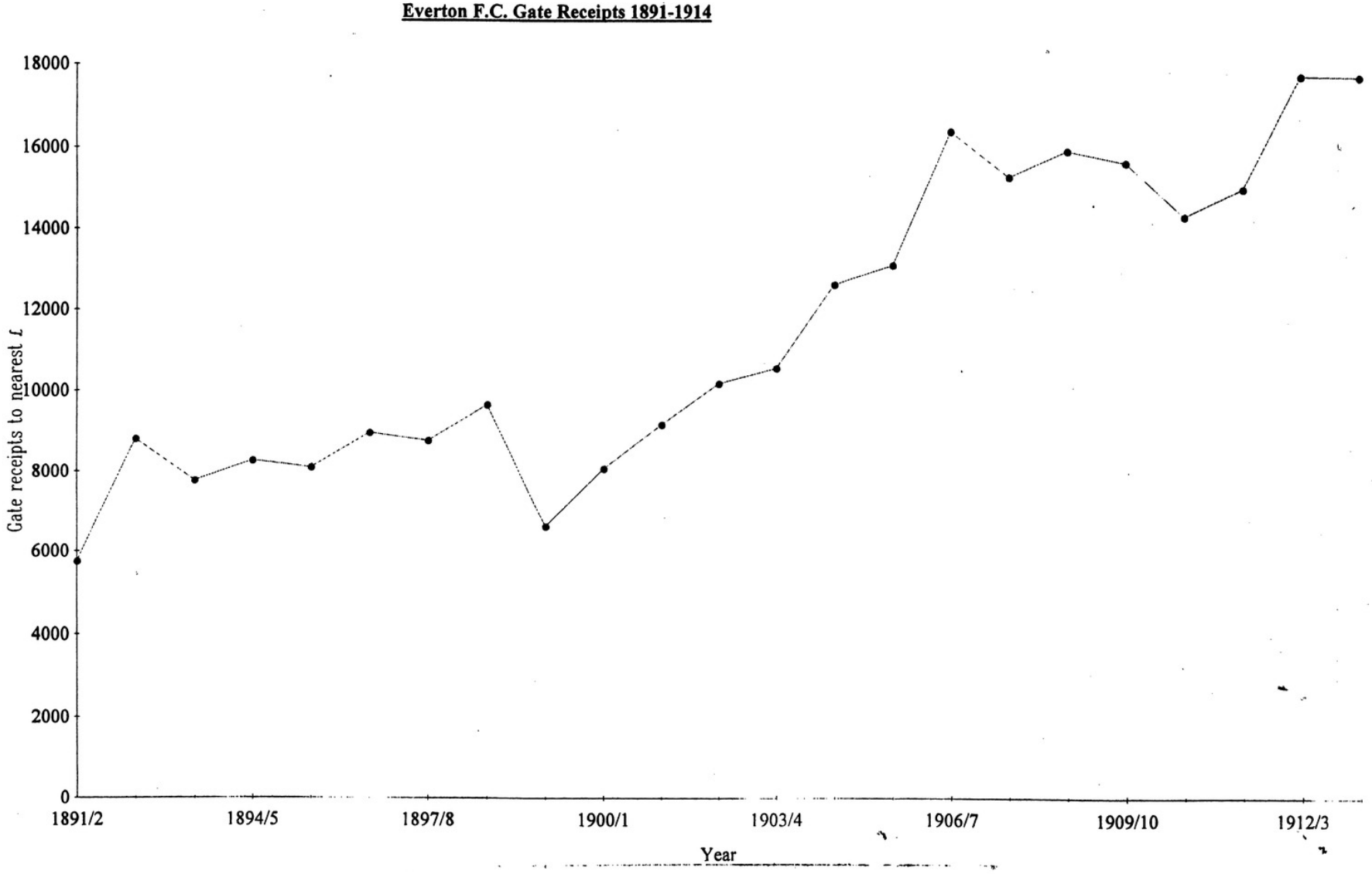

Figure 6- Everton gate receipts.

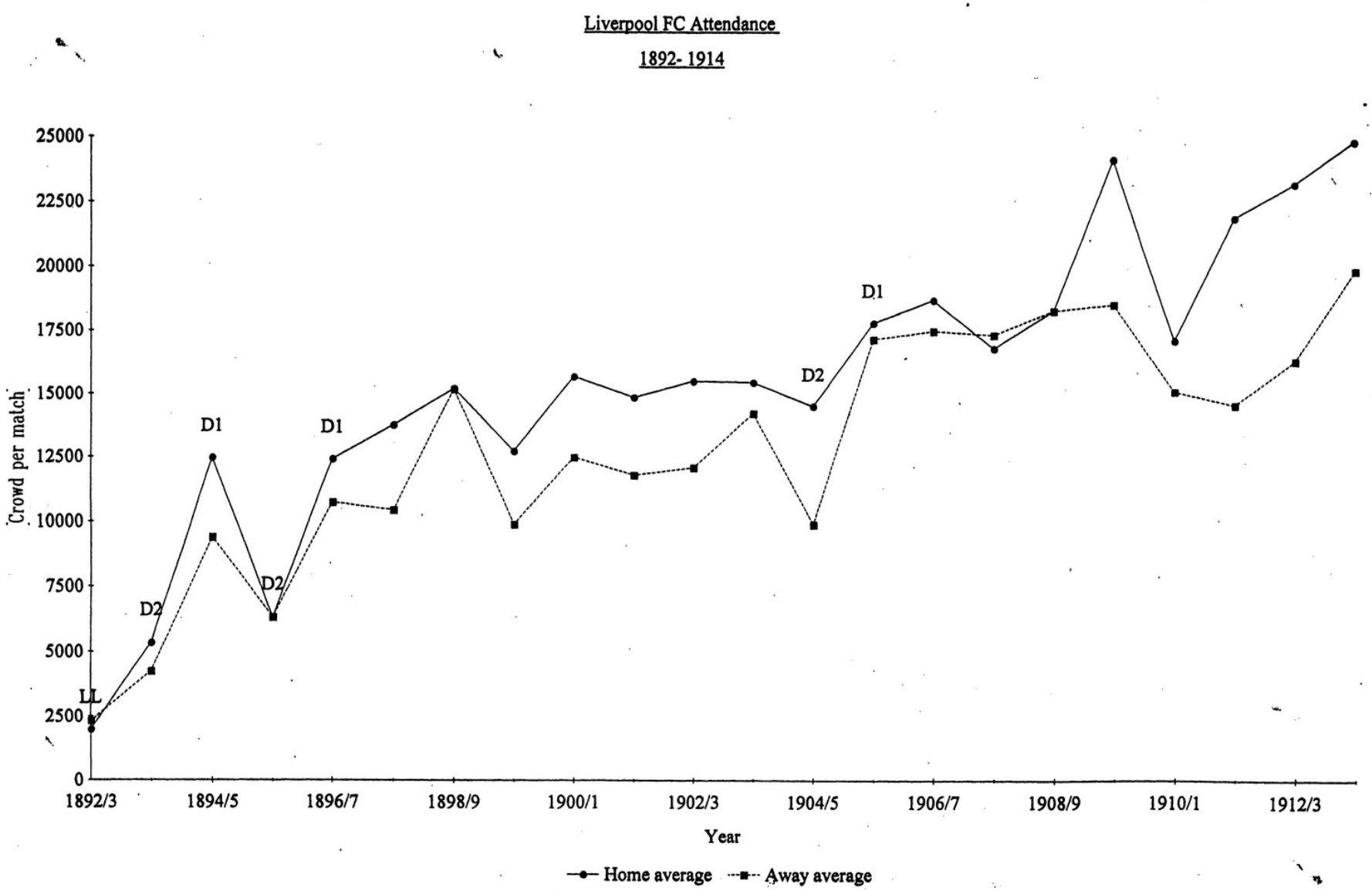

Figure 7- Liverpool attendances.

players has been of a cheeseparing character, whilst the expenses of management have been practically unlimited.

His solution was to advise the appointment of a team manager to take charge of the team and to keep management expenses down. The clear image which emerges from such attacks on the directors is that they were perceived not as owners but as trustees. The club was less a personal fiefdom than a community. It was based on popular consent and footballing excellence, just as the British Empire thrived on democratic foundations and military and commercial success. This depiction of directors as trustees deriving their authority from popular consent was the organising principle of club administration. The existence of such a paradigm for directors to work within placed limits upon their autonomy, yet it was a paradigm to which they openly subscribed.

A meeting of Everton shareholders in 1895 affords an example. George Mahon chaired the meeting which concerned proposals to buy Goodison Park outright, and he adumbrated his reasons for supporting this initiative.

> *He wished the shareholders to understand that there were no commissions, no watering of stock, or loading of the capital in any shape or form, and that everything in connection with the price was absolutely free from shares and commissions and clean and above board. (Applause.) The workingmen of Liverpool represented the backbone of their club, and the directors had always recognised the necessity for providing for them amply and fully. (Hear, hear.)*[104]

Social functions, surrogate identities and rights conferred by knowledge and by purchase were aspects of the relationship between supporters and clubs which contribute to an understanding of why the ties could be so strong. The account advanced above indicates the rich social and emotional weave to working-class support of football, and a similar tapestry knitted bourgeois shareholders to clubs.

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[104] A cutting from an unidentified Liverpool paper found in the Liverpool and Everton Football Club papers at Liverpool Central Library.

A ledger of share transfers survives in the vault at Goodison Park. By using this record in conjunction with Gore's Liverpool Directories and street maps of the city, it is possible to reassemble a mosaic of the residential and occupational backgrounds of Everton shareholders between 1895 and 1909. When Everton F.C. became a limited liability company, a capital of £500 was allocated in £1 shares. Thomas Keates explained that each member was 'to be allowed one share, 10/- to be called up in monthly installments of 2/6. Such shares as were not taken up to be allotted as the Directors may determine.'[105]

The price of the shares and the initial limit of one per member encouraged a wide basis of ownership. On examining the evidence of the transfers, it would appear that Everton F.C. was mostly owned by members of the lower middle class with firm physical ties to the area. The districts of Everton, Kirkdale, Walton and Anfield, within two miles of Goodison Park, (boxes F,I,J,O and P in *figure 8*) encompassed an overwhelming majority of the share transfers between 1895 and 1909 comprising 73.4%. Moreover, the transfer record was much fuller for those purchasing than for those selling shares. Consequently, the 139 shareholders depicted for whom addresses can be identified were mostly buying rather than selling shares and *figure 8* is, if anything, a more reliable guide to patterns of acquisition than of sale. This is important, since it indicates that share ownership was centripetal over time.

This centripetal tendency assumes greater significance when it is set against the centrifugal trend of the middle-class 'flight to the suburbs'. The hinge of the twentieth century witnessed 'a general movement of evacuation...from big cities.'[106] The portrayal of middle-class involvement in football as guided by the dictates of commerce and as reflecting bourgeois hegemony bears scant resemblance to the Everton data. Residentially, Everton's shareholders were not typical of the prosperous middle class colonising the new suburbs. Instead, they were rooted to the very heartlands of the club around the spiritual centre of Goodison Park.

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[105] Keates, History of Everton, p.39.

[106] P.J. Waller, Town, City and Nation: England 1850-1914, Oxford, 1983, p.144.

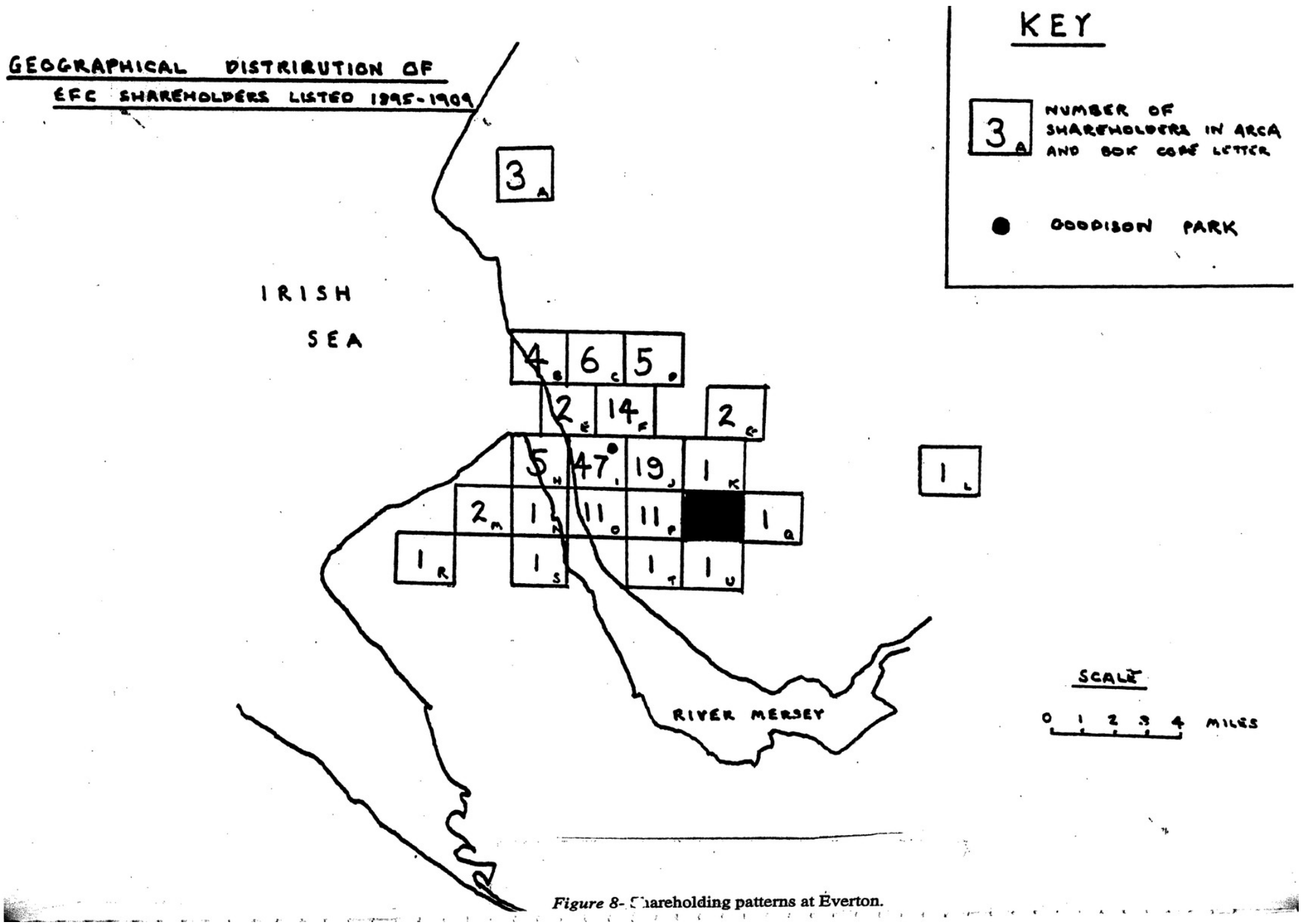

Figure 8- Shareholding patterns at Everton.

Occupationally, too, they were predominantly from the lower middle class- 53% of the occupations of shareholders may be summarised as retail and clerical administration. Of these 38 shareholders, 30 (equivalent to 78.9%) lived in boxes F,I,J,O and P in *Figure 8*. Combining these figures reveals that 41.7% of the Everton shareholders whose occupation can be ascertained were engaged in retail or clerical administration and lived in the districts immediately adjacent to Goodison Park.[107]

In 1871, the former secretary of the Liverpool Clerk's Provident and Annuity Association, B.G. Orchard[108] had written a booklet outlining the peculiar social position of men of this class. After commenting on the wide divergences in lifestyle and salary which different clerks experienced, Orchard cited one clerk who claimed 'however intelligent and estimable a man may be- however dignified and agreeable he is in his bearing- if someone but whispers 'he is only a clerk' at once he is at a discount, and almost anybody takes precedence of him.'[109] Orchard also quoted a correspondent to the Liverpool Courier,

> *Clerks...have a position as well as a salary. They pride themselves on that position. In virtue thereof they indulge in much liberty of action which other classes of servants do not enjoy. They call themselves their masters' equals and demand recognition as such.*[110]

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[107] The analysis of share transfers set out here may be contrasted with Vamplew's figures on p.296 of Pay up and Play the Game. His analysis was based on a single year, and he treated all shareholders within a twenty five mile radius as 'local'. He classified 38.9% of Everton shareholders in his managerial, clerical and supervisory categories and a further 12% as proprietors and employers.

[108] Orchard was the author of Liverpool's Legion of Honour, Birkenhead, 1893. This was a survey of the leading citizens of Liverpool and the surrounding district.

[109] B.G. Orchard, The Clerks of Liverpool, Liverpool, 1871, p.7.

[110] ibid., p.44.

For such men, keen to defend their own status, the football clubs which dominated the conversation of the district and whose fortunes were followed by the Liverpool Exchange, presented an opportunity to assert their position. As John Lowerson has contended, late Victorian society was one in which 'social differentiation had become sufficiently complex and mature to allow active recreations to become significant criteria of demarcation.'[111] For clerks, sport could be a 'means of establishing the minor differentials so important because they could rarely afford the geographical distancing which suburban sprawl made possible for the higher reaches of the middle class.'[112] Retailers, who might own a small business but lack social status, would have been subject to similar anxieties.

This residential and occupational analysis of Everton's shareholders indicates that football clubs could perform valued functions for the lower middle class as well as the working class. The pattern of share-ownership was not a simple replication of Liverpool's wider socio-economic relationships. Instead it offered an opportunity for a lower middle class with close physical connections to the districts around Goodison Park, to stake a claim to status and social precedence which they were otherwise denied. Comparable data for Liverpool F.C. are not available, but as Anfield was less than a mile away and as the shares also held an initial value of £1, there seems little reason to posit a substantially different pattern of ownership. Wray Vamplew's data for Liverpool provides an approximate means of comparison, classifying 56.8% of Liverpool shareholders in the managerial, clerical and supervisory categories.[113]

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[111] J. Lowerson, Sport and the English middle classes 1870/ 1914, Manchester, 1993, p.2. Wray Vamplew has noted the contribution of clerks to organised sport in Birmingham in terms of providing administrative skills in Pay up and Play the Game, p.157.

[112] Lowerson, Sport and the English middle classes, p.11.

[113] Vamplew, Pay up and Play the Game, p.296.

Vamplew has concluded that 'local identification was important to the soccer shareholder and clearly there was little or no blind investment.'[114] In the shareholding relationship, football emerges as rather less of a commodity, and rather more of a community. Charles Korr's study of the major shareholders at West Ham United supports the Everton experience. All of the twenty one biggest shareholders were self-employed or semi-professional men and all but one lived in the vicinity of the club.[115]

The argument has proceeded from a masculine perspective up to this point. If women's experiences of football are evaluated, it will be seen that the 'football community' was defined by exclusion as well as inclusion.

Football was an avowedly masculine pastime. The attacks on the game which were such a feature of its late Victorian and Edwardian development, focussed on allegations that spectatorism was threatening national deterioration and called for more recognisably martial forms of exercise, such as drill on Prussian lines, to replace the potentially decadent influence of football. The response was to emphasise the 'manly' nature of football.

Nathan Howard's pamphlet Football: How to Become a Great and Good Player, published in Liverpool in 1894, typified the martial strain which became a feature of football writing. He advised his young readers that

> *A foot-ball team should be looked upon as a storming party, ever ready to attack or defend individually, in sets of twos and threes, and in a body...I believe that a thoroughly equipped team could be so marshalled as to be able to storm the goal of the strongest opponents now existing...and this at the word of command.*[116]

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[114] ibid., p.159.

[115] Korr, West Ham United, p.10.

[116] N. Howard, Football: How to Become a Great and Good Player, Liverpool, 1894, p.16.

The Liverpool Athletic Times rallied to football's defence amid the 'cries of parsons and grandmothers...against the barbarians of the football field'. The paper questioned 'is there any physical outdoor recreation which is free from danger, or would it have any attraction for Englishmen if it were?'[117] An encouragement of masculinity and martial spirit was thus central to a justification of football. In this sense, football and femininity were antithetical.

However, newspaper reports of games throughout England indicate that women were present in numbers. Tony Mason has suggested that the majority of female spectators were probably younger, unmarried women, for the pressures of domestic management and its demands on time would have represented barriers to attendance after wedlock.[118] But Everton's F.A. Cup final in 1906 sparked the invasion of London by 'the tripper proper (not forgetting his "missus")'. The excursion packages to the capital included the option of missing the game, and the Liverpool Echo reported accordingly that the crowd at Crystal Palace included 'scarcely so many ladies...as usual.'[119]

Where women did attend, they appear to have been barely tolerated and their motives were open to suspicion. Percy Harwood recalls asking a fellow spectator to tone down his language when two women were standing in earshot at a match. His neighbour brusquely observed 'It's a man's game'. Charles Edwardes' article in The Nineteenth Century dwelt on the issue of women supporters at some length

> *I have mentioned the fair sex among the patrons of modern football...I find myself compelled to believe that it is not the game that attracts them. Their remarks-by way of criticism- are much too much for the patience of the commonalty who hear them. In the manufacturing districts, their presence is tolerated only when their hats and bonnets are of moderate height...The lady frequenters of the grand stands are not much more serious participants at a match than their humbler sisters who have to*

[117] Liverpool Athletic Times, 9 March 1891.

[118] Mason, Association Football, p.153.

[119] Liverpool Echo, 21 April 1906.

stand...The observations made by one of them may fairly be ascribed to the rest: 'What fine young men! What are they going to do?'[120]

These jibes accord with the propositions already advanced, about the importance of football knowledge in conferring participative rights and social standing. If women's knowledge of the game was ridiculed, their rights and status would be denied or circumscribed. Although there were some women shareholders at Everton, they were widows or daughters who had inherited shares.

Football remained a familiar element of many women's lives whether by attendance or by proxy. Excursions and away trips would have impacted on the domestic budget, the fortunes of the team may have governed the mood of the household for the subsequent days and the influence of football in shaping social intercourse was considerable. The intense attachment of males to football clubs however, was probably not matched by most females. Generally, football could not perform the same social functions or develop a similarly attractive model for participation for women as for men.

From the available evidence, Liverpool's two League football clubs emerge as strong communities, functioning both as adjuncts and as alternatives to other social structures and patterns of identity and participation which existed in the city's life. Myths and hero worship were part of this vibrant football culture whose imaginative allure was not restricted to the working class. Attempts to find self-interest and profiteering behind 'bourgeois' involvement in football tend to deny this emotional facet of middle-class participation. Part of the remarkable pull of football came from its suitability as a vehicle of escape from daily experience. F.E. Smith was convinced that

It is indeed to the educated man and to the man whose practical life involves mental rather than physical exertion that athletics makes the most natural appeal of all. Such a man...finds unspeakable relief in the pure joy of physical exercise acting upon

[120] Edwardes, New Football Mania, p.628.

objects outside his mind, and containing the essential elements of companionship and competition.[121]

Although Smith evidently was writing about playing and performing, the essential elements of companionship and competition were certainly familiar to the football supporter. Moreover, knowledge and rights derived from paid admission could empower working class supporters. The football community could offer alternative roles and opportunities to achieve a measure of increased social status.

Football clubs were also civic institutions with a most perceptible and recognisable presence in the lives of thousands of people. Where the two bishoprics of Liverpool or the University, the parliamentary members or even the City Council might appear remote bodies whose impetus towards civic identity was fitfully and unevenly felt, Everton and Liverpool F.C.s were quotidian reminders of a unity engendered by place. Tony Mason has argued

the football team can...contribute to the intensity or diffusion of...local consciousness and particularly among working people. Nor does this happen only among those people who regularly watch its matches. Regular matches, local newspaper coverage, conversation with people who do watch, all these help to buttress the notion of being from Bolton or Blackburn.[122]

Similarly, Richard Holt has contended that

professional football offered a second identity to the inhabitants of the cities which went beyond the confines of the 'urban village' and gave recognition to the sheer scale of urban life...Football...provided a means by which men could come to terms with the reality of the late Victorian city and clarify their relationship to it...the fact of being a supporter offered a sense of place, of belonging and of meaning that could never come from the formal expression of citizenship through the municipal ballot box.[123]

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[121] Smith, The Vogue of Games, p.7.

[122] Mason, Association Football, p.234.

[123] Holt, Working Class Football and the City, pp.12 and 15.

Support for a club cannot be read as a simple reflection of local pride. Even such recent works as Hill and Williams' Sport and Identity in the North of England have failed to recognise the importance of the football community in its own right. It is assumed that 'town based loyalties which were defined through antagonism to those from other towns could be expressed through support for a soccer or rugby league club.'[124]

Hill and Williams have recognised that the 'reflectionist approach has led to 'little attention...directed to the effects of sport itself upon social consciousness.'[125] However, their analysis of football support as an expression of community feeling by proxy still operates within the reflectionist paradigm. The powerful images associated with football have helped to construct identities based on more than geographical proximity or civic feeling. The 'football community' did not always share the priorities and concerns of the civic community. Club allegiance now intersected with civic patriotism and now bisected it. Football could act as a powerful reinforcement to a sense of belonging to a city, but the autonomous interests of football clubs and their supporters could clash with the perceived interests of the city.

This potential conflict was magnified in Liverpool by the presence of two clubs vying for supremacy. Liverpool and Everton both strove for civic precedence and municipal recognition; but equally the Press and the City Council sought to mobilise some of the special allure and loyal support of football teams to augment civic identity and patriotism. Liverpool and Everton had won a hold over the imaginations of many Liverpudlians. As a consequence, football support could be a vehicle for the expression and creation of an attachment to locality. The importance of the two clubs as foci for loyalty, lay in their projection of attractive images of successful Liverpool communities in which many could hold an emotional stake.

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[124] Hill and Williams, Sport and Identity, p.10.

[125] ibid., p.3.

Conclusion

The conscious attempts to promote Liverpool's civic image were echoed in many towns and cities during the period in question. The need to construct and communicate attractive visions of a community sprang, in part, from institutional changes. Derek Fraser has suggested that the early 1870s witnessed something of a watershed in urban life as 'a search began for a more uniform and coherent local government system.'[1] The Local Government Board was created in 1871 and the Public Health Act of 1872 established urban and rural sanitary authorities. The creation of County Councils effectively made the municipal idea universal in 1888. Thus, according to Fraser,

> *municipal reform had to forge a strong link between the council and its community...The council had to become a focus of citizenship as well as a fount of social authority. The council had to personify civitas for all its citizens...It was the possibilities of general participation which did most to establish the council as the focus of citizenship.*[2]

W. Hamish Fraser suggests that

> *it is possible to identify many different emphases in the municipal gospel in different places and at different times. At times it was about social and moral reform, at other times about political and economic change...[Some emphasised] the cultural uplift that a flourishing city could bring. For yet others, the municipality was a means of social control and regulation.*[3]

Despite these different emphases, there was a common 'belief that identification with the local community was vital for retaining morality in politics.' The glorification of the municipality

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[1] D. Fraser, Power and Authority in the Victorian City, Oxford, 1979, p.152.

[2] ibid., pp.159 and 161.

[3] W.H. Fraser, 'From Civic Gospel to Municipal Socialism' in D. Fraser (ed.), Cities, Class and Communication, Hemel Hempstead, 1990, p.63.

and its elite would provide a counter pull to the allure of London. Civic rivalry was one means by which identification with Liverpool could be stimulated. W. Hamish Fraser quotes Beatrice Webb's portrayal of the shopkeepers who dominated Manchester's Town Council in the late nineteenth century. She found them 'divided in their minds between the desire to keep the rates down and their ambition to magnify the importance of Manchester against other towns.' As Fraser proposes, such emulation was sharpened by the foundation of the Association of Municipal Corporations in 1872. Albert Kay Rollit, the president of the Association between 1890 and 1906, campaigned 'to make the municipality more and more the civic centre of local life, thought and action.'[4]

Opportunities to compare civic image proliferated. Royal Commissions called on municipal representatives for evidence and brought wider publicity to provincial successes and failures. The zeitgeist was captured by the journal London. It became a focus for contributions from throughout the nation on municipal achievements and, under its new title of the Municipal Journal[5], published both qualitative and quantitative analysis of the work of local authorities. As the chapter on Liverpool's M.O.H. highlights, the growth of professional bodies for municipal officials occasioned more frequent and more thorough examinations of civic image, too.

Civic patriotism was to be nurtured because, as the debates which attended the attempted incorporation of Bootle and the foundation of the University indicated, administrative units must inspire moral and emotional commitment from their constituencies. Images would encourage a sense of ownership of civic achievements and of membership of the civic body politic. Participation invested institutions with authority. Even Arthur Forwood's vision of a passive Tory Democracy in Liverpool was underpinned by images of enlightened municipal government which would earn the support of a mass electorate.

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[4] ibid., pp.67 and 70.

[5] The name change took place in 1898.

There was a symbiotic relationship between civic patriotism and civic image. Civic patriotism would strengthen the participative and financial foundations upon which local government was constructed. Civic image would generate civic patriotism. However, the images of aggrandisement and progressive administration which provided texts for civic patriotism themselves required the emotional and financial investments which civic patriotism attracted.

Honours, titles and hagiographic recognition of municipal service would ensure the involvement of wealth and talent in local government. Daunton has demonstrated that the commercial elite of shipowners and coal shippers in Cardiff were not the natural leaders of the town. The elite did not see urban government as part of its natural function or as essential to its self-interest. In Cardiff, the interests of the elite were regional and international; hence, membership of the Council fell upon those whose interests were specific to the city.[6]

The Liverpudlian commercial elite, in contrast, were the natural leaders of the city. This was because of the perceived image of Liverpool and commerce. The image of Liverpool as a great commercial city, propagated by such as B. Guinness Orchard's Liverpool's Legion of Honour for example, connected urban government with commercial grandeur. Liverpudlian civic hagiography attributed moral and social prestige to commerce, while the claims that the city was 'the second city of the Empire' countered the allure of the capital.

In Liverpool, commerce underpinned images of civic glory. However, Liverpool's ruling elite was not predominantly commercial. John Walton points out that the number of merchants on the Liverpool Corporation declined from thirty-five in 1857 to eighteen in 1894. Their places were filled by tradesmen and professionals.[7] Nor did commercial occupations account for most of the worthies celebrated in Liverpool's Legion of Honour (see Chapter Four). Yet

[6] M.J. Daunton, Coal Metropolis: Cardiff 1870-1914, Leicester, 1977, p.155.

[7] J.K. Walton, Lancashire: A Social History 1558-1939, Manchester, 1987, p.228.

commerce provided the key images in ceremonial and public spectacle and exerted a hegemonic influence over municipal art policy, plans for municipal expansion and the campaign for a new University. As H.D. Roberts, a Liverpool minister, wrote: 'Trade- with a capital T- has now acquired almost a mystic sanctity, not to be interfered with for merely human considerations.'[8]

In order to understand how this deification had come about, the appeal of commerce to the imagination and its part in forming identity must be evaluated. Ramsay Muir, who was born in Scotland, confessed

> *to a traveller with any imagination few spectacles present a more entrancing interest than that of these busy docks, crowded with the shipping of every nation, echoing to every tongue that is spoken on the seas, their wharves littered with strange commodities brought from all the shores of all the oceans. It is here, beside the docks, that the citizen of Liverpool can best feel the romance of his city.*[9]

The romance of commerce allowed Liverpool's elite, whether or not themselves 'merchant princes', to see themselves as the heirs of the tradition of the Renaissance magnates of Venice and Florence. The veneration of William Roscoe, the emergence of a municipal art policy which aimed to fulfil the cultural responsibilities of a commercial centre, and the use of public spectacle and new institutions such as the University and the School of Tropical Diseases to acclaim Liverpool's commercial pre-eminence, all were features of this imaginative landscape. When civic rivalry is added to such a world-view, something of the force behind the contrast of 'Liverpool gentleman, Manchester man' can be appreciated. Civic patriotism could achieve a synthesis of personal and municipal ambition. As the Liverpool Review recognised, 'local patriotism- intrinsically an ennobling sentiment- may deteriorate into nothing better than social pride writ large.'[10]

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[8] H.D. Roberts, Religion in Social and National Life, London, 1914, p.85.

[9] Muir, A History of Liverpool, p.301.

[10] Liverpool Review, 21 November 1896.

Civic pride's function was also to secure financial investment in the city, at a time when civic responsibilities were enlarging. In some fields, such as child welfare and education, national legislation was extending the scope of municipal government. In others the emulation and brinkmanship necessitated by civic rivalry made greater demands on the city's resources. In 1896, in an article entitled 'Liverpool versus Glasgow. Wise and Foolish Civic Rivalry', the Liverpool Review investigated 'which of the two municipalities may legitimately claim the prestige and honour attaching to the second city in the British Empire.'[11] It reported

> *in the matter of municipal administration, Glasgow has clearly read Liverpool several most valuable lessons...gas, water, electric light and the tramways are all the property of the Corporation...in various other directions- widening thoroughfares, lighting and public conveniences of every sort-,the example of the Glasgow Corporation ought to rouse the too laggard forces in Liverpool to greater activity... Emulation between two cities so closely united by the ties of maritime commerce as Liverpool and Glasgow is wise, wholesome and advantageous- mere ambition and selfish rivalry are foolish and may be harmful. The true greatness of any city is not determined by a numerical standard...but by the quality of the total environment- intellectual, moral, commercial and industrial which it may throw around the average citizen.*

The implications of attempts to create and maintain images of the municipality which could inspire citizens to make emotional and financial investments in their communities had a broader scope than most historians have recognised. Town halls, mayoral robes and lavish ceremonies were certainly significant, yet these were but the most obvious manifestations of the concern with image. Image building impinged on many other spheres of urban life, such as health, leisure, gender roles, education and cultural production. W. Hamish Fraser notes that among the biggest criticisms of the Glasgow tram company was 'the failure to provide uniforms or to keep the cars clean, unacceptable in a city even then highly conscious of its image.'[12]

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[11] Liverpool Review, 21 November 1896.

[12] W.H. Fraser, From Civic Gospel to Municipal Socialism, p.62.

In his History of Liverpool, Ramsay Muir asked

> *What does the city not do for its citizens?...It takes care of them from the cradle to the grave. It offers to see that the child is brought safely into the world. It provides him in infancy with suitable food. It gives him playgrounds to amuse himself in, and baths to swim in. It takes him to school, and offers him chances of passing from elementary to higher schools and thence to the university, and thence to any position in the world for which he is fit; or it trains him for his future trade. It sees that the citizen's house is properly built, and sometimes even builds it for him. It brings into his rooms an unfailing supply of pure water from the remote hills. It guards his food, and tries to secure that it is not dangerously adulterated. It sweeps the streets for him and disposes of the refuse of his house. It carries him swiftly to and from his work. It gives him books to read, pictures to look at, music to listen to and lectures to stimulate his thought. If he is sick it nurses him; if he is penniless, it houses him; and when he dies, if none other will, it buries him. Every year its services grow greater...to most inhabitants the services which the city renders are so great, that it begins at last to have a real claim on their reverence. Dimly one begins to foresee a time when the strange Virgilian motto of the city may be pronounced without a smile: Deus nobis haec otia fecit, ours is a God-given peace.*[13]

The provision of such a range of services was a proof of Liverpool's greatness. However, these services posed financial challenges. Civic patriotism evinced philanthropic gestures from the wealthy which allowed them to share in Liverpool's glorious image. The ordinary ratepayer would be moved to meet the costs of civic ceremonial and the more numerous tasks of the municipal administration by a similar identification with the city.

Commercial images also acted as a bridge between civic and imperial patriotism. Liverpudlians were citizens of an Imperial city and their commercial mission reconciled Imperial glory with quotidian experience. Linda Colley has suggested that commerce was crucial in forging the British national identity in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. She indicates that 'the claim that trade was the muscle and soul of Great Britain, both the source of its greatness and the nursery of patriots, was abundantly echoed.'[14] An insistence on

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[13] R. Muir, A History of Liverpool, Liverpool, 1907, pp.337 and 338.

[14] L. Colley, Britons, New Haven and London, 1992, p.59.

the 'superior public spirit of commercial men' was still a significant facet of Liverpudlian civic patriotism a century later.

The Imperial dimension of civic patriotism made it fertile ground for Conservatism. The Lord Mayor in 1904, Robert Hampson, for instance, believed that Unionism in Liverpool must attach itself to the ascendant star of Greater Liverpool. The Liberal opposition was reluctant to relinquish the mantle of civic patriotism. Image was politicised as the debates which accompanied the bestowal of civic honours highlighted. The Conservatives and the Liberals vied to prove their moral right to govern by advancing Liverpool's claim to be the 'second city of the Empire.'

Hence, both parties subscribed to the hegemonic image of an enlarged, prosperous city. Liberal criticism of expenditure on the ceremonial which attended royal visits and coronation celebrations was limited. During their short-lived administration in the city from 1892 to 1895, the Liberals achieved the elevation of the mayoralty to a lord mayoralty and the boundary extension of 1895 which gave rise to the title of Greater Liverpool. In 1902, there was no concerted opposition to Hampson's plans to incorporate Bootle. Conservative and Liberal politics were conducted in the same paradigm, bounded by images of Liverpool's commercial glory. There was conflict over questions of image, but the role of commerce in Liverpudlian civic identity and civic patriotism remained uncontested. Liverpool's social and political elite shared key assumptions. An attachment to images of commercial grandeur and a belief in the virtues of commerce provided Liverpool with its dominant ideology.

Image, however, did not simply prop up the social and political status quo. Indeed, civic image posed a number of challenges to established authority. Firstly, the construction and communication of image are public processes and the intended images can be undermined or opposed by other images. Critics of the Corporation, such as Richard Acland Armstrong and T.M. Shallcross, employed the concept of civic shame to bring their visions of civic duty to greater prominence. Hugh Farrie's Squalid Liverpool and J.L. Haigh's Sir Galahad of the

Slums also claimed moral authority by setting out to prove that Liverpool's wealth was a sham and that the city's rulers were lacking in civic patriotism.

Intended official images did not result in universally acceptable perceived images. The Labour party in Liverpool argued that grand public events only served to camouflage social problems. Important mechanisms for the communication of image were attacked by Labour councillors. They protested against the cost and morality of decorating the city for royal visits, they questioned the purpose of the 1907 Pageant and they strove to reduce 'junketing' at Council receptions and functions.

Furthermore, there were considerable difficulties in encouraging the sense of ownership which would lead to participated images. In some cases, this was because participation was not actively sought. During the attempt to incorporate Bootle in 1902, Liverpool City Council did not sell the image of Greater Liverpool to Bootleian and Liverpudlian citizens. The Liverpool and Everton football clubs, in contrast, became emotional communities. The participated images which they developed were so powerful that they fostered identities which were superimposed on notions of civic pride.

This thesis has demonstrated that individual figures exerted a disproportionate influence on the construction of images of Liverpool. David Cannadine underscored the contribution of Gurney Benham to the transformation of the Colchester Oyster Feast between 1880 and 1914. In Liverpool Edward Hope, Richard Acland Armstrong, Hugh Farrie, Philip and William Rathbone, Arthur Forwood, Robert Holt, Robert Hampson, David Radcliffe, Frank Leslie and others played important roles in constructing and communicating images. The story of Liverpool's civic image and of the civic patriotism which it shaped is incomplete unless the issue of participation is addressed.

It is difficult to find the source material from which to piece together a history of civic image in Liverpool which restores the individual citizen to his or her rightful place. The chapter on

football in this study is more fortunate than the rest in this respect. Notwithstanding, civic image and civic patriotism must be set in the context of human relationships. The investigation of the invention of tradition must not confine itself to the inventors. The historian must strive to understand not just the Gurney Benhams, but the Charles Pooters, too.

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