

RODNEY STREET, LIVERPOOL.

By Edna Rideout, B.A.

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Note.—Unless otherwise stated the street numbers in this paper are those of 1931.

BETWEEN the islands of Guadeloupe and Dominica lie three small islands called Les Saintes. Near them was fought on 12 April, 1782, a naval action known in English history as the Battle of the Saints, in which the French admiral De Grasse was defeated by George Brydges Rodney, vice-admiral of Great Britain. The manœuvre of "breaking the line" to which the victory was due was dictated largely by an unexpected change of wind, and though the defeat of De Grasse successfully prevented a joint attack by the navies of France and Spain upon the island of Jamaica, the victory was followed by no attempt decisively to crush the French fleet. Rodney himself is said to have thought little of the victory, and to have wished that his reputation had rested upon his previous exploits in the West Indies. But the news of the victory reached an England depressed by the defeat of her armies in America. Probably, too, the new manœuvre caught the fancy of the public. At all events, the Battle of the Saints had an immediate popular appeal and the victor was rewarded with a peerage and a pension of £2,000 a year.¹

Liverpool shared the general enthusiasm. Five years later, the *Liverpool General Advertiser*² reports "a numerous and very respectable meeting of the friends of

¹ Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*, chap. xiii, *passim*.

² *Liverpool General Advertiser*, Thursday, 19 April, 1787.

Lord Penrhyn," M.P. for the borough at intervals from 1767 to 1790.¹ From the report it appears that the meeting was an annual occurrence.² It was held on 12 April, and the toasts included "The Glorious Twelfth of April," and "Lord Rodney, and every brave officer and seaman who fought and conquered under his command on this memorable day." Ten years after the Battle of the Saints had been fought, in the year of Rodney's death, "The Glorious Twelfth of April" was still a toast to inspire enthusiasm even when it appeared as at the dinner of the Social Society held on 3 December, 1792, far down a list whose length might reasonably have quenched the ardour of the most reckless diners.³

In view of this devoted attachment to the memory of Rodney's victory, it is not surprising to find a Liverpool street named Rodney Street. Stonehouse, recording what he calls "a current tradition" of his own time, says that the name originally proposed was "Schlink Street," to perpetuate the name of a Dutchman who had purchased much of the land. "Schlink," adds Stonehouse, was very objectionable as a name, being a word "in connection with prematurely and newly born calves converted into veal."⁴ Neither directories nor corporation records support Stonehouse's statement, so typical of the legends perpetuated by local historians of one age to provide difficulties for those of the next. The lease of the site granted in 1783 mentions "the new set out street, called or intended to be called Rodney St."⁵ Thus Rodney Street enshrines in its name the martial glories as in its

¹ Picton, *Memorials of Liverpool*, i, 205-31 *passim*.

² *Liverpool General Advertiser*, Thursday, 19 April, 1787. Toast No. 19. "May this meeting always be as well attended and continue to flourish united and free."

³ Gore's *Liverpool General Advertiser*, 6 Dec., 1792.

⁴ Stonehouse, *Streets of Liverpool*, 149.

⁵ *Liverpool Corporation Register of Leases*. Lease dated 24 Nov., 1783, to Saml. Aspinall, Peter Hope and Wm. Roscoe.

architecture the cultured dignity of England in the later years of the eighteenth century.

Down to 1783, the site of Rodney Street was waste land. Touzeau states that in 1672 the Mayor of Liverpool, for the improvement of the waste lands and the encouragement of building operations, was empowered to enter into contracts for leases upon whatever rent and terms he thought fit.¹ It was doubtless under these powers that John Gamon in 1696 and William Pluckington in 1697 leased between them the whole site of Rodney Street. The leases were renewed in 1732 to Timothy Gamon and William Pluckington respectively. By 1756 it was becoming evident that building operations would shortly extend to the site, and between this date and 1771 the land was released in smaller parcels to various people, including that unrivalled judge of a good speculation, Scrope Colquitt. Much of the land at the Duke Street end of the site was at this time leased by John and James Knight, whose name is perpetuated in Knight Street.² The history of Rodney Street, however, really begins in November, 1783, with the leasing of the entire site to "Samuel Aspinall, Peter Hope, and William Roscoe, all of Liverpool, gentlemen."³

Of William Roscoe, the innkeeper's son who became the centre of Liverpool's culture and author of *The Life of Lorenzo de Medici*, nothing need here be said. Samuel Aspinall was the attorney with whom William Roscoe entered into partnership at the conclusion of his articles with Mr. John Eyes, and the partnership continued down to 1792.⁴ Peter Hope was the uncle of Samuel

¹ Touzeau, *Rise and Progress of Liverpool*, i, 285.

² Picton, *Memorials of Liverpool*, ii, 281. Confirmed by Corporation Register of Leases.

³ Details of leasing throughout this paper are taken from the registers kept in the Leasing Department of the Office of the Town Clerk of Liverpool. Rodney Street leases are in Street Register Book K. The East side of the street, pp. 47 *et seq.*; West side, pp. 42 *et seq.*

⁴ Hughes, *Liverpool Banks and Bankers*, 60.

Hope, founder of the banking firm of Samuel Hope & Co.¹

On 1 November, 1786, the Town Council ordered "That the petition of Mr. William Roscoe, Attorney, for liberty to get stone out of the quarry on the east side of Rodney Street for the use of the buildings in the said street be granted under the Inspection of the Treasurer and Mr. Charles Eyes."² In the same year William Roscoe became the sole lessee of the site of No. 35 Rodney Street, which, as will appear later, was the first house in the street to be occupied. No. 33 Rodney Street, to the north of 35, is remarkable in that the original house as well as a modern extension is set far back from the street level. There is no proof available, but one wonders if the section now forming the garden in front of number 33 was the quarry worked by Mr. Roscoe. This would account for the setting back of number 33 which, so far as I can ascertain, was not occupied till 1827.

Stonehouse, with characteristic vagueness, mentions "a company, the members of which were engaged in the building trade," who, he says, erected many of the houses on the east side of Rodney Street.³ The Company probably consisted of Samuel Aspinall, Peter Hope, and William Roscoe. From the leases it seems likely that they built the houses which they then let or sold to tenants who at some later date re-leased the site from the Corporation. In 1793, when the partnership of Samuel Aspinall and William Roscoe was terminated by the death of Mr. Aspinall, there were advertised for sale 2 messuages on the east side of Rodney Street and, "in such lots as shall be agreed on at the time of the sale," three pieces of building ground on the east side of Rodney Street and one on the west side.⁴

¹ Picton, *op. cit.*, ii, 358. For Samuel Hope, see Hughes, *Liverpool Banks and Bankers*, 205.

² Touzeau, *op. cit.*, ii, 588. ³ Stonehouse, *Streets of Liverpool*, 153.

⁴ Gore's *Liverpool General Advertiser*, 31 Jan., 1793.

Under the company, the east side of the street was first developed. Number 35 was the first house to be completed. It was loaned in 1784 for an exhibition of pictures intended to resuscitate the Academy of Arts, whose Vice-President was William Roscoe. The exhibition was held in "a new house on the east side of Rodney Street."¹ I place the exhibition in number 35 because this was, I think, the first house in the street to be inhabited. Bailey's Western and Midland Directory, published on 26 January, 1787, gives only one resident in Rodney Street, Mr. Pudsey Dawson. The lease of number 35 is renewed from Pudsey Dawson in 1809 through to the present occupier, Mr. A. D. Bigland, in 1924. A typical Liverpool merchant of his day was Mr. Pudsey Dawson, in 1799 Mayor of the Town, and in 1805 active as President of the Union News Rooms, and on the Committee of the Liverpool Exchange; giving one son to command his ship in the Royal Navy, and two to lose their lives in the closing phases of the Napoleonic Wars.² In his activities on behalf of the School for the Blind, Mr. Dawson also typified the modern medical aspect of Rodney Street. His house, number 35, is singled out by Professor Reilly as the most perfect example of the architectural style to which the whole of the street conforms.³ Thus in one house and one tenant, and these the street's first products, Rodney Street at its best is exemplified. Its glory culminated at the beginning.

Of the same date as number 35 is the graceful block of houses numbered 51 to 75, with the slight slope of the street compensated by the two styles of door-heading, the two styles separated by the pillared entrance of number 63. The skyline of this block, with the triangular pediment and round window of Mr. Frank Jeans's house as its central motive, is one of the noblest sights in Liver-

¹ Picton, *op. cit.*, ii, 209.

² Picton, *op. cit.*, ii, 247.

³ C. H. Reilly, *Some Liverpool Streets and Buildings in 1921*, p. 56.

pool. The house at the Duke Street end of the block, number 75, has a bow window facing Duke Street, whose curve followed that of Jamieson Street ¹ (now Pilgrim Street), where it entered Duke Street on the site of Mornington Crescent. This block from Duke Street to Mount Street was inhabited before 1796, and one at least was for sale in 1793, ² having already lost one set of tenants.

Between Mount Street and Hardman Street the houses on the east side of Rodney Street were built at various dates, ³ and it was not until 1823 that the block was anything like complete.

The block between Hardman Street and Maryland Street, numbers 7 to 21, was complete by 1805, ⁴ with the exception of number 7, which does not appear to have been inhabited until 1816. Numbers 1 to 5 and the Scotch Church between Maryland Street and Mount Pleasant were not built till as late as 1823. Their site formed originally the "backsides" of dwellings on Mount Pleasant, and they came into Rodney Street as the result of purchase, and of exchanges of land between the Corporation and Mr. John Hunter in 1819. ⁵

The first house on the west side of the street was occupied by Thomas Booth, corn merchant, father of Henry Booth, first Secretary and Treasurer of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway. Thomas Booth leased two adjacent plots of land, one in 1789, the other in 1806. The house, number 34, at the corner of Rodney Street and Leece Street, occupies one of these plots. The other was

¹ Jamieson Street was probably so named after John Jamieson, merchant, who appears in Gore's *Liverpool Directory*, 1803, as living "Back of Rodney St." Jamieson Street is shown as a continuation of Pilgrim Street in the map of Liverpool published by Gore in 1825.

² Gore's *Liverpool General Advertiser*, 31 Jan., 1793, "late in the occupation of Mrs. Monypenny."

³ Number 35 inhabited in 1787. Number 29 bears a spout-head dated 1811.

⁴ Number 11 bears a spout-head "J.C. 1803," i.e. John Crowther probably built it in 1803.

⁵ See below, p. 83.

purchased by the Corporation from Mr. G. H. Timmins, who last appears in the Directories in 1825, and the house that, I think, was here from 1816 to 1829, was ultimately taken down to widen Leece Street. It is most likely that Thomas Booth's house was number 34, whose iron lamp-brackets may serve as a memorial to mark the birthplace of Henry Booth.¹

The rest of the land on the west side between Leece Street and Knight Street was developed by Peter Leicester, an Irish provision merchant who lived at number 36 between 1805 and 1827; by two men called Thompson and Gill, of whom Thompson may probably be identified with Samuel Thompson, of Arthur Heywood, Sons & Co.,² who succeeded Thomas Booth as the tenant of number 34 in 1807; and by John Gladstone. From 1792 to 1846 John Gladstone is recorded as lessee under the Corporation of 345 yards of frontage on Rodney Street running northwardly from Knight Street.³ Here he built the houses, numbers 60 and 62, where his son, William Ewart Gladstone, was born, and where he continued to reside until in 1816/17 he moved to Seaforth House, when the house was divided into two. Nothing of his holding on the south aspect of his own house was built upon until about 1816, when he was planning his removal. To the north of his own house, John Gladstone permitted building, and here his brother, Murray Gladstones (who in the Directories is the only member of the family who clung to the original spelling of the name), lived from 1807 to 1816. Next door to John Gladstone lived from 1807 to 1813 Mrs. Ann McKenzie Robertson, who was conceivably, the mother of John Gladstone's second wife, Anne Robertson.⁴

¹ Smiles, R. *Memoir Henry Booth*, London, 1869, p. 12. Henry Booth was born 4th April, 1788.

² Hughes, *Liverpool Banks and Bankers*, 99.

³ Touzeau, *op. cit.*, ii, 664-5.

⁴ Article on Sir John Gladstone in *Dictionary of National Biography*, compiled from notes by William Ewart Gladstone, M.P., and an obituary in the

Number 62 Rodney Street, part of the original Gladstone house, was opened by the Earl of Derby, in January, 1932, as a hostel of Toc H.¹ It is understood² that the façade of the building will be preserved as it is in perpetuity. The house bears a Della Robbia plaque commemorating the birthplace of W. E. Gladstone, placed here by the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire in 1899.³

Between Knight Street and Duke Street the houses were built at various dates, and it is important to note that the three nearest Duke Street were not built until 1825.⁴

Building of the section between Leece Street and Mount Pleasant was begun before 1790, and save for numbers 26 and 28 was completed at an early date. The site now occupied by the Consumption Hospital formed for many years the garden of Mr. Mather's house on Mount Pleasant. In 1881 it was leased to the Rodney Club, which was a social club of young people who leased the Mather house when Miss Mather died in 1877. The Club roofed in the garden and put a billiard-room above it. The whole later went to a Mr. Palmer, who sold pianos, and who used the billiard-room as a dance hall.⁵ In 1903 the site was acquired by the Trustees of the Consumption Hospital, and the present building was erected in 1904.⁶

With few exceptions, the building of Rodney Street was complete in 1825. The chief alterations since that date have been consequent upon the widening of Leece Street and Hardman Street. The widening of Leece

Gentleman's Magazine, 1852, Feb., pp. 187-8. John Gladstone = (2) in 1800, Anne, d. of Andrew Robertson, provost of Dingwall, etc. The marriage took place on 29 April, 1800: see Hughes, *Liverpool Banks and Bankers*, 101, f.n. 2.

¹ 183.

² Letter from Mr. R. Stewart-Brown, 20 March, 1931.

³ 183.

⁴ See below, p. 82.

⁵ Verbal evidence of Mr. Henry Peet, M.A., who was a member of the Club.

⁶ Hope, *Handbook to Congress of Institute of Public Health*, 1903, p. 59.

Street with the resultant destruction of a house on freehold land purchased by Thomas Booth has been already noted.¹ A lot at the south corner of Rodney Street and Hardman Street was purchased by the Corporation from one R. W. Atherley in 1838. Part of the building was taken down, and the rest sold and granted with the adjoining land to J. Woollright in 1842. In 1855 this area was re-purchased by the Corporation and further widening of Hardman Street took place before lease of the present number 25 Rodney Street was granted in 1859 to George Swainson. The door of this house was originally in Hardman Street, but it now faces Rodney Street. In the same way the houses numbers 51A, 49A, and 72A at the corners of Mount Street and Rodney Street, and at the south corner of Knight Street and Rodney Street, have within living memory had their doorways moved to face Rodney Street.² Of the other A numbers, 1A and 45A bear on the surface the signs of their modernity. Number 36A, Rodney House, was built on the garden of Peter Leicester's house between 1841 and 1843, when the present street numbers had been some time established, and has always borne the number 36A.³

Of the insides of the houses we have certain information. Professor Reilly commends the present-day doctors who furnish their rooms "exactly in the spirit of the street" with collections of Hepplewhite chairs and eighteenth-century engravings.⁴ Such effects received no special mention in two interesting lists of "genuine, genteel, and modern Household furniture" sold in 1812. Mr. Strobel,

¹ See above, p. 67.

² It is, however, a curious circumstance that the leases of these premises and of 2 Maryland Street, at the corner of Maryland Street and Rodney Street, whose door still faces Maryland Street, appear in the Corporation Register of Leases as in Rodney Street. The site of 51A or 49A "at the corner of Mount St." was one of the lots advertised for sale in Gore's *General Advertiser*, 31 Jan., 1793.

³ Between 36 and 38, number 36A first appears in Gore's *Directory* for 1843.

⁴ C. H. Reilly, *Some Liverpool Streets and Buildings in 1921*, pp. 53 and 54.

of number 74, then number 5, changing his residence, had for sale "a Drawing Room suite of two elegant printed calico window curtains, with twelve black and gold armed chairs and a sofa to correspond."¹ The removal to the county of a gentleman [Mr. Williamson] of number 50, then number 9, gave to the doubtless envious neighbours a chance to acquire "a Drawing room suite in handsome printed Calico curtains for 3 windows, sixteen Japanned Rosewood and gold chairs, and a sofa with cushions and covers to correspond, Rosewood sofa and cardtables, elegant chimney glasses and mirrors of large dimensions, and Bronzed figures."² In both cases the effects comprised "Mahogany articles of superior wood and workmanship" in "wardrobes, linen chests, chests of drawers, dressing-tables, washstands, and sideboards." There were also fourpost, camp, and French bedsteads with "modern printed Calico and White Dimity Furnishings" and "capital goose-feather beds."

Not the least impressive part of these sales was that of Mr. Williamson's "valuable and genuine cellar of wines." "130 dozen of Port wine of a very superior quality and of different ages in the bottle; about 40 dozen of excellent Madeira; small quantities of claret, Vidonia, some fine Port in magnum bonums, and some bottled Porter," were offered. This was probably no extraordinary catalogue of the contents of the cellars now fallen to baser usage as caretakers' apartments or dental mechanics' workshops, and it reflects an aspect of the life of Rodney Street which survives inconspicuously in the small display in Messrs. Gilbey's side window at the north corner of Rodney Street and Hardman Street.

One wonders what success had attended Mr. Williamson's horticultural efforts in "an erection to a Vinery or Hothouse," and in his melon-frame. More of a marvel is the inclusion in his sale of a shower-bath. In their

¹ *Liverpool Mercury*, 26 March, 1812.

² *Ibid.*, 17 July, 1812.

early years, Rodney Street houses must have depended for their water-supply upon surface-wells in the basements. It was not until 1799 that two companies were formed to sink wells and lay pipes for the conveyance of water within the town.¹ The proprietors of the Liverpool Corporation Waterworks took advantage of natural springs oozing out of the sandstone hill upon which Rodney Street stands, and had a pumping station in Berry Street.² This company in 1816 applied for permission "to endeavour to find additional supplies of water at the west end of the Stone Quarry near Sion Mount," i.e. St. James's Mount. It is significant that the Chairman of the Company at this date was Mr. Pudsey Dawson,³ who would naturally be eager to improve the water supply of his own residential district.

Cleanliness in Rodney Street's early days must have been hard to come by, for dirt was a recognised factor of life in Liverpool. The *Liverpool General Advertiser* of 1787, not likely from educational as from financial causes to circulate in any but the best houses, carried periodically advertisements like the following: ⁴

BUGS DESTROYED

Duncan M'Creery, joiner and cabinet maker, No. 18, Cross Hall Street, Liverpool, begs leave to acquaint his friends and the public, that he has found out an effectual method of destroying bugs: the composition he makes use of is free from any disagreeable smell, and may be used to the finest silks and chintz. His prices are from 2/6 to 10/6 per bed.

N.B.—At his shop the public may be served with Bed Stocks of any sort, at the shortest notice, ready drest, and will engage for 1/- a year to keep them free from the said vermin.

He acquaints his friends and the public that the winter season is the best time to annihilate them.

¹ Touzeau, *op. cit.*, ii, 709-10.

² Picton, *op. cit.*, ii, 197.

³ Touzeau, *op. cit.*, ii, 710.

⁴ Gore's *Liverpool General Advertiser*, 25 Jan., 1787.

Duncan M'Creery had competitors, and the frequency of the entry "Bug Killer" after names in the early directories brings home forcibly what the joys of spring-cleaning must have meant to Rodney Street's first housewives.

Rodney Street at the present day is pre-eminently a street of doctors, or to be more accurate, of doctors' consulting-rooms, for few any longer live in the street. From the beginning, the street has numbered doctors among its inhabitants. The pioneer seems to have been Ambrose Dawson, M.D., who lived in 1790 with Mr. Pudsey Dawson at number 35; but I have found no other information concerning him. Robert Buddicom, who came to number 19 in 1800 and lived there till 1818, had previously been in practice in College Lane, living in Paradise Street. He advertised in 1793 "Wanted, an Apprentice to a Surgeon and Man Midwife. With or without a premium."¹ This may serve to illustrate the eighteenth-century training of a medical student, a training which the doctors of Rodney Street were to combat and help to revolutionise in their work in the Liverpool Infirmary Medical School, which ultimately became the Medical Faculty of the University of Liverpool.²

In 1805 Joseph Goldie came into residence at number 82. This was on his retirement. He was a surgeon, formerly living in Parker Street with an apothecary's shop next door to his house.³ Joseph Pilkington Brandreth, M.D., lived for twenty years at number 45, for many years having as his neighbour at number 43 Thomas S. Brandreth, solicitor, who provided the joke of the Rainhill Trials in 1829 by his horse-driven locomotive, the "Cycloped." They were the sons of Joseph Brandreth, surgeon and oculist, who came from Ormskirk in 1780

¹ Gore's *Liverpool General Advertiser*, 14 Feb., 1793.

² Minute Books of Liverpool Royal Infirmary School of Medicine, *passim*.

³ Gore's *Directory*, 1796.

to take over the practice of a Dr. Dobson, on the latter's going to Bath.¹

With the coming of George Freckleton, M.D., to number 72 in 1822/23, Rodney Street started on the path towards becoming the centre of that "Medical Liverpool" of which for many years a plan was included in the Prospectus of the Liverpool Infirmary School of Medicine, a position which the street retains. Dr. Freckleton was the first Chairman of the Medical School Council after it moved to the building in Dover Street in 1845.² He did not remain in Rodney Street long himself, but his colleagues in the School flocked to the street. Richard Formby, M.D., had the lease of, though I cannot find that he ever inhabited, numbers 12 and 10. He was the first lecturer in Anatomy at the School, when the classes were held in the Royal Institution in Colquitt Street.³ He was also for long the physician to the Lunatic Asylum on Brownlow Hill.⁴ For many years from 1839 there lived at number 10 James Long, who, starting as house surgeon and apothecary to the Infirmary in 1834,⁵ succeeded Dr. Formby as lecturer in Anatomy in the Medical School⁶ and was Surgeon to the Southern Dispensary.⁷

It was Picton who found in Rodney Street a text for a sermon on the decay of property. "After a reign shorter or longer of quiet dignity," he says, "the physicians and surgeons begin to colonise. The dentist follows; then a modest display of wares in the parlour window indicates the modiste, or the brilliant red and blue jars give token of the druggist and apothecary. By and by a shop window is boldly put forth, radiant with plate glass and gold"; and he adds of Rodney Street itself, "in the end

¹ Picton, *op. cit.*, ii, 355.

² Minutes Royal Infirmary School of Medicine, 29 April, 1845.

³ Minutes Cttee. Royal Institution, Liverpool, 1 Nov. 1820.

⁴ Gore, *Directory*, 1845, App. 143-9. ⁵ *Ibid.*, 1834, App. 98.

⁶ Minutes Royal Infirmary School of Medicine, 1847.

⁷ Gore, *Directory*, 1845, App. 43.

the triumph of the trader is inevitable." At present the outburst of plate glass is concentrated and shows no sign of spreading beyond numbers 22, 20, and 16,¹ where John Hunter's, electrical engineers, Mr. Conlan, oculist, and the Rodney Café pursue their avocations.

Picton was right in that the wealthy merchants who were the first dwellers in the street have gone. Within twenty years of the building of Rodney Street, Thomas Booth, Robert Gladstone, John Deane Case, and Sir John Gladstone were leading a new migration to the suburbs of Lodge Lane, Allerton, Wavertree and Seaforth. But nearly all the tenants of Rodney Street from 1787 to 1841 were men who counted in the history of the town. Good examples are Benjamin Arthur Heywood, of Heywood's Bank, at number 29; Egerton Smith, editor of the *Liverpool Mercury*, at number 35; Lister Ellis, vestry man, at number 80; Pudsey Dawson, mayor in 1799, at number 35; Sir George Drinkwater, mayor in 1829, at number 41; John Deane Case, treasurer to the Corporation, at number 78. Of merchants like John Gladstone, Thomas Booth and Peter Leicester, there were many in Rodney Street at its beginning. A little later the street was popular with bankers: and members of the Heywood family; Samuel Thompson and Hugh Jones of Heywood's Bank; the widow of Joseph Daltera, of Stainforth, Ingram, Bold and Daltera; George Edward Dale of Moss, Dales, and Rogers²; and Israel Barned; were all at times tenants of Rodney Street houses. Before the outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars several Captains lived in the street, e.g. Capt. James Forrest; Capt. Gerard Backhouse; Capt. John Matthews; but this class of tenant ceased just after the resumption of war with

¹ There seems to have been justification in Picton's day for his fears. I have it on reliable information that number 18 was once a confectioner's shop, though the façade was not altered; and number 21 was converted into a shop front but has been re-converted into a somewhat ugly house-front.

² For these bankers, see Hughes, *Liverpool Banks and Bankers*, as indexed.

France in 1805. One does not nowadays find the Officers of the Customs living side by side with the merchants whose cargoes are their concern, but many officers lived in Rodney Street, including some like Thomas Morland,¹ coast waiter, whose jobs at the present day would certainly not justify residence in a neighbourhood of comparable importance. Richard Brook, John Fisher and Charles Scovell in 1823 were all custom officers living in Rodney Street. Fletcher Raincock, K.C., lived for over twenty years at number 69. If Stonehouse is correct in stating that he was the agent for the Lowthers in the Appleby elections, he may lay claim to national importance.² Antonio Juliano da Costa of numbers 10 and 48, and James Maury of number 4 were consuls. James Maury in particular deserves mention, as he was the first Consul of the United States in Liverpool.³ The long-continued residence at number 59 of Thomas Haslehurst, or Hazlehurst, described as limner and miniature painter, would speak well for the patronage of the arts by Rodney Street's inhabitants even if their names did not, as they do, form a large percentage of the subscribers to the Liverpool Royal Institution.

But from the beginning, the size of Rodney Street houses attracted tenants who desired them for other uses than as private residences. Anne Nixon of number 6 was a pioneer among better-class boarding-house keepers, while Margaret Bathgate of number 12 at one time prospered so well in this line that she rented two adjacent houses, 12 and 10, for the purpose. The lodgers were usually merchants of the same class as the private householders in the street. It is no far cry from this to the present-day flats at numbers 20 and 27.

At all times, the street has had its schools. A notice in the *Liverpool Advertiser*, 1792, announces the opening

¹ See Hughes, *Liverpool Banks and Bankers*, 117, f.n.

² Stonehouse, *Streets of Liverpool*, 151.

³ *Ibid.*, 152.

on 21 May of that year of the first of these that has been traced.

TO PARENTS AND GUARDIANS

Miss Sandbach having taken a very commodious house in Rodney Street, where she proposes to open a Boarding and Day-school for Young Ladies on the most reasonable terms, begs to inform her friends and the public, that she has engaged with Mrs. Chilcot (a lady well known for her abilities in the French language) to assist her in the school, and that Ladies will be carefully instructed in the English and French Languages grammatically, likewise all Kinds of Needle and Fancy Works ; Writing, Arithmetic, Geography and the use of the Globes ; Music, Dancing and Drawing, with every other part of education that may be thought necessary ; and assures those ladies and gentlemen who may honour her with their confidence (having been several years an assistant in some of the most capital schools in and near London and Bath) that she will ever pursue the most modern, regular and approved methods in teaching and conducting her school, for the improvement of her pupils in virtue and every moral duty, that may conduce to their future health and happiness.¹

The venture prospered. Eight months later, " M. Sandbach returns her grateful acknowledgements to her friends for the great encouragement she has met with since the commencement of her School," and at the same time advertises, " Wanted, an apprentice for three or four years, to be brought up as a teacher ; she must be fourteen years of age. A premium will be expected." ²

Later directories for many years show at least one ladies' school. A few only can be mentioned. Between 1807 and 1818 Mesdames Mary and Fanny Bushell aided the business of their relative, Edmund Bushell, stationer, by conducting a school in the house next his own. Schools and paper, in any sense of the latter word, evidently went together, for at one time, Margaret Smith had a ladies' boarding school in number 35, the house of Egerton Smith,

¹ Gore's *Liverpool General Advertiser*, 10 May, 1792.

² *Ibid.*, 3 Jan., 1793.

printer and publisher of the *Liverpool Mercury*, a connection that must have ensured efficient instruction in the subject known to modern curricula as "Current Events." The schools often changed hands, "goodwill" no doubt being a valuable asset. Thus the school at number 35 appears first in 1825 directed by Wilson and Higgin. By 1829 Wilson has dropped out and the school is run by Higgin and Loffhouse, and in 1834 the proprietors are the Misses Smith and Mackenzie. A similar succession was maintained at number 14 where John Knowles had a school in 1796 in which he was succeeded by Miss Greene, by the Suddones family, and by the Misses Maiben. These, however, were exceptions. Most of the schools were transient like that of Alicia Richards.¹

To-day the refinement of the Ladies' Boarding School has given place to Skerry's Commercial College with its garish electric sign offending the eye by night. Almost it makes one sigh for the illuminations of an earlier day. Transparencies, lit by coloured lamps, were the expression of loyal excitement when, in 1806, the Prince of Wales, after dining with the Mayor and Corporation at Lillyman's Hotel, proceeded at 9 p.m. to view the illuminations. Rodney Street was the last street on the route out to Knowsley. It was gay throughout its length with crowns, stars, plumes of feathers and the initials G.P. or P.W. But the *pièces de résistance* were to be seen at the houses of Mr. Crowther, number 11, and Mr. Downward, number 21. The former had transparencies of the Prince of Wales in the uniform of the 10th Light Dragoons, and of the Duke of Clarence in naval uniform. At number 21

¹ It is just possible that Alicia Richards may have been the bride of Joseph Sandars, father of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway. A notice of the wedding of Joseph Sandars and "Miss Richards of Rodney Street" appeared in the *Liverpool Mercury*, 26 June, 1812. The school of Miss Alicia Richards appears in Gore's *Directory* of 1813. But there is no other Richards among Rodney Street names. John Peter Richard appears in 1803, 1805 and 1807, but I have traced no connection.

"a fair artist"—a relative of Mr. Downward, had fashioned a transparency representing "Britannia striking at the demon of Treachery, Discord and Usurpation, and driving him away from the British Constitution which was aptly purposed by an Imperial Triangle."¹

My personal interest in Rodney Street was due to two events. In 1926 I went to live in Rodney Street and joined the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. I was greatly elated to find upon my residence a Della Robbia plaque placed by the Society to mark the birth-place of Arthur Hugh Clough, poet, and Anne Jemima Clough, first principal of Newnham. The housekeeper took a proper pride in the plaque, and maintained it in a state of shining cleanliness that caught the eye of most passers-by. I did my duty by the Society and obtained for the delectation of my guests a memoir of Anne Jemima and the poems of Arthur Hugh. So far, so good. But my Liverpool friends were acquainted with a rumour that the plaque was on the wrong house. My husband and I set to work to prove the truth of the matter, and this paper is the outcome of our searching, which leaves us in no doubt. The plaque *is* on the wrong house.

There would be no point and much confusion in a detailed account of the labours we performed before we hit on the solution of the problem. It will here be sufficient to say that in the early stages of our inquiry we confined our attention to the Liverpool Directories of a date prior to 1839, thereby missing the all-important clue and driving ourselves to a state of exasperation with what Professor Veitch has called "our ancestors' distracting passion for re-numbering their houses" that had led us by 1930 temporarily to abandon our quest. An accidental inquiry was to start us off again and lead us this time to our goal.

¹ Folio Sheet published by J. Gore, 25 Sept., 1806, recounting the visit of the Prince of Wales on 17 and 18 Sept. of that year.

In June, 1930, Mr. Wickham Legge, being External Examiner in Modern History in the University of Liverpool, asked me if I could tell him which house in Rodney Street had been inhabited by his ancestor, Richard Houghton. Guided by the dates and the genealogical data he supplied, I found that in 1870 the executors of Richard Houghton owned and his sons lived in number 84,¹ given in Gore's 1870 *Directory* as three doors from Duke Street on the west side of Rodney Street. This I found in 1930, still numbered 84, to be occupied by Dr. Hill Abram. Tracing back Richard Houghton in the Directories, I found that from 1870 to 1839 his house was numbered 84. Before 1839 it was numbered 3.

These facts revived a suspicion that had already been aroused as to the source of error, if error there were, in the findings of the sub-committee of the Historic Society responsible for setting up the plaque. Baines' *History, Directory and Gazetteer of the County Palatine of Lancaster*, published in 1824, gives a list of the inhabitants of Rodney Street in the order of the numbers of the houses.² Below the heading "Rodney Street," it says "72, Mount Pleasant," an indication of the position of the street. As the street is nowadays numbered from Mount Pleasant to Duke Street, it was a natural conclusion to anyone who had studied directories only before 1839 that the same system of numbering obtained in 1824. My husband and I had been struck by the idea that the reference to Mount Pleasant did not of necessity mean that the numbers ran from Mount Pleasant, and had expended much time in trying out our lists of inhabitants with the four possible permutations of consecutive numbering:—

1. Mount Pleasant to Duke Street along east side of Rodney Street and back along west side, Duke Street to Mount Pleasant.

¹ Gore's *Liverpool Directory*, 1870.

² i, 446.

2. Mount Pleasant to Duke Street along west side, and back along east side, Duke Street to Mount Pleasant.
3. Duke Street to Mount Pleasant along east side and back along west side, Mount Pleasant to Duke Street.
4. Duke Street to Mount Pleasant along west side and back along east side, Mount Pleasant to Duke Street.

We now knew that in 1839 the numbering of the street had become that of the present day, viz. from Mount Pleasant to Duke Street, odd numbers on the east side, even numbers on the west side. Turning to our mass of accumulated data, we correlated the 1839 list of inhabitants with names of people long resident in the street, and found reason for fair assumption that before 1839 Rodney Street was numbered consecutively from Duke Street along the west side to Mount Pleasant and back along the east side from Mount Pleasant to Duke Street.

James Butler Clough, the father of Arthur Hugh and Anne Jemima, occurs only in the 1818 *Directory* as living in Rodney Street. He then inhabited number 5. If our assumption as to numbering were correct, then the Clough House was certainly not our house, but one at the other end of the street and on the opposite side. Our attention was therefore directed to that portion of the west side of the street between Duke Street and Knight Street, and here again Richard Houghton gave us valuable assistance.

In conducting the small investigation concerning Richard Houghton I found that Swire's Map of Liverpool, published with Baines' *Directory* of 1824, shows on the west side of Rodney Street three houses only in this block—the three nearest Knight Street. A plan published by Gore in 1825 shows buildings, but not the number of

houses, all the way from Knight Street to Duke Street. To-day, there are nine houses in the block. Was it possible to discover in what order the houses were erected? The street is still largely the property of the Corporation of Liverpool. I obtained permission to consult the register of leases, and from this and the directories and maps of old Liverpool I worked out in detail the history of the block. The results are incorporated in the chart facing page 96.

With the rest of the side of Rodney Street, the section from Duke Street to Knight Street was leased in 1783 to Messrs. Aspinall, Roscoe & Hope.¹ The house now numbered "72A" can be at once removed from consideration. The site has always been leased as in Rodney Street,² but the door now fronting on Rodney Street is of recent date, and the old entrance, now bricked up, is clearly visible on Knight Street. The sites of eight houses, numbers 74 to 88, have therefore to be considered. The first house to be occupied was the present number 78. This in 1805 was inhabited by John Menzies, who bought the reversion of the lease in 1800.³ In Gore's 1805 *Directory*, John Menzies' address is given as 1 Rodney Street. Prior to this, the directories show John Gladstone as living at 1 Rodney Street. John Gladstone's house, now numbered 60, and 62, appears first in the *Directory* of 1796. It seems reasonable to suppose that the present number 78 was the first house to be erected nearer Duke Street than John Gladstone's house.

The *Directory* of 1807 gives John Menzies' number as 3 and it seems clear that by 1807 five houses were in occupation between Knight Street and Duke Street—numbers 74, 76, 78, 80 and 82. Reversion of the lease of the site of 82 had been sold in 1800 to Joseph Goldie,

¹ Corporation Register of Leases, Bk. K, West side of Rodney Street, from page 42.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

M.D., and he and Martha Goldie appear in occupation of this house, numbered 1, from 1807 to 1823; numbered 4, from 1825 to 1835. Number 80 was leased by Robert Gladstone in 1807, in which year he appears in the *Directory* as residing at 2 Rodney Street. At 2 Rodney Street from 1816 to 1821 resided Richard Harrison, to whom the lease of the present number 80 was granted in 1815, and who was succeeded as tenant of 2 Rodney Street in 1823 by Lister Ellis, to whose executors renewal of the lease was made in 1832. Number 76, numbered 4, was inhabited in 1807 by Adam Steuart, to whom lease was granted of the site in 1808. There is enough confirmatory evidence here to make it safe to say that from 1807 to 1825 the houses now numbered 82, 80, 78, 76 and 74 were numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 Rodney Street. In 1824 the land between number 82 and Duke Street was leased by the Corporation in three parcels. One was to Richard Houghton, who appears in Gore's *Directory* of 1825 as residing at 3 Rodney Street. The second was leased to Bartin Haigh. A man of this name was the builder employed about this period by the Committee of the Royal Institution for structural alterations.¹ He probably built the house as a speculation. It was inhabited as 2 Rodney Street by James Gilfillan in 1834, who took over the lease in 1835. The last parcel was leased to John Wilson, who appears in the 1827 *Directory* as residing at 1 Rodney Street. James Gilfillan and Richard Houghton were in residence in 1837 and 1839, the numbers of their houses changing respectively from 2 and 3 in 1837 to 86 and 84 in 1839.

All this makes to my mind conclusive proof that in 1818, 5 Rodney Street was the present number 74. In Gore's 1818 *Directory*, in which I have found no errors in numbering, James Butler Clough appears as living at 5 Rodney Street, that is, he inhabited the present

¹ Minute Books of Committee of Royal Institution for years 1814-18, *passim*.

FREET, WEST 1/2 KNIGHT STREET TO DUKE STREET
 OCCUPANTS OF HOUSES 1 TO 5 FROM 1813 TO 1841

1813	1816	1819	1822	1825	1828	1831	1834	1837	1841
KNIGHT STREET									
5	5								
Thomas Gladstone	J. C.								
4	4								
P. Brancker									
3	3								
Sophia Gibsone	St Pe								
2	2								
Richard Ha									
1	1								
Joseph Go									

DUKE STREET

ement to the 1827 Dir
 ory of Gore missed th
 as 51, Rodney Street

SIDE, KNIGHT STREET TO DUKE STREET.

HOUSES 74 TO 88 FROM 1790 TO 1841

18	1821	1823	1825	1827	1829	1834	1835	1837	1839	1841
----	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------

KNIGHT STREET

										72 (a) in 1931.	
5		5	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	74	
B. rough			The Reverend Richard Cardwell								Pritt
	4	4	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	76	
	Thos. Duarte	Lachlan McKinnon	R. Ashurst				D. Senner				Geo. Kendall
3	3	3	6	6	6	6	6	6	78	78	
unley rceval		John Deane	Case	George Duncan			Chas. Turner ; and R. Mariner			F. Foster	
2	2	2	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	80	
arrison		Lister Ellis			Olivia Ellis			T. Tobin			
1	1	1	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	82	
die			Mrs. Martha Goldie			J. Nicol					
			3	3	3	3	3	3	3	84	
			Richard Houghton								
					17*	2	2	2	2	86	
						James Gilfillan					
			1	1	1	1	1	1	1	88	
			J. Wilson		Wm. Foster		James Foster				

RODNEY STREET

DUKE STREET

actory of Gore, published in 1828, he appears at 2, Rodney Street, and James Cockshutt at 17, Rodney Street. Prior
e change.
, obviously a misprint for 5.

number 74. His name was gone from the list of Rodney Street's inhabitants when the 1821 *Directory* appeared; but assuming that his tenancy lasted at least until the end of January, 1820, the present number 74 was the birthplace of Arthur Hugh and Anne Jemima Clough, and should bear the tablet that now adorns number 9.

Evidence against number 9 as the Clough House is more conclusive than the evidence in favour of number 74. A detailed account of the history of the houses on the east side of Rodney Street between Mount Pleasant and number 13 has been made in the chart facing page 96. Out of the present eight houses on Rodney Street in this group, number 1A, which is obviously of modern build, needs not to be considered. Number 2 Maryland Street, though always entered in directories as in Maryland Street where the doorway lies, has always been leased as in Rodney Street.¹ There remain seven houses, numbers 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, and 13, and the Scotch Church. The land between Mount Pleasant and Maryland Street, the site of numbers 1, 3, 5, and of the church, was not acquired by the Corporation until 1819. Part of it had formed the backsides of property on Mount Pleasant and part had been in possession of Mr. John Hunter of South Hunter Street. By purchase and by deeds of exchange it fell into the Corporation's hands in 1819. The site of the Presbyterian Church was leased to Logan and others, Trustees in 1824. The first stone of the church was laid in June, 1823, and the building was opened in December, 1824.² At the same date, the numbers then borne by the houses now numbered 7, 9, 11, 13 were all increased by 3, i.e. they were changed from 46, 47, 48 and 49 to

¹ Corporation Register of Leases, Book K, East side of Rodney Street, from page 47.

² Picton, *Memorials of Liverpool*, ii, 245, where a full history of the church appears.

49, 50, 51, and 52.¹ The present houses 1, 3, and 5 were therefore presumably completed between the publishing of Baines' *Directory*² of 1824, where the old numbers appear, and Gore's *Directory* of 1825, where the new numbers are given. 1 Rodney Street, then 46, was inhabited in 1825³ by Deborah Greenham, and number 48 (though a printer's error makes it 58) by David Jackson. 47, now number 3, was not apparently occupied till 1828, when the supplement to Gore's 1827 *Directory* notes William Rotherham at that address. The leases of these houses in the Corporation register are of little use in confirming tenancies, but on the dates of buildings I feel it to be safe to leave these houses out of further consideration.

Between Maryland Street and Hardman Street building was carried on at an early date. 7 Rodney Street was probably the last of the four under discussion to be built. It was inhabited by William Hamerton in 1816 and the lease runs from him to the present tenant, Mr. R. H. Bates. Numbers 9, 11, and 13 were all occupied in 1805.⁴ Number 11 remains leasehold property, and the register shows leases in 1822 to Robert Harvey, who inhabited the house from 1813 to 1827; to John Richardson, tenant from 1837 to a date not yet traced; and to Mr. Keith W. Montserrat, the present tenant. Numbers 19 and 9 are freehold property. The reversion of the lease of 13 was bought in 1800 by John Carson, who appears as living at 15 Rodney Street in Gore's *Directory* of 1796. From 1805 to 1813 the tenant was William Ripley, and from 1816 to 1841 at least, John Tarleton.⁵ The freehold of number 9 was purchased in 1800 by Mrs. Mary Jackson,

¹ It may be, however, that this change was due to the building of numbers 88, 86 and 84 at the other end of the street on the west side, and that the re-numbering due to the projection of numbers 1, 3 and 5, is included in the previous change of numbers in 1821. See below, page 85.

² Baines, *History, Directory and Gazetteer of the County Palatine of Lancaster*, p. 415.

³ Gore's *Liverpool Directory*, 1825.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1805.

⁵ Both "Tarlton" and "Tarleton" occur in the directories.

EAST SIDE, MOUNT PLEASANT, PART WAY TO HERRING
 PARTS OF HOUSES

1825	1823
------	------

MOUNT PLEASANT

46	
58	

MOUNT PLEASANT STREET

49	46
William Ham	
50	47
51	48
R. & W. Harvey	
52	49

which is, I think, obvious
 in 1803 signifies that, a

PLAN OF RODNEY STREET, EAST SIDE, MOUNT PLEASANT
SHOWING OCCUPANTS OF HOUSES 1, 3, 5, 7

1841	1839	1837	1835	1834	1829	1827	1825	1823	1821	1819
MOUNT PLEASANT										
I(a) in	1931.	See p. 69	in text.							
1	1	46	46	46	46	46	46			
William Jones			Miss Deborah Greenham							
3	3				47					
J. Andrade			William Rotheram							
5	5	48	48	48	48	48	58			
David Paton			D. Jackson							
			The Scotch Church							
MARYLAND STREET										
2 Maryland Street, see p. 69 in text.										
7	7	49	49	49	49	49	49	46	46	
C. W. Williams			William Hamerton							
9	9	50	50	50	50	50	50	47	47	
M. Buckley			Mrs. Ma							
11	11	51			51	51	51	48	48	
J. Richardson			J. Sorley			Wm. Harvey	R. & W. Harvey		Robert	
13	13	52	52	52	52	52	52	49	49	
			J. Tarlton							

RODNEY STREET

The Directories used are those of Gore.
D. Jackson. His number in 1825, Gore's Directory, appears as 58, which is, I think, obviously a misprint
Capt. J. Carson and Mrs. Mary Jackson. "No no." for these houses in 1803 signifies that, as for the major

PLAN OF RODNEY STREET
Showing Owners

	1841	1850	1857	1858	1859	1860	1861	
RODNEY STREET	(1a) to 1031. See p. 60 in text.							
	1	1	45	46	46	46	46	
	William James			Miss Deborah Green				
	2	2				47		
	J. Andrews			William Rotherham				
	3	3	48	48	48	48	48	
	David Paxon			E. Jackson				
	The Scotch Church							
	DUMFRIES STREET	a Maryland Street, see p. 60 in text.						
		7	7	49	49	49	49	49
C. W. Williams								
9		9	50	50	50	50	50	
N. Beckley								
11		11	51			51	51	
Richardson			J. Sorley					
13	13	52	52	52	52	52		
J. Taitton								

The Districts used are those of Gen. E. Jackson. His number in 1857, Gen's Directory, appears as 18, not Capt. J. Cannon and Mrs. Mary Jackson. "None" in these cases.

who inhabited the house from 1805 to 1837. In 1805 Mary Jackson's house was numbered 21, with Mr. John Crowther at 22 and William Ripley at 23. Owing, I suppose, to the completion of houses on the west side of the street, these numbers were altered in 1807 to 32, 33 and 34. In 1813, with Robert Harvey taking John Crowther's place, the numbers again changed to 39, 40, 41. Mr. Hamerton's number on the other side of Mary Jackson came in 1816 as 38. Another change took place in 1821,¹ when the four houses were numbered 46, 47, 48 and 49, and again in 1825 when they became 49, 50, 51 and 52. These numbers were retained till the final change took place for the whole street, when they became 7, 9, 11 and 13. The continued residence of C. W. Williams at 7 (formerly 49), of John Richardson at 11 (51) and of John Tarlton at 13 (formerly 52) makes this clear. From this it is evident that at no time was the present 9 Rodney Street numbered 5, and therefore it could not in 1818 have been the residence of James Butler Clough, or, in the following years, the birthplace of his children.

The identification of number 74 as the Clough House was made in 1914 by Mr. Alfred Newton, who published an article on "The Birthplace of Arthur Hugh Clough" in the *Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool* for that year. His work was based on the directories, and followed the same painstaking methods as those adopted by my husband and myself. It is greatly to be regretted that, possibly owing to the outbreak of war, the Historic Society did not pay to the article the consideration it undoubtedly deserved. Mr. Newton charged the Historic Society with having advanced no evidence to support its action of placing the Commemorative Tablet on number 9. I must confess that I have found none. In the minute book of the

¹ See *supra*, page 84.

Sub-Committee of the Historic Society on Commemorative Tablets, there are no minutes of meetings held on this matter. The book contains only the plan and letters, copies of which are appended to this paper, together with correspondence relating to the collecting of subscriptions and the fixing of the plaque.¹

In some ways 74 Rodney Street is more worthy than 9 Rodney Street to bear the tablet. The façade of the house, though it is smaller, is more typical of the architecture of the period. It is entirely unspoiled, retaining in addition to the small-paned windows the iron balconies to the first-floor windows. So far as I can trace with any certainty, its first tenant was Daniel Strobel, merchant, the sale of whose effects is noticed on page 70. He was succeeded by Thomas Gladstone, a brother of Sir John Gladstone, who occupied it until he went to live in Lodge Lane between 1816 and 1818.² Then came the brief tenancy of James Butler Clough, whose children presumably were born there, Arthur Hugh on 1 January, 1819, and Anne Jemina on 20 January, 1820. His name does not appear in the *Directory* of 1821, and in 1822 he went with all his family to live at Charleston, in South Carolina.³ By 1823 the house was occupied by the Reverend Richard Cardwell, "the Pier Head Parson" quoted by Stonehouse,⁴ and uncle of the Rt. Hon. Edward Cardwell, M.P. for Liverpool, 1847, whose father John Cardwell, of Blackburn, rented the house 62, when John Gladstone left it to go to Seaforth in 1818.⁵

To Mr. Moon, the Town Clerk of Liverpool, I am indebted for access to the Corporation Register of Leases,

¹ See Appendix A.

² Gore's *Directories*, 1816, 1818.

³ *Memoir of Anne Jemima Clough*, by Blanche Athena Clough Arnold, 1897, p. 4.

⁴ Stonehouse, *Streets of Liverpool*, 150-1.

⁵ Picton's *Memorials of Liverpool*, ii, 248.

and to Mr. Palmer, of the Leasing Department of the Town Clerk's Office, for the courtesy and endless patience with which he helped me in my search.

My thanks are also due to Professor G. S. Veitch for permission to include in this paper certain facts that came to my knowledge in course of research on which we were engaged together.

Finally, while the actual writing of the paper has been my own work, I must acknowledge with gratitude the sharing of the burden of searching the *Directories* and of listing the street's inhabitants by my husband, to whom also I owe the lantern slides and the cinema film which accompanied the paper when it was read.

APPENDIX A

In the Minute Book of the Memorial Tablet Sub-Committee of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire the evidence as to the identity of the Clough House is confined to the following documents.

- (1) A printed plan [undated] of the north end of the east side of Rodney Street. This contains a misprint. The occupant of number 3 in 1818 is given on the plan as Stanley Pervival; the directory gives Stanley Perceval. The plan is reproduced on the opposite page.
- (2) A letter dated 31 Oct., 1899, from B. M. S. Clough at Burley Hill, Ringwood, to the Secretary of the Historic Society. B. M. S. Clough, widow of Arthur Hugh Clough, writes that she is informed "that it is proposed to place a tablet on a house in Mount Vernon Green, Liverpool, to commemorate the birthplace of Arthur Hugh Clough, poet, my husband, and his sister, Anne J. Clough." After expressing the gratification of her family, she goes on:

"This is the first time we have heard of this as the birthplace of either of them. If any positive evidence has been discovered such as a register would give, we have no more to say, as we do not possess anything so clear. But it is known to some of the older friends of the family now living that James Butler Clough, my husband's father, lived in Rodney Street in 1818. My husband was born Jan. 1, 1819, his sister on Jan. 20, 1820."

She proceeds to give evidence from the directories of 1818 and 1821 and concludes, "This appears to us to give every reason to suppose that Rodney Street was the birthplace of both brother and sister."

- (3) A letter dated 15 Nov., 1899, from B. M. S. Clough, at Burley Hill, Ringwood. Destination not given.

OCCUPANTS OF HOUSES IN RODNEY ST.

Nos.	1816	1818	1821	1823	Nos. in 1900	1900
1	Goldie, Joseph	Goldie, Joseph	Goldie, Joseph	Goldie, Joseph	1	Osborn, Dr.
2	Harrison, Richard	Harrison, Richard	Downward, I., Jun.	Ellis, Lister	3	Briggs, Dr.
3	Gibson, Sophia	Pervival, Stanley	Case, J. Deane	Case, J. Deane	5	Harris, Mrs.
...	Garden or vacant land	Garden or vacant land	Garden or vacant land	Scottish Church	...	Scottish Church
MARYLAND STREET						
4	Brancker, P. W. Jun. removed to Edge Lane by 1818.	Vacant	Duarte, Thos.	McKinnon, Lachlan	7	Permewan, Dr.
5	Gladstone, Thos. removed to Lodge Lane by 1818.	Clough, J. B. removed to Mt. Vernon by 1821.	Vacant.	Cardwell, Rev. Rd.	9	Reynolds & Sons, surgical instruments
6	Brackenbury, J. M.	Vacant	Benwell, Eliz. School	Freckleton, G., M.D.
7	Grant, George	Grant, George	Grant, George	Grant, George
8	Daltera, J.	Daltera, J.	Daltera, J.	Daltera, J.
9	...	Baggott, R.	Baggott, R.	Baggott, R.

RODNEY STREET

COPY OF PRINTED PLAN OF RODNEY STREET, SHOWING NO. 9 AS CLOUGH HOUSE.
 The plan is pasted into the Minute Book of the Memorial Tablet Sub-Committee of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. The plan is undated.
Copied by Edna Rideout in 1931.

"Miss Calder is quite our best authority, having known Miss Clough so intimately, and she also knew still older people who knew the house. I hope the church deeds may throw light on it. Miss Calder told me the numbers had been altered but she did not think the house had been pulled down. I wish I had more evidence to give; if I can obtain any will at once inform you."

The only other material in the minute book concerning the Clough Tablet consists of a letter dated 6 December, 1903, from B. M. S. Clough, Burley Hill, Ringwood, returning thanks for a photograph of the house with the plaque "in situ"; 4 letters dated December, 1902, from various individuals who were collecting subscriptions for the plaque; 3 letters asking and giving permission for the Society to put up the plaque—the person giving permission was one Mr. Hagger, of whom no address appears.

There are no minutes of meetings of the Sub-Committee on this matter.

These extracts were taken by Edna Rideout from the Minute Book of the Memorial Tablet Sub-Committee now in the Library of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire in 1931.

APPENDIX B

NOTES ON HOUSE NUMBERING IN THE EARLY LIVERPOOL
DIRECTORIES

No one who has had reason to study the history of the leading men of Liverpool in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries can have failed to marvel at the number of addresses for one man that can be collected from the early Liverpool Directories. Liverpool families moved often in those days. Successful merchants progressed by stages from Rodney Street to Abercromby Square, thence to Lodge Lane, and so out to the distant suburbs of Wavertree and The Dingle. But the mind refuses to accept as indicating a removal those changes of address which are merely the change of a number within the street. It is not that such changes are unknown even at the present day, when, for example, from time to time Rodney Street consultants indulge in a game of "general post," and the street breaks into a rash of temporary notice plates—"Mr. X removed to No. 100." Such cases can be paralleled from the street's early days. My own labours, for example, were increased by my natural inability to believe at first that sometime between the publication of Gore's 1827 *Directory*, and the appearance of the supplement in 1828, James Gilfillan moved from number 56 to number 86 (17 and 2 respectively in the two publications) in Rodney Street.

A long wrestling with lists of inhabitants and their house-numbers from the different directories revealed many points which may be of interest and help to students who in the future need to use similar material. The same difficulties presented by Rodney Street house-numbers must arise elsewhere, and these notes may serve as a warning to future workers in this field.

I have ceased to inveigh against "our ancestors' distracting passion for re-numbering their houses." The early residents

of Rodney Street have only my hearty sympathy in the doubtless violent expressions of a totally different passion when they saw their houses endowed with yet another number as each new *Directory* appeared.

Mr. G. T. Shaw in a *History of the Liverpool Directories*¹ emphasises the note on the title-page of Gore's 1790 *Directory* "with the numbers as they are (or ought to be) affixed to the houses." Much of the changing of addresses was due to the allowance made by Gore for the numbers of houses projected, in process of building, or vacant, and he must have been constantly exasperated by the not unnatural refusal of the earliest inhabitants of (say) Rodney Street to affix a new number to their house every time a new set of houses began to be constructed. Some such obstinacy must account for the serious errors in the numbering of the block in Rodney Street between Hardman Street and Mount Street between 1821 and 1834, where the numbers alter without even any relation to other alterations in the street, and where in 1829, 1834, 1835 and so late as 1837 Richard Brooke and Peter Bourne, inhabiting houses side by side, are both given number in 64. Similarly John Gouthwaite lived from 1803 to 1811 at number 50, and Francis Gouthwaite retains this number in 1814 and 1816, though the houses on either side have changed from 49 and 51 to 56 and 58. Again, Thomas Dodson in 1825 sticks to number 51, while his neighbours have changed their numbers from 50 and 52 to 53 and 55. Thomas Dodson remedied his error, and appears at 54 in 1827. This failure of inhabitants to keep pace with the changes due to the erection of new houses is a source of error that needs to be constantly watched, and that cannot unfortunately be detected unless a plan of a whole street is made, a tedious and possibly generally hopeless task.²

A second common error is to find two inhabitants given

¹ *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lancs. and Ches.*, 58, 122.

² Mr. Palmer of the Leasing Department of the Town Clerk's office, Liverpool, tells me that he is continually faced with similar problems arising out of the numbering of houses on the modern Corporation Housing Sites. I do not know how the modern directories treat these districts.

for one number. The case of James Gilfillan and James Cockshutt in 1829 is a case in point.¹ Generally, if one consults the next *Directory*, one of the pair will be found to have removed. But there is no certainty of this, as is shown by the case of F. Foster, C. Turner, and R. Marriner, who all lived from 1829 to 1835 at the present 58 Rodney Street and removed all together to the present 78, where they continued to reside until 1841.

Printers' errors again are common, as, for instance, the numbering of David Jackson's house by Gore as 58 for 48 in 1825, and of Mrs. Lister Ellis's house as 51 for 5 in 1827 by Picken.

Gore's *Directory*, 1790. The numbers in Rodney Street run from 1 to 23 consecutively from Duke Street to Mount Pleasant on the west side and back from Mount Pleasant to Duke Street on the east side. The street is given as having 17 inhabited houses, which checks with a list of inhabitants made from the alphabetical list. The other six houses seem to comprise two vacant houses at the Duke Street end of the east side of the street, and four houses in process of building between Hardman Street and Maryland Street.

Gore's *Directory*, 1796. Rodney Street is again numbered from Duke Street to Mount Pleasant along the west side, and back from Mount Pleasant to Duke Street on the east side. The total number of houses has increased from 23 to 38. Allowance is again made for houses lying vacant or in process of building.

Gore's *Directory*, 1803.² Generally speaking, there are no numbers given for Rodney Street houses in this directory. The block on the east side nearest Duke Street is numbered intermittently from 2 to 13, and numbers 17 and 42 are given. The numbers run in the reverse order from that of

¹ See f.n. 2 to Chart facing page 84.

² Mr. G. T. Shaw, *op. cit.*, p. 118, suggests that the *Directory* of 1803 might be made a basis for working out street directories for earlier years. My researches on Rodney Street show that this may not be a practicable suggestion. Perhaps the map by Horwood, mentioned by Mr. Shaw, was responsible for the change of style by Gore in 1803.

the directories of 1790 and 1796, i.e. consecutively from Duke Street to Mount Pleasant along the east side of the street, and back along the west side.

Gore's *Directory*, 1805. The numbering of Rodney Street returns to the old style and runs consecutively from Duke Street to Mount Pleasant on the west side and back along the east side. From this system Gore's directories did not again depart until 1839,¹ when there was introduced the present (1931) system of numbering from Mount Pleasant to Duke Street, odd numbers on the east side, even numbers on the west side.

Wosencroft's *Directory*, 1790. Has no numbers for Rodney Street. The list of inhabitants checks exactly with that of Gore's 1790 *Directory*.

Schofield's *Directory*, 1800. The numbering of Rodney Street is almost incomprehensible. Number 1 is the Gladstone house on the west side of the street. 4, 3, 9, and 10 are on the east side between Duke Street and Mount Street. So far as any coherence remains, the numbers then start back at Maryland Street on the east side and return to Mount Street, leaving a curious medley for the west side of the street. Either all the conclusions drawn from the other directories are wrong, or Schofield's numbers are utterly unreliable.

Woodward's *Directory*, 1804. Copied the numbering of Rodney Street in Gore's 1803 *Directory*, giving numbers to the block from Duke Street to Mount Street, and no numbers to most of the houses. There are some serious omissions in the list of inhabitants I compiled, e.g. Garston Bradstock, who from 1790 to 1837 appears in residence in Gore's directories at the present number 18.

Baines' *History, Directory and Gazetteer of the County of Lancaster*, 1824, p. 415, Liverpool Directory. The numbers in Rodney Street run from Duke Street to Mount Pleasant consecutively along the west side of the street, and back along the east side. It is interesting to note that the last house at the Mount Pleasant end on the west side is numbered 39; the first past Maryland Street on the east side is numbered 46.

¹ Mr. G. T. Shaw, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

There is obviously an allowance for 6 houses to be erected on the land between Mount Pleasant and Maryland Street. Owing to the area taken by the Scotch Church, only 3 of these were erected. The matter is adjusted in Gore's *Directory* of 1825.