LIVERPOOL IN 1801: A MANUSCRIPT RETURN FOR THE FIRST NATIONAL CENSUS OF POPULATION

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AT the turn of the nineteenth century Liverpool was a social and economic whirlpool. No major seaport maintained by burgeoning colonial and European trade and fuelled by the pace of industrial growth in its large hinterland could fail to be otherwise. The effects of a major European war were felt in all aspects of its life more sharply than in most other towns, and to add particular significance to the opening year of the nineteenth century death and disease reached levels in 1800 and 1801 rarely experienced in the town's history. Liverpool was arguably the largest provincial town in England, and as it sucked in thousands of migrants each year the structure and social conditions of its population changed, though the direction of those changes and whether they were for better or worse remain to be seen.[1] Perhaps it was the lack of or inadequacy of statistical information that the anonymous writer of *The Picture of Liverpool* had in mind:

> Liverpool being a maritime town, subject to a constant influx and reflux of people who are not actually residents, the gradual increase of its inhabitants is not so easily discovered as that of an inland town, where the migrations are few: certainty, therefore, must in some instances, yield to hypothesis.[2]

The manuscript which is described in this paper, and analysed in a preliminary way, considerably helps our understanding of the social condition and social geography of the town at this critical time. The purpose of what follows is to place it in the context of our sketchy knowledge of the earliest national censuses (to whose understanding it contributes), to summarise the statistical information it contains, and to draw some conclusions, necessarily limited by the space available, from those statistical data.

THE EARLY CENSUSES AND THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE LIVERPOOL MANUSCRIPT

The enumerators' books of the decennial censuses from 1841 onwards are familiar enough to historians of the Victorian period

and have illuminated a wide range of topics. The first four censuses from 1801 to 1831 were conducted locally by parish overseers who merely returned the bald totals for their districts as they appear in the published reports to John Rickman at the Home Office in Whitehall.[3] Consequently fuller details of these returns only survive in local records, and then very sporadically. In most country parishes the rudimentary information required by Parliament could be gathered by simple means, often without the need for a printed questionnaire or even oral enquiry. In the large parishes of the North of England and in most urban parishes some form of bureaucratic organisation was essential, even for a headcount: printed ledgers and forms might be required, and districts would have to be assigned to carefully instructed enumerators. A variety of documents exists in county record offices and libraries which throw helpful light on the methods of the early census takers.[4] They also supply valuable information about local populations in varying detail. The manuscript described below is the most comprehensive of this kind that has come to light for any large township in England.

The census took place on Tuesday, 10 March 1801 (though in practice enumeration may have taken several days and it is debatable whether it was conceived as a *de facto* census, in which persons are enumerated where they actually were on census night, or a *de jure* one, in which the criterion was the place of normal residence) and seems to have been processed with remarkable speed, for the results were published in the local press within eight weeks.[5] In those weeks information from 14,067 dwellings and several institutions was returned to a central office, arranged in a logical geographical order, sub-totalled, totalled, and checked. At some stage (though it is not clear exactly when) a fair copy of the consolidated enumeration lists was made by two clerks. It is this large volume, entitled 'An Account of the Population of Liverpool Taken in pursuance of An Act of Parliament March 1801', that was placed sometime between 1802 and 1809 in the library of the newly founded Athenaeum where it remains still.[6] A description of its contents and collation is given in Appendix 1. In the absence of central government records and our lack of evidence for the methods and personnel employed in the census, this document provides direct and circumstantial evidence which allows some assessment of the quality and reliability of the statistical results.

The purpose of producing and preserving a fair copy household by household is not obvious. It was almost certainly bound as soon as it was completed, though how soon that was after March 1801 cannot be determined; the matter is not mentioned in the

Vestry minutes.[7] The figures published in the *Abstract* are not the same as those in the manuscript, which records 21 more inhabited houses but 108 less persons.[8] There is no simple explanation for these differences except in the case of the total population where the gaol in Water Street accounts for the 108 missing persons: it is possible that the manuscript was prepared after the publication of results in the newspaper and after they were attested at Quarter Sessions.[9] The most likely motive for preparing a definitive record was a feeling that the prodigious effort of collecting so much useful knowledge should not be wasted. It may also have been thought that it would be a useful reference of all occupiers of residential property for administrative purposes such as the collection of rates (see note 15): if so it was never regularly used, as its fine condition shows.

Further comparison between the manuscript and the three published summaries of the bare totals does not clarify matters much further. The return in the *Liverpool Advertiser* on 4 May 1801, which gives no totals for Police Districts, agrees entirely with the *Abstract of Answers and Returns* which was ordered to be printed in December 1801, and which does contain returns for the five Police Districts of the town.[10] *Gore's Liverpool Directory* for 1805 reproduced the figures in the *Abstract* but with two additions: 55 persons in the House of Correction (the number in the manuscript is 70) and 6,000 'Registered Sailors'.[11] The effect of mariners and those on military service on the accuracy of the first census greatly exercised John Rickman, who in a special footnote for Liverpool makes allowance for an additional 3,106, one twenty-fifth of the resident population, for 'Mariners, &c'.[12] Gore's figure of 6,000 had also appeared in the newspaper report but no basis for this estimate has been found and it is certainly not found in the manuscript.[13] Other omissions from the published totals, apart from those already mentioned in explanation of the discrepancies between the manuscript and published totals, *are* found in the manuscript. They comprise six lost souls in the Bridewell in Chapel Street described as 'Prisoners for Ireland' and 1,786 prisoners of war in the new gaol in Great Howard Street.[14] The inhabitants of major institutions, which in later censuses would have been mentioned in the published abstracts, are separately tabulated in Appendix 2.

One question that might help to explain the form and circumstances of this document is its authorship. Under the Population Act the enumeration was the responsibility of Makin Simmons, Overseer of the Poor from 1791 till his death in 1809. It is inconceivable that he and his junior in the Overseers' Office, Edward Lewis, could have managed alone, but the particular

interest attaching to Simmons's part in this is that in 1790 he published a less detailed but equally valuable street by street census of the town.[15] The results of a comparison between the two enumerations are discussed later. Both may stem from the pressing need for the collectors of the poor rates to have adequate statistics, or at the very least may reflect the tidy and inquisitive mind that was required for such a job.[16]

A number of corrections and errors in the manuscript strongly reinforce the view that it is a fair copy of a rough draft. On folios 299 and 301, to cite only two examples, several houses have been reclassified and the column totals corrected accordingly. On several folios lines have been ruled to allow the insertion in a different hand of additional names between those already copied out, thus far increasing the standard 30 names per page. In other cases street names have been corrected: 'Lydian', for example, becomes 'Lydia Ann' (fol.362/3). A form of error requiring careful disentanglement occurs where the lines on the right hand page are displaced upwards leaving dwellings without any occupants and apparently allocating occupants to vacant houses. The clerk, it seems, took the easy way by completing the columns in turn rather than the rows and in so doing failed to leave a line for a vacant house on the left hand page.[17] Some of the corrections show commendable care, as on folio 212 where three houses marked as 'omitted in James Street' and 'omitted in Brunswick Street' are deleted with the explanation 'Entered in proper place', as indeed they were on the previous page. Many minor puzzles, which have no general solution and have to be treated on their merits, remain to encourage caution in the interpretation of the summary statistics: what are we to make, for example, of the entry for Richard Folkes (fol.304) whose house contained four females but no males?

THE TOPOGRAPHICAL ARRANGEMENT IN THE MANUSCRIPT

The entries are arranged in a remarkably logical and systematic geographical fashion. Fig. 1 is based on the map of districts at the start of the volume: the Police Districts were divided into 73 smaller areas with an average of just over a thousand inhabitants. These will be referred to as EDs (Enumeration Districts) on the presumption that each was the responsibility of a separate enumerator, though there is no *direct* evidence for this.[18] Summary data for the EDs are tabulated in Appendix 3. Within each ED the entries are arranged in a clear topographical sequence, house by house around the perimeter streets then through the streets in the interior.[19] Although no house numbers

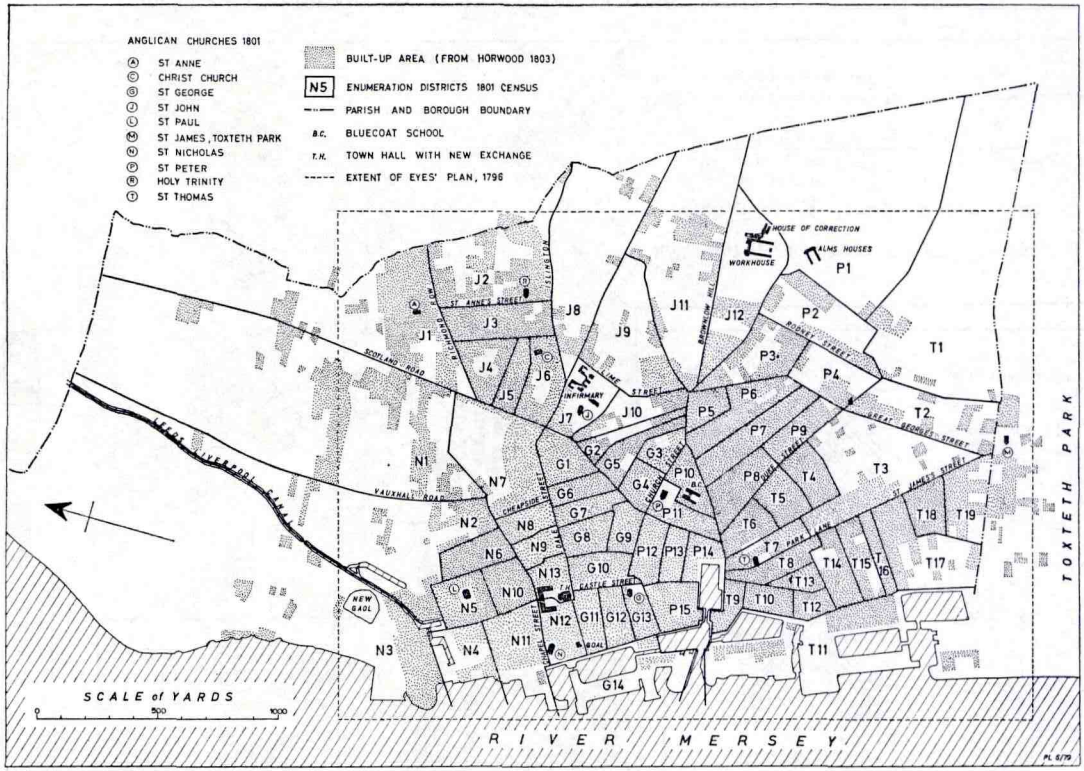

FIGURE I ENUMERATION DISTRICTS DEFINED FOR THE 1801 CENSUS IN LIVERPOOL.

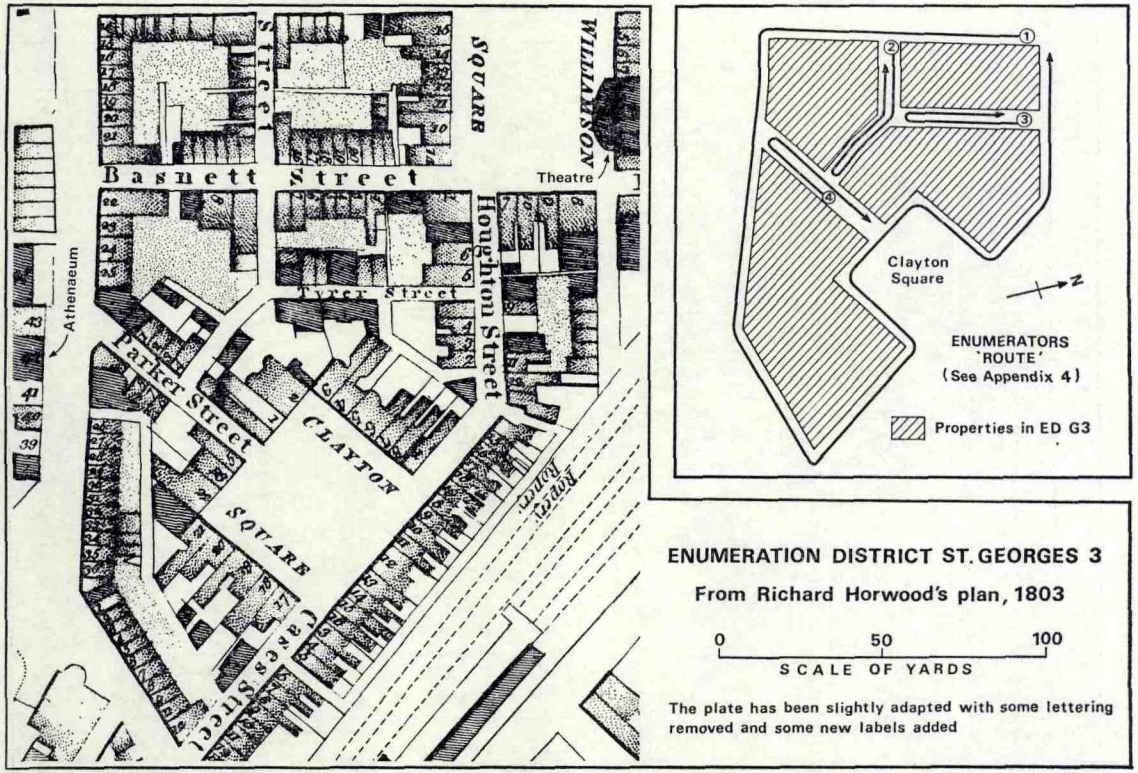

FIGURE 2 THE TOPOGRAPHY OF AN ENUMERATION DISTRICT IN LIVERPOOL IN 1801.

are given in the manuscript, with the aid of Gore's directories for 1800 and 1803 and Richard Horwood's plan of Liverpool nearly all the entries in the census can be allocated to within a few houses of the properties represented on the map, and in many cases located precisely.[20] A less exacting method for those not concerned with individuals or individual houses is to map the information (if maps are required) using the 692 courts, alleys, streets or portions of streets into which the 73 EDs are already effectively divided. The possibilities of this degree of topographical precision are illustrated in Fig. 2 and Appendix 4. Not all districts can be reconstructed so neatly: less fashionable areas are not so well represented in the directories and Horwood neglected to record the house numbers for perhaps half the street frontages of the town including those of four major through streets: Byrom St, Dale St, Tithebarn St and Whitechapel.

HOUSING AND OVERCROWDING

The classification of dwellings in front houses, back houses and cellars reflects local concerns; it was not required under the Population Act but replicates an identical classification used by Simmons in his earlier census. Since the dwelling was the basic unit of enumeration (with a handful of exceptions each line in the document relates to a single dwelling or institution) so that all other items of information can be analysed separately for each type of dwelling.[21] Cellar dwellings present few problems of interpretation, but the difference between front and back houses is less straightforward. Back houses, or as Simmons had described them in 1790 "Back or Cottage", may either refer in a common-sense way to houses off main streets in courts or yards or in a more specific architectural sense to back-to-back or blind-back cottages.[22] When Simmons applied the term in 1790 it was still assumed that the two definitions were for all practical purposes the same thing.[23] The distinction was already becoming elusive and so it is not surprising that it was applied with even less consistency in the 1801 enumeration than it had been in 1790. An increasing number of houses fronting through streets were back-to-backs; several court houses were recorded in both enumerations as front houses (e.g. in Tristrams Court off Thomas Street and Wykes Court off Dale Street); and, above all, the distinction was in many districts a quite unreal indicator of housing quality or social well-being. Even cellar dwellings, fairly universally condemned by Liverpool medical men and sanitary reformers even at this time, were not regarded by some as necessarily less desirable than houses.[24]

The broad comparison of the numbers of dwellings of each type and their respective inhabitants is presented in Table 1. The second column for 1801 makes allowance for houses in courts which were classified as back houses by Simmons in 1790 but front houses in the 1801 census.[25] If all court and yard houses

TABLE 1 *Population and types of dwelling in Liverpool from Simmons's enumeration (1790) and the 1801 census manuscript*

	1790	*1801*[1]	*1801*[2]	*Change 1790 to 1801*[2]	
				N	%
Inhabited front houses	6540	9454	9134	2594	39.7
Inhabited back houses	1608	1931	2251	643	40.0
Inhabited cellars	1728	2305	2305	577	33.4
All inhabited dwellings	9876	13690	13960	3814	38.6
Population in front houses	39118	56583	54871	15753	40.3
Population in back houses	7955	9704	11416	3461	43.5
Population in cellars	6780	8983	8983	2203	32.5
Total population[3]	53853	75270	75270	21417	39.8[5]
Persons per front house	5.98	5.99	6.01		
Persons per back house	4.95	5.03	5.07		
Persons per cellar	3.92	3.90	3.90		
Persons per dwelling	5.45	5.50	5.50		
Persons per house[4]	6.61	6.61	6.61		
% population in front houses	72.54	75.17	72.90		
% population in back houses	14.77	12.89	15.17		
% population in cellars	12.59	11.93	11.93		

[1] 1801 data as classified in the original manuscript.

[2] 1801 data adjusted: 320 dwellings (with 1712 inhabitants) recorded as back houses in 1790 but as front houses in 1801 have been counted as back houses. Houses classified in the same way in both enumerations have not been transferred in this way.

[3] Excludes persons in large institutions (see Appendix 1) and in almshouses (126 in 1790, 119 in 1801). The latter were excluded in 1790 and have thus been similarly treated for 1801.

[4] Cellar dwellers included in the numerator but cellars excluded from the denominator.

[5] Geometric ratio = 3.0% per annum

in both enumerations were considered separately from those on main street frontages the difference of a little under one person per house would probably widen slightly, but the results would be no easier to interpret in terms of living conditions. Table 1 speaks for itself but is, of course, no more than a crude summary. A more sensitive summary is given in Tables 2 and 3 which show

Streets	Names	C	B H	F H	Fam	Un	Ma	Fem	Total	Ag	Trade	S	Total	
Langhorn's Plan	Elisha Belshaw			1	1			3	3			3	3	
	Wm. Langhorn			1	1		1	4	5			5	5	
St. Stephens St.	Thomas Whitby			1	1		3	2	5		2	3	5	1 Constable
	Richd. Fairclough			1	1		5	2	7			7	7	1 Book-keeper
	Thomas Summers			1	1		3	1	4		1	3	4	
	Mary Gardner			1	1		1	1	2			2	2	
	William Gibson	1			1		4	1	5	1		4	5	
	John Kirby			1	1		4	3	7			7	7	2 Labourers
	John Davies			1	1		3	3	6			6	6	
	John Higham			1	1	1	1	4	5		1	4	5	New house
Roberts St.	William Helem			1	1		1	5	6		1	5	6	
Roberts Street	John Bonforth			1	1		2	1	3		1	2	3	
	William Thompson			1	1		3	2	5		1	4	5	
	George Holder			1	1		1	1	2		1	1	2	
6	John Goff			1	4		14	7	21		3	18	21	8 Labourers
Thomas Brow	John Weeks			1	1		2	2	4		2	2	4	
S. Side	Thomas Barnes			1	1		6	4	10		1	9	10	4 Blind
	John Christian			1	1			2	2			2	2	at Sea
	John Pearson			1	2		6	4	10			10	10	1 Marine 1 Labourer
	John Grigson			1	3		10	7	17	1	1	15	17	2 Labourers
	Enoch Crossland			1	2		4	5	9		1	8	9	
	William Woodward			1	1	1	2	3	5		1	4	5	
	John Larrison			1	2		6	2	8		4	4	8	
	Isaac Highfield			1	1		3	5	8		2	6	8	
	~~Wm. Gibson~~			1	2		6	4	10		3	7	10	
	Jane Simmer			1	2		9	4	13		3	8	13	3 Blind
	Mary Jerret			1	1		2	1	3		2	1	3	
	Jane Wilkison			1	1			1	1			1	1	
	William Gill			1	1		1	1	2			2	2	1 Excise
	Henry Wilson			1	1		1	2	3		1	2	3	
	William Aspinal			1	1		1	1	2			2	2	
		1		30	48	2	115	88	193	2	34	159	193	

PLATE I A FOLIO FROM THE MANUSCRIPT OF THE 1801 CENSUS FOR LIVERPOOL

the number of families and inhabitants right across the range from low rates of occupancy to extremes of overcrowding. The term 'family' is that used in most contemporary discussions of

TABLE 2 *Liverpool dwellings ranked by the number of their inhabitants in 1801*[1]

Persons in the dwelling	*Number of dwellings*			*Percent of dwellings*			*Percent of persons*		
	C[3]	*BH*	*FH*	*C*	*BH*	*FH*	*C*	*BH*	*FH*
1	197	48	147	8.5	2.5	1.6	2.2	0.5	0.3
2	425	202	760	18.4	10.5	8.0	9.5	4.2	2.7
3	463	293	1162	20.1	15.2	12.3	15.5	9.1	6.2
4	424	360	1400	18.4	18.6	14.8	18.9	14.8	9.9
5	327	316	1312	14.2	16.4	13.9	18.2	16.3	11.6
6	248	259	1244	10.8	13.4	13.2	16.6	16.0	13.2
7	120	174	984	5.2	9.0	10.4	9.4	12.6	12.2
8	58	120	771	2.5	6.2	8.2	5.2	9.9	10.9
9	25	79	537	1.1	4.1	5.7	2.5	7.3	8.5
10	11	32	369	0.5	1.7	3.9	1.2	3.3	6.5
11	2	21	244	0.1	1.1	2.6	0.2	2.4	4.7
12		11	176		0.6	1.9		1.4	3.7
13	3	7	112	0.1	0.4	1.2	0.4	0.9	2.6
14	2	3	72	0.1	0.2	0.8	0.3	0.4	1.8
15		4	53		0.2	0.6		0.6	1.4
16		1	34		*	0.4		0.2	1.0
17			20			0.2			0.6
18		1	15		*	0.2		0.2	0.5
19			9			0.1			0.3
20			5			*			0.2
21			8			0.1			0.3
22			5			*			0.2
23			3			*			0.1
24			1			*			*
25			2			*			0.1
26			1			*			*
27			2			*			0.1
Over 27			6[2]			0.1			0.4
Total	2305	1931	9454	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* 0.05% or less. Percent columns subject to minor rounding errors.
C = cellars. BH = back houses. FH = front houses.

[1] Excludes large institutions (Appendix 2) and the almshouses in ED P1. The latter comprise 46 front houses ranked as follows: 1 11; 2 15; 3 10; 4 5; 5 3; 6 1; 7 1.

[2] These houses inhabited as follows: 30, 32, 35, 37, 47 and 65.

[3] The allocation of cellars by number of occupants may not be absolutely precise because of 12 cases where 2 cellars are entered on a single line in the manuscript. All but one case have two names recorded and all have 2 families (3 in one case): the number of occupants has been halved (or the nearest whole numbers in uneven totals) for the purposes of this table.

TABLE 3 *Liverpool dwellings ranked by the number of families they housed in 1801*[1]

Familes in the dwelling	*Number of dwellings*				*Percent of dwellings*			
	C	*BH*	*FH*	*All*	*C*	*BH*	*FH*	*All*
1	2260	1660	7416	11336	98.0	86.0	78.4	82.7
2	43	250	1501	1794	1.9	12.9	15.9	13.1
3	2	18	402	422	0.1	0.9	4.3	3.1
4		3	100	103		0.2	1.1	0.8
5			25	25			0.3	0.2
6			6	6			0.1	*
7			2	2			*	*
More than 7			2[2]	2[2]			*	*
Total	2305	1931	9454	13690	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* 0.05% or less. Percent columns subject to minor rounding errors.
C = cellars. BH = back houses. FH = front houses.
[1] Excludes large institutions (Appendix 2) and the almshouses in ED P1. The latter contained 46 front houses, 30 with one family and 16 with two families.
[2] These two houses contained 9 and 26 families.

such matters and in this manuscript; from its average size (4·47 persons with institutions excluded) and the way it is treated in the manuscript it seems that the enumerators had a working definition close to that of 'household' in the Victorian censuses, and equally difficult to interpret consistently.[26] In gauging the extent of overcrowding it is necessary to consider *both* measures —persons and families per dwelling; two families of 3 persons each could, it might be argued, overcrowd a cellar more effectively than one family of 7, though in all conscience at that level the argument is little more than theoretical. The data are summarised here in full so that readers are free to select criteria as they wish: whatever formal standards are selected (and there are absolute as well as comparative measures that could be made on the basis of later Victorian statistical criteria) the problem of house size and design cannot be escaped. The all-too-common habit of trying to assess varying housing standards over time and between towns through decennial ratios of persons per house is a fool's errand.[27] Liverpool was one of the comparatively few towns where court houses were almost universally of three storeys in the nineteenth century. Although many such houses built before 1800 also had three storeys some older back houses in the old core of the town may have been smaller.[28] One way to test this would be to calculate the mean family size for back houses

only and then to contrast the older courts and yards of the old core with newer courts built after, say, 1785.

The main determinant of overcrowding was multiple occupancy. The statistical relationship between persons per dwelling and persons per family is considerably weaker than that between persons per dwelling and families per dwelling. Fig. 3, which is based on the *house* (ignoring cellars in order to make the Liverpool data comparable to those for Manchester) illustrates this general relationship as well as, incidentally, suggesting that in Manchester there were some even larger numbers of persons per house since the Manchester Police Districts were, on average, almost two and a half times the size of the Liverpool EDs.[29]

Another way in which these data make us reconsider measures drawn from the published census abstracts concerns cellars. The published number of inhabited houses means exactly what it says; it does not include cellars and is not therefore the number of inhabited dwellings. As Table 1 shows, the number of persons per dwelling was substantially lower than the number per house, and it would be interesting to know whether such adjustments are necessary for other towns where cellar dwelling prevailed. Although nearly 1 out of every 10 cellars housed more than 6 persons (see Table 2), the more lurid accounts of grotesquely crowded cellars sometimes found in sanitary and health reports of the 1840s would not fit the vast majority of cellars in Liverpool in 1801.[30] Only 2 per cent of them housed more than one family and, especially in some central EDs, they tended to be occupied by females, quite often solitaries: it seems not unlikely that many of these were elderly widows.[31] None of this is to question the judgement of those reformers who regarded cellar dwelling as an abomination (even the 2 per cent of them housed 92 families) but merely that it was no more serious a problem than other housing matters. It was probably singled out for special attention because it was easily identified and in large measure solvable.[32]

Pressure on the housing stock may have been particularly acute in 1801. The excess of families over vacant houses, crude criterion though it may be, certainly points that way and rents seem to have risen steeply around the turn of the century.[33] The 1801 manuscript records 331 vacant houses and tells us further that at least 160 of them were new houses being built or not yet occupied.[34] These represented 2·9 per cent and 1·4 per cent of the housing stock including new dwellings. With new dwellings excluded altogether it appears that only 1·5 per cent of the housing stock was unoccupied. This is a remarkably low figure by national standards, and far below the proportion recorded for Liverpool in later censuses, in which vacant and new houses are separately tabulated.

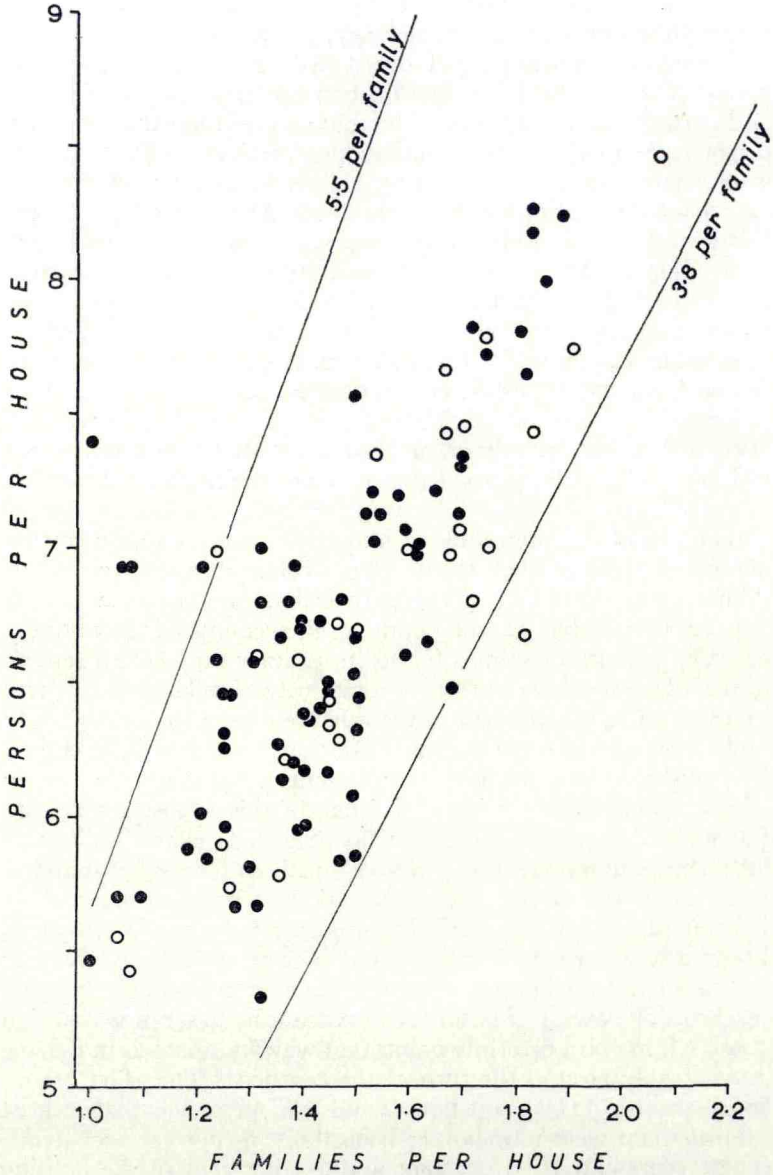

FIGURE 3 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HOUSEFUL SIZE (PERSONS PER HOUSE) AND MULTIPLE OCCUPANCY (FAMILIES PER HOUSE IN EXCESS OF ONE) IN LIVERPOOL AND MANCHESTER IN 1801.

(The black circles represent the 73 Liverpool EDs and the open circles represent the 28 divisions of the Manchester Police Districts)

In 1851, for example, the equivalent figure for the parish was 8·5 per cent.[35] In the 1790 enumeration it was 8·1 per cent including, presumably, some new houses. Yet despite a massive growth (40 per cent) in population in the intervening 11 years, with which house building, almost, but not quite, kept pace, the proportion of the population in cellars and back houses remained almost identical, as Table 1 shows. It is difficult to know whether to be optimistic or pessimistic about these figures.

OCCUPATIONS

The links between the urban economy, the role of the town in the regional, national and international economies, and the occupational structure of the population form a major aspect of the urban history of early industrial towns. But its study has been seriously hampered by the lack of reasonably reliable quantitative information about occupations before 1841. A rudimentary classification was required under the Population Act of 1800: 'chiefly employed in Agriculture'; 'in Trade, Manufactures, or Handicraft'; 'not comprised in any of the preceding Classes'. The question failed and the published results are practically useless. Some enumerators counted all members of a family in the category appropriate to the head of household; others treated the third category as a residual location for women, children and those in occupations not already specified.[36] Certainly the Liverpool enumerators did the latter, as is evident from the disproportionate number of dwellings with only one person in one of the first two categories. Even had the former procedure been adopted, the second category is vague and embraces persons of such widely varying social status as to be of little value. The least ambiguous information from all this is the tally of those in agriculture: most of them were probably urban cowkeepers, though the numbers in the north and west of the parish suggest a few smallholders.[37]

Given this unhelpful state of affairs the final column in the Liverpool manuscript is particularly tantalising. It was presumably intended to accommodate miscellaneous notes for it has no heading. Apart from indicating new houses and institutions where appropriate it is exclusively used for cryptic and seemingly random occupational descriptions. 23·3 per cent of dwellings have at least one such ascription: a summary analysis of them is given in Appendix 4. The list is quite obviously not a random sample of the occupations of the town's gainfully employed. For some reason the census takers have concentrated on selected occupations. Labourers, mariners, book-keepers and public officials make

up well over 90 per cent of the total. Probably between 65 and 85 per cent of those included would be excluded from Gore's directories; the complementarity of the sources is remarkable. Unfortunately the way the information is presented has serious drawbacks, quite apart from any doubts over its completeness. In many cases it is likely that the occupation does not apply to the person named on the same line and in some cases, especially involving labourers, more than one are enumerated at a single dwelling.

The distribution of these occupations is discussed shortly but some general comments on individual categories are in order. The 681 mariners manifestly represent no more than a small proportion of the port's regular seamen, perhaps 10–20 per cent.[38] But there is no way of telling how representative they are of those seamen who had a regular place of abode in the town, or a family to answer for them.[39] The 1858 labourers barely represent 10 per cent of males aged 15 and upwards, though this figure is closer to an acceptable figure for their share of the employed population than might at first sight appear: about 13 per cent of those with their occupation recorded in baptism and burial registers at this time were described as labourers.[40] Professional men and public officials seem to be fairly well represented, though no systematic check has been made. The criteria for inclusion are not made any clearer by the appearance of no less than 30 comedians (nearly all in streets close to the theatre in Williamson Square). Perhaps Liverpool's reputation in the entertainment business has long

TABLE 4 *The proportion of labourers living in different types of dwellings compared with the population of Liverpool as a whole in 1801*

	In cellars		*In back houses*		*In front houses*	
District	*Lab'rs*	*Total*	*Lab'rs*	*Total*	*Lab'rs*	*Total*
St Nicholas	21.3	11.2	27.3	19.9	51.4	69.0
St George	21.9	9.6	12.4	6.3	65.7	84.1
St John	40.1	12.0	4.4	3.9	55.5	84.1
St Peter	28.4	10.1	25.6	9.9	46.0	80.0
St Thomas	22.1	15.3	42.7[1]	14.4	35.2[1]	70.3
Whole Parish	24.2	11.9	25.9	15.2	49.8	72.9

The numbers represented by these percentages may be calculated from Appendix 5.

[1] 28 labourers in court houses, but classified under front houses in the manuscript, have been treated as living in back houses. Without this adjustment the figures read: back houses 29.6%; front houses 48.4%.

historical roots. With that in mind it is a disappointment to discover that Thomas Cowup of the Market House, Preesons Row, is no more than the town beadle and not, as described, a 'Beetle'.

Because of the way the information is recorded it is not generally possible to explore with any certainty the familial or household characteristics of particular occupational groups. One particularly striking characteristic of the labourers, however, is their concentration in poorer types of accommodation. Table 4 demonstrates very clearly that by comparison with the population as a whole labourers were more than twice as likely to live in cellars and also much more likely to live in back houses.[41] This provides important commentary on the preceding discussion about housing standards. There is very little evidence available with which to compare these figures, though we can say, for what it is worth, that the proportion of labourers living in front houses was considerably lower than those inhabiting the nearest equivalent type of property in mid-Victorian Liverpool.[42]

THE SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY OF LIVERPOOL IN 1801

For those concerned to reconstruct the social character of the varied districts of the town the systematic topographical arrangement of this manuscript has distinct advantages and obvious attractions. There is space here only to select a few indicators of this social geography and to consider them at the level of the ED as a means of summarising the broad patterns of social areas. The results may interest those concerned with the transition from what is often loosely termed the 'pre-industrial' or 'pre-modern' town to a spatial organisation which has sometimes been given the equally meaningless appellation 'industrial' or 'modern'. But they are unlikely to provide conclusive evidence for the way in which Liverpool corresponds to any of these general models of urban change, except perhaps that, as with most towns, it was a complex, disorderly and gradual transition.[43] The firmest conclusion that can be reached is that the strongly differentiated patterns, well recognised by contemporaries and modern analysts alike, in the landscape of Victorian Liverpool are well established, though at a different scale, in late Georgian Liverpool.[44]

An equally, and some some would say more, compelling reason for exploiting the windfall of these geographically arranged data to paint a portrait of the social topography of the town is that in trying to paint such a portrait we soon discover some severe and unsuspected limitations in the pigments we have to use.

However sophisticated the statistical treatment and the cartographic techniques employed (and several different analyses, which space precludes from detailing here, have been used as a basis for some of the generalisations that follow) the social topography exhibits few striking and distinct patterns. The various criteria which we may select do not correlate unambiguously. Partly this is because few residential quarters of the town could be unequivocally assigned labels, such as 'poor labouring-class housing' or 'opulent middle-class residences': partly the ambiguity lies in the data themselves which are no more than rough and ready substitutes for the more sensitive measures of environmental quality that might be associated with measures of income, social

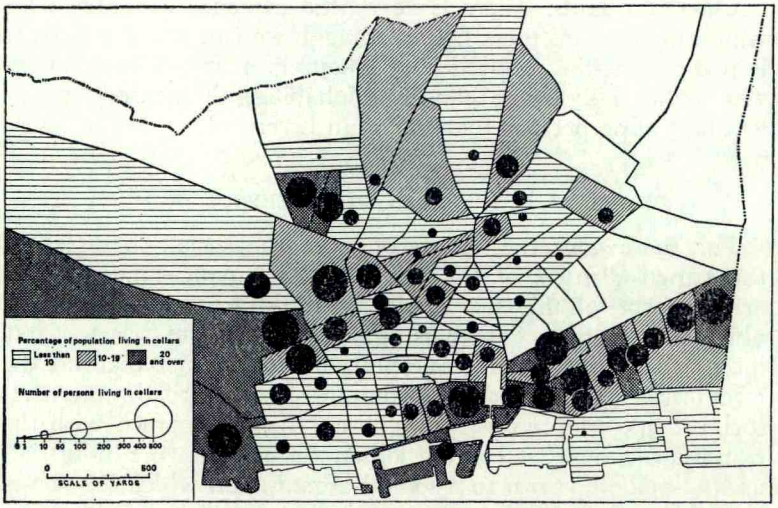

FIGURE 4 THE DISTRIBUTION OF CELLAR DWELLERS IN LIVERPOOL IN 1801.

standing or cultural mores. Measures of occupancy are bound to be arbitrary and often merely distinguish overcrowding from gross overcrowding.

In very few districts were there no cellar dwellers at all (Fig. 4) but two areas had particularly high concentrations: a belt of EDs running across the northern edge of the town from the waterfront to the east of Byrom Street around Christ Church; and a dockside area running south from the vicinity of the Old Dock to the Toxteth boundary. The fashionable south-east sector was relatively free of occupied cellars as was a restricted area around the Town Hall and Exchange, but in much of the central part of the town still quite fashionable residential quarters contained

cellars for the poor. Indeed labourers were more likely to be found in cellars in these areas than they were in many more obviously reserved for the labouring poor. The pattern is more sharply defined by the proportion of the total population of each ED living in cellars, also mapped in Fig. 4. Cellar dwelling was fairly well defined topographically, just as it was easily identified as a social phenomenon.[45] Other aspects of the social geography of Liverpool were less clear cut and it is generally only the most fashionable districts that were selected for comment in contemporary descriptions, as in William Moss's description of Clayton Square (illustrated in Fig. 2) as affording 'a specimen of the improving taste of the town', or in the same anonymous author's almost obsessional and absurdly exaggerated boosting of the town's natural salubrity: 'the most healthful situations in the town are the higher parts, beginning near the top of Duke Street and continuing the northern direction towards Mount Pleasant and Everton'.[46] A few moments with Richard Horwood's plan, in which large houses and gardens are readily distinguished, soon establish the configuration of this general observation. Its statistical manifestations in the 1801 census are less obvious. The desire for exclusive occupancy of a house when it could be afforded should produce an obvious relationship between the number of families per dwelling and the general desirability of a residential district.[47] Broadly speaking Fig. 5 distinguishes

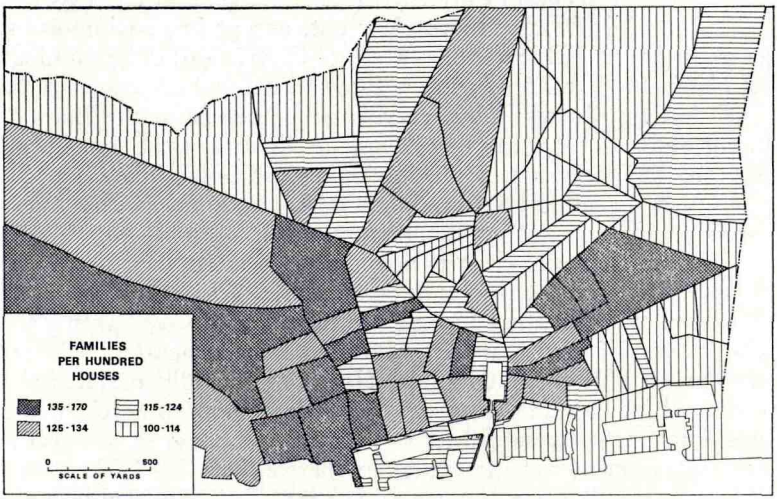

FIGURE 5 RATES OF OCCUPANCY IN LIVERPOOL IN 1801.
(Institutions and almshouses omitted)

the less crowded EDs to the south and east, largely occupied by the Corporation Estate whose surveyors kept a watchful eye on the quality of development, from the northern and waterfront districts. But there are several anomalies: the area between Duke Street and St James Street (EDs T3–5), where cellar-dwelling is not recorded in the census stands out with a high number of shared dwellings whereas the districts west of St James Street, with many cellars and what were to become notorious rookeries of court houses, had low levels of sharing.[48] The former area also ranks high among districts with large houseful levels: 45 per cent lived in either front houses with more than 9 persons or back houses with more than 7.[49] Similarly there were many shared dwellings between Islington and Brownlow Hill, and cellars too, which interrupt the sweep of desirable living conditions along the higher salubrious eastern fringe of the town.

As with occupied cellars in streets of middling quality houses, so the frequent relegation of cheaper houses to back streets behind expensive street frontages means that much of the social topography of the town goes undetected in an analysis on a district basis. The intimate scale of social distinctions, in a town that was only just beginning to sort into distinctive and homogeneous social areas at either end of the spectrum, requires the finer perspective of the street level.[50] The task of tabulating dwellings by the number of their occupants and the families they contain, as well as reclassifying houses with maps and other topographical aids is not yet complete, but even when it is the general patterns will not necessarily be any more clear cut, except in one important respect. At the ED level the pattern of houses with large numbers of occupants is a hopelessly confused mosaic which can only be recorded by distinguishing very large houses from the mass of small ones, and lodging houses and residential sweat shops from normal family residences: the intriguing house of William Turton, gunsmith, on the south side of the Old Dock cannot, with 5 males and 60 females in 26 families, be regarded as normal.

The census manuscript is not, as has been shown, a reliable means of assessing the occupation structure of Liverpool in 1801: it is obviously of rather limited use therefore in investigating the distribution of occupational groups which are generally far better documented in the directories. However, its tally of labourers —for all its haphazard appearance—does show some clear and not unexpected concentrations (Fig. 6): having in mind the concentration of marine trades in the southern dockside streets it is even possible that the overall pattern of all recorded occupations is not too far short of the truth.

Another indicator of social topography, often closely related

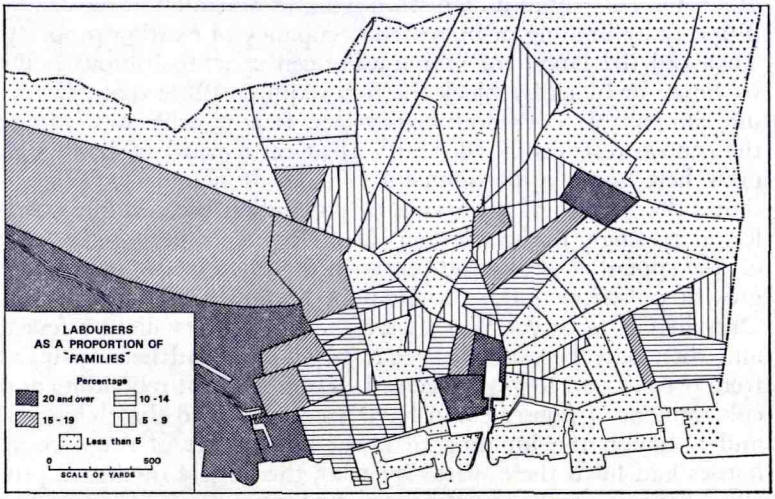

FIGURE 6 LABOURERS RECORDED IN THE CENSUS MANUSCRIPT AS A PROPORTION OF ALL FAMILIES.

in nineteenth-century towns to social status, is the sex ratio: it was generally low in higher status areas with many female servants and few male lodgers.[51] In Liverpool in 1801 there was a fairly clear distinction between districts in the east of the parish with ratios from 45 to 77, and those in the west which, with very few exceptions, ranged from 78 to 97 (Appendix 3).[52] This no more than approximate correspondence with the social gradient may be partly due to the absence of mariners, though the number of mariners recorded as 'at sea' or 'abroad' is only 120 so that we have no way of knowing where most absent seamen lived. If it was in the same districts as the few recorded as absent (evenly throughout St Nicholas's, St Peter's and St John's Districts) or in those districts where most of the other mariners are recorded (the dockside EDs of St Nicholas's and St Thomas's Districts) then there is no evidence of it in a particularly low sex ratio, though a small area round the Old Dock stands out as having low ratios.[53] In Bridge Street (T9) for example there were only 23 males but 104 females and several houses with no males enumerated. Unfortunately Simmons had no reason to enumerate the sexes separately in his census of 1789–90 so that the most appropriate comparative data are lacking.

The measurement of population density is very difficult to apply to any useful effect in urban areas but careful comparisons over time may give useful clues to or the general context of changes in land use through the spread of retail, commercial or

other non-residential uses, or through intensification of residential property by infilling or increased occupancy of existing property. To avoid the labour of reorganising census enumerations house by house or block by block the first requirement is that censuses use comparable enumeration districts. It is possible to compare the central districts in 1801 and 1841 on a ward basis, though even here some apportionment of EDs is necessary. Table 5 shows the impact of 4 decades of population pressure on wards left increasingly to the working class. Despite, or perhaps because of, the spread of shops and offices in the town centre population growth outstripped the provision of houses in all these wards. Only in Castle Street Ward were the inhabitants slightly fewer, and then only because the cellar population had been reduced from 9·1 per cent to 5·9 per cent. It is unlikely that rebuilding and enlargement of houses could have accommodated these changes, and although the building of street after street of small court houses had filled these wards by 1825 the largely unaltered pre-1801 housing stock probably absorbed most of the pressure for overcrowding.

Yet in the 1790s the population of Liverpool Parish increased faster than in any intercensal decade of the nineteenth century except 1821–31.[54] As we have already seen the town as a whole at least managed to build fast enough to cope with the rapid flow of immigrants. The geography of population change is less easily charted here: Simmons's census is presented street by street and it is therefore on that basis that the comparison must be made.[55] Heavily populated major through streets which cannot be split, such as Dale Street or Tithebarn Street, make matters difficult and much work remains to be done, but some broad shifts in the distribution of the population are discernible. Cellar dwelling, for example, was much more concentrated in the north in 1801 than in 1790: the districts north of Dale Street and London Road (on the south side of J8) increased their share from 21·6 per cent to 39·5 per cent. This was largely at the expense of districts on the Corporation Estate which occupied most of the remainder of the town except the area between the Old Dock and Dale Street. Is this the Corporation Surveyor improving the quality of his masters' property?[56] In some EDs in St Nicholas's District the number of persons per cellar increased both where their share of the population increased and where it remained steady. Yet in some districts in the same part of town there was a marked decrease in the number of persons per house, notably the no longer fashionable streets around St Paul's Church, streets whose tone had never recovered after the development of the canal basin in the 1770s. The trends in some of the major

TABLE 5 *Population change in Liverpool's central wards 1801–1841*

Ward	*Houses*	*1801 Population*	*P/H*	*Houses*	*1841 Population*	*P/H*	*EDs in 1801 census*
Vauxhall	520	2962 (*3092*)	5.70 (*5.95*)	3436	22357 (*25610*)	6.51 (*7.45*)	N1* N2* N3*
St Paul's	1875	11911 (*12931*)	6.35 (*6.90*)	2424	16021 (*18002*)	6.61 (*7.43*)	N1* N2* N3* N4–6 N10 N11*
Exchange	1281	7352 (*8189*)	5.74 (*6.39*)	2263	15278 (*17769*)	6.75 (*7.85*)	N7–9 N11* N12–13
Castle St	1508	8862 (*9749*)	5.88 (*6.46*)	1246	9121 (*9691*)	7.32 (*7.78*)	G1 G6–14
St Peter's	1133	6826 (*7692*)	6.02 (*6.79*)	1259	9034 (*9533*)	7.18 (*7.57*)	P7–15
Pitt St	1495	9280 (*10980*)	6.21 (*7.34*)	1830	13160 (*15263*)	7.19 (*8.34*)	T3* T4–15
Great George	1142	6034 (*7150*)	5.28 (*6.26*)	2705	18308 (*19645*)	6.77 (*7.26*)	T2* T3* T16–19

Figures in italics include persons living in cellars.

Houses = inhabited houses but does not include cellar dwellings.

* Indicates part of an ED only. In wards where the 1801 EDs have been apportioned the data are subject to a small margin of error: only in Vauxhall Ward is it possible that this margin may reach 5% of the population. The ratio of population to houses is unlikely to be much affected.

The data for 1841 are from the following: population from W. H. Duncan, *Report to the Health Committee of the Borough of Liverpool* (Liverpool, 1851) p. 86; cellar dwellers (1840) from *Sessional Papers* (H. of C.) 1844 [572] XVII, 528 (being Appendix p. 24 of First Report of the Commissioners for Enquiring into the State of Large Towns and Populous Districts). The population figures in the latter were also produced by Duncan but include the gaol and night asylum.

commercial streets is no clearer at this stage: Dale Street lost 4 per cent, Lord Street gained 4 per cent, Tithebarn Street experienced no change, and Castle Street following its recent rebuilding on the west side increased its population by 15 per cent. In Dale, Lord and Castle Streets the rate of occupancy rose in both houses and cellars. The continuous process of change to the fabric and functions of buildings means that many of the minor statistical changes at street scale do not amount to much, even where they are easily explained by local circumstances. It remains to be seen what a comprehensive street by street picture will reveal. In many parts of the town one senses an increasing concentration of the worst levels of crowding,[57] but it is not easy to select the most appropriate scale at which to draw such generalisations.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

These observations on the statistical evidence for the town as a whole and the light shed on that evidence and the social geography of Liverpool by statistics summarised by ED, are no more than preliminary indications of the use to which this remarkable document can be put. There are many other ways of reassembling the data and more precise, though not necessarily more conclusive, ways of establishing the associations between the many summary social indexes that can be calculated from them. The chief purpose of this paper has been to describe the document and its context as fully as possible, and to provide a guide to its interpretation. Some aspects of it remain puzzling, even after many months of constant familiarity with its pages, and whilst both the internal evidence and the statistical analysis suggest a striking level of care and accuracy (certainly nothing that would not appear to compare favourably with later censuses for which enumerators' books are available) the critical test of a census, the numbers overlooked, cannot be made.[58]

As will be clear from the brief analysis presented here the fullest use of the census is to give a period picture of some aspects of social conditions. For the demographer it lacks one essential ingredient, the ages of the population. Even without the full data on the populations at risk necessary to measure vital rates, some cruder enumeration of the ages or seniority of the population would have clarified much that remains unknown about the structure of households, and could have provided more precise definition of the term 'family' used in this census.

For the local or family historian, with the possibility of linking the information to the 9,000 or so entries in Gore's directories of this period, the value of the manuscript is again strictly limited

to the number of persons resident in the house in question and their sex.

It is fair to say that despite its remarkable detail this document has sprung few surprises. Had it done so we should probably have been disinclined to believe them, suspecting, rather, the quality of the source. If the statistical analysis presented here does nothing else it suggests a commendable degree of coherence and consistency in what seems a remarkably successful first census. Perhaps that is because it wasn't the first: the indefatigable Makin Simmons appears to have learned a great deal from his trial run in 1789–90 and knew the town and its properties intimately. Liverpool historians owe him a great deal, and his work is not without interest to urban historians in general.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to the Proprietors of the Athenaeum, Liverpool for authority to film this document and publish these results; to Mrs Sandra Mather of the Department of Geography, Liverpool University for preparing Figures 2, 4, 5 and 6; to Liverpool University for a grant towards the cost of the plate; to Douglas Birch for doing the photographic work; and to my colleague Richard Lawton for commenting on the typescript.

NOTES

1 Making due allowance for enumeration error, and on the basis of evidence which is discussed in this paper, between 13 February 1790 and 10 March 1801 the population of the Parish of Liverpool (coextensive with the Borough until 1835) increased by 20–22,000 of which no more than 20–30 per cent can be attributed to an excess of births over deaths. The Bills of Mortality, published annually for Liverpool, record approximately 28,280 baptisms and 24,040 burials of all religious denominations, and including St James's Toxteth Park which served much of the south end of the parish, between those two dates. The most authoritative and recent statement on the quality of registration data at this date suggests that *nationally* baptisms and burials require inflation factors of 1.26 and 1.19 respectively over and above allowances for non-conformity. On this basis the nominal natural increase between these two dates is raised from 4,240 to 6,888 leaving between 66 and 72 per cent of the population increase to be accounted for by net immigration. E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541–1871* (London, 1981), tables 4.3 and 5.27. On the basis of the same correction factor for burials (we have as yet no means of calculating a more appropriate *local* measure of under-registration) the crude annual death rate per thousand for Liverpool

was 48 in 1800 and 56 in 1801. The latter figure was twice the national level calculated by Wrigley and Schofield, table A3.3. If the correction factor is raised from × 1.19 to × 1.30 the respective rates would be 52 and 61 but there is no evidence for this gloomy view of the effectiveness of registration. For the purposes of these calculations it is necessary to include the parts of Toxteth Park and other areas immediately adjacent to Liverpool since there was a great deal of reciprocal movement for baptism and burial (see note 15).

2 *The Picture of Liverpool; or, Strangers Guide* (Liverpool, 1805), p. 12.

3 Our meagre knowledge of the early censuses will be found summarised in the following: *Guides to Official Sources: No. 2. Census Reports of Great Britain 1801–1931* (H.M.S.O., 1931), pp. 11–16, 27–28 [the same material appears in *Guide to Census Reports Great Britain 1801–1966* (H.M.S.O., 1976), pp. 11–18]; M. Drake, 'The Census 1801–1891' in E. A. Wrigley (ed.), *Nineteenth-century Society* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 7–46; D. V. Glass, *Numbering the People* (Farnborough, 1973), pp. 90–103; R. Lawton (ed.), *The Census and Social Structure* (London, 1978), pp. 11–14.

4 The official returns were destroyed in 1931 (Drake, *op.cit.* p. 31). A survey by the author of record offices and major libraries revealed that whilst in most counties there are some 10–20 parishes with surviving documents relating to the early censuses most of these record numerical totals only, often on printed formulae supplied by the Census Office. From these and miscellaneous associated documents it is clear that the taking of the early censuses was more varied as well as sophisticated than has been supposed, though a full evaluation is still awaited. The fullest documents listing individual households survive occasionally for rural parishes but in their fullest form for several industrial districts, towns and London parishes, often in specially printed books following a centrally issued, but no longer extant, model. By 1831 there is even evidence of the first issue of individual household schedules. The fullest statement of instructions to enumerators, even including an injunction to use blotting paper (Rickman was nothing if not meticulous), is found in the Preface to *Abstract of the Population Returns of Great Britain, 1831*, Sessional Papers 1833 (149) XXXVI.

5 *Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser*, Monday 4 May 1801, p. 3, col. 5. The report is perfunctory giving totals only.

6 It does not feature in *Catalogue of the Library of the Athenaeum, in Liverpool* (Liverpool, 1802) but is added in manuscript in an interleaved copy of the same catalogue (opposite p. 137), additions to which ceased in 1810. It is not listed in the Receiving Book which lists library acquisitions from 1809. The Athenaeum was the natural repository for the manuscript. Copies of the published abstracts of the 1801 census with the specially printed pages normally prepared by Hansard, the Government printer, for the copyright libraries, were presented to the library in November 1802 by Charles Abbot, Speaker of the House of Commons and the M.P. who introduced the Population Bill in 1800. The published volumes carry the inscription of either him or his clerk.

7 All leaves *and* the end papers bear the same watermark (Appendix 1) and the tooling on the binding appears to be near contemporary. There is no mention of payment of any kind in the minutes of the Vestry despite the full accounts they contain and the fact that the Vestry was responsible for Overseers' expenses.

8 See note 5. Neither the manuscript totals nor those totals after correction for arithmetical errors agree with the published totals:

	Manuscript	*Corrected MS*	*Published*
Inhabited houses[a]	11,467	11,431	11,446
Vacant houses	329	331	338
Families	16,978	16,919	16,989
Population[b]	77,545	77,540	77,653

a Difference accounted for in front houses.

b Excluding 1792 prisoners but including all in other institutions.

None of these differences can be accounted for by the omission of institutions, and of all the figures for individual Police Districts only one (persons in agriculture in St Thomas's) agrees with the corrected manuscript totals, though the margins of error are very small. The manuscript gives no totals for Police Districts.

9 Under the act (41 Geo. III cap. xv An Act for taking an Account of the Population of Great Britain, and of the Increase or Diminution thereof 31 Dec. 1800) the Quarter Sessions received the returns, administered the oaths taken by the Overseers and ordered the payment of expenses and fees to officials. The entries in the Order Books for the Lancashire Quarter Sessions are rather haphazard and merely record orders for the payment of monies. The payments to Overseers given township by township for Salford Hundred in July 1801 have little direct relationship with the populations returned.

10 *Abstract of Answers and Returns Made pursuant to an Act ... for taking an Account of the Population of Great Britain ... Enumeration*, Sessional Papers 1801 (140) VI. The term 'Police District' is not used in these returns or any of the contemporary sources cited in this paper but it was for the purpose of watching and policing the town that they were increased to four in 1787 and five in 1792; J. A. Picton (ed.), *City of Liverpool Municipal Archives and Records 1700–1835* (Liverpool, 1886), vol. 2, p. 201; J. Touzeau, *The Rise and Progress of Liverpool from 1551 to 1835* (Liverpool, 1910), vol. 2, p. 621.

11 *Gore's Liverpool Directory* (Liverpool, 1805), p. 87.

12 John Rickman, 'Observations on the Results of the Population Act, 41 Geo. III', p. 12, published in *Abstract of the Answers and Returns ... Parish Registers*, Sessional Papers 1801–2 (9) VI.

13 *Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser*, 4 May 1801, p. 3, col. 5, states that the returns are 'independent of upwards of 6,000 Seamen'. The size of the absent marine population can be approached through an examination of the sex ratio (males per 100 females). Rural counties in the range 94–97 exceeded the national figure of 90.7 (reduced from the 99.2 it would have been with all military personnel at home); major manufacturing towns (Birmingham, Leeds, Manchester and Salford, Nottingham) 87–91; ports (Hull, Newcastle, Portsmouth) 77–80; county or gentry towns perhaps 73–75. These figures are no more than a rough guide based on these few towns to illustrate the argument. An additional 3,500 males would raise Liverpool from 79.5 (including institutions) to 87.6, close to Manchester and Leeds. An additional 6,000 males would bring it to 93.4, very high for a town even making allowance for abnormal wartime conditions. Rickman's estimate was, it seems, probably fairly reliable.

14 In the years 1800–1 172 French prisoners (and 1 Spanish) were buried in St John's burial ground: Liverpool Record Office 283 JOH 1/4. The

large new gaol, rented by the Government for prisoners of war, contained 4,000 prisoners in 1798 according to Picton, *op.cit.*, p. 234. According to R. Brooke, *Liverpool as it was during the last quarter of the Eighteenth Century* (Liverpool, 1853), p. 489, 'the hearse was constantly in requisition to convey from the gaol the corpse of some poor Frenchman to the public cemetery at St John's Church.... Soon after the peace of Amiens, in 1802, the prisoners of war, in number about 1100...were liberated'.

15 *Gore's Liverpool Directory* (Liverpool, 1790), pp. 237–56. The census is described as being taken 'by M. SIMMONS, from October 13th 1789, to January 13th 1790'. It states that 'no transient People or Foreigners, not Inhabitants, were enumerated'. Simmons rightly noted that the inhabitants of Harrington (the area in Toxteth Park about St James's Church), Everton, and other districts bordering the parish were included in the Bills of Mortality but rashly assumed that they were balanced by those who still went to Walton for baptism or burial. His calculations of the rate of growth are rather naive.

16 Simmons features regularly in the Vestry Minutes from 1777 till his death: H. Peet (ed.), *Liverpool Vestry Books 1681–1834* (Liverpool, 1912 and 1915), several references vol. 1 p. 252 to vol. 2 p. 64. He was first appointed Assistant Overseer in 1794. His formidable duties were recognised in 1800 with a rise in salary to £200 a year. His relationship with the Vestry for which he returned monthly accounts was strained at times but they had cause from time to time to commend his efficiency in carrying out an almost impossible task in administering the Poor Law in Liverpool during these years. Although Liverpool had its revenue officials (see Appendix 5) Simmons's signature appears on the 1803 Land Tax assessments for the town (Lancs. R.O. QDL/1803) as an assessor and this may be another reason for needing the information in the census. In the end the burden of his duties combined with illness to defeat him. He is recorded in the 1801 census at his home at 17 Prussia St. His newly appointed assistant, Edward Lewis, is enumerated over the shop at the Overseers' Office, 14 Temple St, and a third entry in the manuscript bears the ascription 'in the Overseers Office' (folio 158*), perhaps a clerk or other assistant.

17 Two cases present problems whose interpretation effects the data. On folio 12 there are three vacant houses, apparently with occupants, and 27 front houses, but 28 sets of figures on the right hand page: seven persons in one house seem to have been double counted and have been omitted from all tabulations. On folio 44 whilst the column totals are correct, the displacement causes some large households to appear against cellars rather than the front houses to which they were supposed to apply.

18 The entries run on without a break between EDs; sub-totals are given only for the first district (N1). Moreover, the clerk in copying the total population for each ED onto the map (see Appendix 1) used erroneous figures in most cases because he derived them simply by summing the sub-totals on a run of pages. The correct breaks between EDs occur in most cases in the middle of pages and were later indicated by red lines inserted between the names after the document had been written. Several of the page headings (Plate 1) are consequently in error. All this leaves the precise purpose of the EDs in some obscurity.

19 Without access to an independent record it seems unlikely that properties could be arranged in such a precise order except by means

of ordered census schedules. There *are* names out of sequence (see Appendix 4) but they are relatively few.

20 In an advertisement dated 4 April 1801 at his address at 14 Bridgewater St Horwood states that his survey 'will be begun next month': *Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser* 13 April 1801, p. 1, col. 3, and 27 April 1801 p. 1, col. 4. [William Moss], *The Liverpool Guide* (4th edn Liverpool, 1801), p. 4, with a dedication dated 19 August 1801, states that 'a plan of the town is now executing, in the same handsome style with that of London and Westminster, and by the same artist'. The plan had the encouragement of the Corporation who subscribed 10 copies and offered the assistance of its own surveyors: Picton, *op. cit.* p. 275. The plan was published on 1 July 1803 in six sheets. Despite several attempts by the Vestry, and later the Council, to regularise it, the numbering of houses was, in the words of a resolution by the Council on 5 April 1807, 'very irregular and incorrect'. Picton, *op. cit.* p. 367; Peet, *op. cit.* vol. 2, p. 233; Touzeau, *op. cit.* p. 745.

21 There are 12 cases where two cellars are recorded on a single line (see Table 2, note 3) and in several cases vacant houses are enumerated on the same line as an occupied dwelling.

22 The term cottage was widely used in the North of England in the nineteenth century to denote a back-to-back two-room house. In view of a popular misconception about the term it may be worth pointing out that the back-to-back dwelling has its single entrance and windows on one elevation only. The blind back has effectively the same; the back wall of the house, though not abutting onto another property, was nevertheless without door or windows. S. D. Chapman (ed.), *The History of Working-class Housing* (Newton Abbot, 1971) contains discussions of these terms: see particularly chapter 3 by M. W. Beresford, 'The back-to-back house in Leeds, 1787–1937', pp. 93–132.

23 I. C. Taylor, 'The Court and Cellar Dwelling: the Eighteenth Century Origin of the Liverpool Slum', *THSLC*, 122 (1970), p. 76. Taylor analyses the Simmons census and relates it to earlier evidence for the development of the back house and also to the huge growth of nineteenth-century court housing in a form already adopted by the 1780s.

24 Some of the opposition to the abortive Improvement Bill of 1802 which would have given powers (and very forward-looking powers at that) to the Corporation to regulate or ban cellar dwelling where necessary strikes a note of special pleading by property owners and their allies against municipal regulation in many forms: [Henry Wilkens,] *The Liverpool Improvement Bill, and the Liverpool Dock Bill; . . . with Observations* (Liverpool, 1803), second part headed 'Remarks, &c', pp. 12–13. The Corporation had attempted to stamp out cellar dwelling on its own estate by means of special clauses in its leases: Touzeau, *op. cit.* p. 586. Other commentators, however, pointed out that the disadvantages of multiple occupancy did not generally apply to self-contained cellars (though the argument that infectious diseases would not spread so easily was spurious): [William Moss,] *The Liverpool Guide* (Liverpool, 1796), p. 116; E. Gauldie, *Cruel Habitations: A History of Working-Class Housing 1780–1918* (London, 1974), p. 95.

25 For example the inappropriately named courts off Crosbie Street (Lime, Beech, Ash, Pine, Fir and Oak Courts) comprised 43 back houses in 1790 (16 being built or unoccupied) yet 53 front houses, 9 back houses and 1 cellar in 1801. See Taylor, *op. cit.* pp. 79–86.

26 In many houses the ratio of families to inhabitants suggests that single lodgers or lodging couples were treated as separate families. In the Seamen's Hospital 94 inhabitants constituted 42 families.

27 Even J. H. Treble in his admirable survey falls into this trap: J. H. Treble, 'Liverpool Working-class Housing, 1801–1851' in Chapman, *op. cit.* pp. 165–220 (on this point p. 172).

28 Taylor, *op. cit.* p. 76, cites Fewler's Court as portrayed in one of W. G. Herdman's published watercolour copies of Liverpool pictures, as an example of this sort of property. In the 1820s front houses even on the narrow back streets of dockside areas and the district between Lord Street and the Old Dock were almost universally of three storeys. See, for example, the set of wash drawings by Brierley preserved in the Athenaeum. See *addenda*, p. 103.

29 The Manchester Police Districts referred to here are in fact the 28 subdivisions as published in the *Abstract of Answers and Returns for the 1801 census*, p. 173. There were 14 Police Districts in Manchester.

30 For references to official reports and other literature of the 1840s see Treble *op. cit.* Treble's discussion of housing at the start of the nineteenth century (pp. 167–73) draws on contemporary comments by authors cited elsewhere in this paper.

31 The sex ratio (males per 100 females) for back and front houses was 80.2, and for cellars 75.6. It was less than 65.0 for cellars in 10 EDs: 4 grouped close to the Town Hall and St Nicholas's Church (N12–13, G12–13); 4 close to the Bluecoat School and Williamson Square (G3–5, P10); and 2 others (J12, T14). It is interesting to note the very few persons living alone in the nineteenth century (2.2 per cent of cellar dwellers but 0.5 per cent of the whole population, 92 per cent of the 403 solitaries being females). Figures directly comparable to those presented in Table 2 are not available in any later published census reports but those for the 1911 census suggest that this low figure persisted through the nineteenth century. A comparable figure today might be 2–3 per cent. See *addenda*, p. 103.

32 Measures to ban cellar dwelling and block up most occupied cellars were eventually taken in 1842 and 1846: T. Fresh, *Report to the Health Committee of the Town Council of the Borough of Liverpool* (Liverpool, 1851), p. 22. Criticism of the way this aggravated the housing problem further (an argument frequently deployed against Victorian clearance schemes of all kinds) had been levelled in the debate over the abortive Improvement Bill of 1802: [Wilkens], *loc. cit.* Earlier attempts at control *circa* 1790 are mentioned by [Moss] *op. cit.* p. 116 and Touzeau (see note 24).

33 Treble *op. cit.* The excess of families over inhabited dwellings if expressed as a ratio of vacant dwellings shows Liverpool to have been considerably worse off than Leeds (p. 173). However unpleasant, cellars could be added to the housing stock for the purposes of this sort of calculation; but Treble's comparison remains valid. The rise in house rents was attributed to rapid immigration, particularly of Irish following the 1798 rising: [J. Corry?], *The History of Liverpool* (Liverpool, 1810), p. 198. See also [Wilkens], *loc. cit.*

34 *Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser* 4 May 1801, p. 3, col. 5, describes the vacant properties as 'chiefly new houses'. In the manuscript census 160 houses are specifically labelled as being new (Appendix 3) and in most cases their owner is named. In one case (fol. 273) new houses are described as 'roofed' or 'unroofed'. Some vacant houses are

called 'old houses' (fols. 225, 227 and 237). 11 vacant houses in EDs T14–19 are labelled 'Empty house'.

35 Figures for the Parish of Liverpool are as follows: 1811 2.6 per cent; 1821 5.7 per cent; 1831 3.5 per cent; 1841 2.9 per cent; 1851 8.5 per cent. For the Borough in 1871 the figure was 9.8 per cent. In Manchester and Salford in 1801 2.2 per cent of houses were vacant, an even lower figure than for Liverpool if the number of new houses was in the same proportion.

36 As a direct result of the acknowledged ambiguity the enumerators in 1811 were asked how many *families* were in each occupational category.

37 The distinct role of town cowkeeping in Liverpool in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries was already remarked upon at the end of the eighteenth, particularly its contrast with Manchester: John Holt, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lancaster* (London, 1795), p. 149.

38 Figures ranging from 3,000 to 6,000 have already been quoted: see notes 12 and 13.

39 Many seamen presumably had no permanent home on land and whilst in port remained on board or in lodgings. Many Liverpool mariners had been pressed into the Royal Navy from 1795, 1,700 in that year alone: T. Baines, *History of the Commerce and Town of Liverpool* (London and Liverpool, 1852), p. 498.
The 120 mariners at sea (Appendix 5) must be regarded as no more than a very small random sample.

40 12,967 baptism, burial and marriage registrations in the registers of the Anglican churches Liverpool and St James' Toxteth Park for the years 1800–1 have been analysed by Dr John Langton of St John's College, Oxford and the author (see Appendix 6). These represent 86 per cent of all registrations in those years. Of the 10,780 in which an occupation, status or other ascription is provided ('widow' and 'spinster' excepted) 1,429 gave 'labourer' and 1,924 'mariner', 13.3 per cent and 17.8 per cent respectively. Effectively these are proportions of males over about 20 years of age. Establishing the bias in these sources and the possible extent of double counting in consecutive years is a complex matter which cannot be elaborated here. Various tests have convinced us that they provide a fairly accurate measure of the occupations of adult males. Labourers may be understated to the extent that Irish Catholics may have comprised a high proportion of them, and because the major cause of underregistration, infant mortality, may have been higher among the poorest of the population.

41 The comparison between what are presumably heads of household and/or lodgers is not a strict one, but unless there was a tendency to omit labourers in front houses (where many of them seem to have been lodgers since they often number 4 or more to a house) then the conclusions drawn are valid. Note that the number of labourers in each dwelling is not specified from folio 382 because of a change of clerk. This applies to all the labourers in St Thomas's District and may account for their relatively low numbers there.

42 R. Lawton and C. G. Pooley, *The Social Geography of Merseyside in the Nineteenth Century* (Research Report to the Social Science Research Council, 1976): table 18 shows that in 1871 27.4 per cent of those in general labour in the Borough lived in court houses and 1.3 per cent in cellars. The respective figures for the population as a whole were 13.6 per cent and 0.8 per cent.

43 These concerns with the spatial arrangement in towns and cities of

groups defined by social status, economic function or class have been explored by historians, sociologists and particularly geographers. The literature is, to say the least, inconclusive and the models used too unspecific to form a useful basis for discussing the social geography of the British town in the early stages of the industrial revolution. The main ideas are discussed in, J. Langton, 'Residential patterns in pre-industrial cities: some case studies from seventeenth-century Britain', *Trans. Inst. British Geographers* 65 (1975), pp. 1–27; A. M. Warnes, 'Residential patterns in an emerging industrial town' in B. D. Clark and M. B. Gleave (eds.), *Social Patterns in Cities* (London, 1973), pp. 169–89.

44 Lawton and Pooley, *op. cit*; but for a contemporary picture without maps see W. H. Duncan, *Report to the Health Committee of the Borough of Liverpool* (Liverpool, 1851).

45 [Moss], *op. cit.* p. 116, explained to visitors that cellars disfigured *some* parts of the town: 'Inhabiting Cellars is extensively practised in some parts of the town. It has an unpleasant appearance; yet that is the worst of its qualities...'. See note 24, and Treble, *op. cit.* p. 168, on the extension of cellars to the 'houses of the mediocrity'.

46 *Ibid.* pp. 61 and 110. As a surgeon Moss was well aware of the poor health conditions in the town (and indeed had published on the matter) but one of the purposes of a guide book was to attract wealthy visitors to a town, especially one with some pretensions as a sea-bathing resort. Moss's guide nonetheless gives the fullest published description of the healthy and unhealthy parts of the town.

47 *Ibid.* p. 116. '...many families reside, who are unable to rent a whole house; and some entire streets are inhabited by tenants of that description'. See also [James Wallace], *A General and Descriptive History of the Antient and Present State, of the Town of Liverpool* (Liverpool, 1795), p. 70.

48 On the Corporation Estate see note 54. Simmons recorded 57 cellars with 221 occupants in these EDs plus an indeterminate portion of those in Pitt St and Frederick St whose combined tally of cellars dropped from 157 (663 occupants) to 69 (297). The Great George Square development was progressively built up as a fashionable residential quarter, chiefly between 1805 and 1810.

49 The term 'houseful' refers to the number of occupants in a *house* as distinct from household: P. Laslett and R. Wall (eds.) *Household and Family in Past Time* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 36–7, 159–66. The proportion of the population so defined ranged across the EDs from 4.8 per cent (J5) to 51.1 per cent (T1) but with high values for both poor crowded EDs and wealthy EDs with very large residences. Attempts to weight the index with the number of families per house still fail to distinguish true measures of crowding. The best method to do this might be to use valuations.

50 During the 1790s the professional and merchant classes moved in large numbers from the centre of town, from Duke St to Williamson Square, to the sweep of new suburbs from Rodney St to Everton, frequently leaving the proximity of their counting houses.

51 Duncan, *op. cit.* pp. 92–3, described the phenomenon well: 'The proportion of females is least in the worst-conditioned Wards where the mortality is highest and gradually increases with the decrease of mortality and the improved sanitary conditions of the district... but it is explained in great measure by the large proportion of female servants in Rodney-street, Abercromby, and the Extra-parochial

Wards, &c., as compared with those in the districts chiefly inhabited by the humbler classes, the female members of whose families are drafted off as domestics into other districts'. The distinction in 1851, when the Borough had a sex ratio of 94 (*cf.* note 13), may be illustrated as follows:

Wards	*EDs<90*	*EDs>90*	*Mean*
Vauxhall, St Paul's and Exchange	1	53	102
Rodney and Abercromby	31	6	77

52 ED T11 with a sex ratio of 147 had only 111 inhabitants in dockside premises.

53 Twelve EDs (N3, N5–6, N10–12, J4, T12, T16–19) housed 309 (67.0 per cent) of the 461 mariners not recorded as absent.

54 The following figures are not true growth rates but the intercensal change (per cent) divided by 10 (by 11 for 1790–1801): 1790–1801 3.56; 1801–11 2.15; 1811–21 2.61; 1821–31 3.88; 1831–41 3.50; 1841–51 1.58.

55 The data from both enumerations have been placed in separate computer files, the 1801 sections of streets amalgamated, the two files merged to contain 1,109 streets/courts or parts thereof, the file sorted alphabetically, street name spelling standardised, and the file resorted to give direct comparisons between streets.

56 John Foster, Superintendent of Public Buildings for the Corporation from February 1789, pursued a vigorous policy of improving the streets and buildings on the estate. This is discussed in Jane Longmore, 'The development of the Liverpool Corporation Estate 1760–1835' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis to be presented to the University of Reading, 1982). Mrs Longmore has made a case for the improvement of living conditions in the town as a result of this policy: 'Docks and drains: the role of the Liverpool Corporation Surveyors in the development of the port and town of Liverpool 1789–1935' (unpublished paper presented to the Conference of the Economic History Society, Loughborough, April 1981).

57 Though the 7 half-occupied courts in Crosbie Street, described by Taylor, *op. cit.*, were only marginally more crowded by 1801. They had 5.9 persons per occupied house in 1790, 6.0 in 1801 and 8.9 in 1851.

58 The evidence for the accuracy of the 1801 census at a national level is discussed by Wrigley and Schofield, *op. cit.* pp. 122–126.

Addenda

P. 100, N. 28. From Herdman's comments on the cottages in Fewler's Court (*Pictorial Relics of Ancient Liverpool*, 1856, p. 31) their age was sufficient to make them unusual even in 1797 when the original water-colour was painted, possibly by John Foster.

P. 100, N. 31. In a personal communication Professor Michael Anderson estimates that about 0.3 percent of the population of Britain were the sole occupants of their dwellings (based on the Social Science Research Council National Sample of the 1851 census).

APPENDIX I CONTENTS AND COLLATION OF THE LIVERPOOL 1801 CENSUS MANUSCRIPT

A folio, leather-bound, volume about five inches thick, with 'POPULATION OF LIVERPOOL' and 'ATHENEUM' on the spine. The leaves throughout, including the endpapers, are watermarked 'HAYES AND WISE 1799' suggesting that the binding was contemporary. Each *page* is about 9″ by 14″.

The contents are arranged as follows:

1. A printed map coloured to indicate enumeration districts and their total population viz:

   $$\frac{\text{N. 1}}{3405}$$

   The map measures approximately 18″ by 22″. Title: 'A Plan of the TOWN of LIVERPOOL, with all the LATE IMPROVEMENTS; From an ACTUAL SURVEY made in the Year 1796.' Imprint: 'Published Augt. 12th. 1796 by John Gore, Liverpool.' 'Engraved by Thos. Conder.' Scale: 500 yards = 3.8″ (i.e. 13.4″ to 1 mile) Watermark: 17 LEPARD 94.
   population viz:
2. The title page in manuscript reads: 'An Account of the Population of Liverpool Taken in pursuance of An Act of Parliament March 1801.'
3. There then follow 464 double pages (i.e. *opposite* pages have the same number) with fifteen columns headed as follows:
   Streets/Names/Cells/BH/FH/Fams/Vacant/ /Males/Females/Total/Agr/Trade/&c/Total/An unheaded column with miscellaneous information usually, but not universally, recording occupation of the head of household.

   Cells = cellars. BH = Back houses. FH = Front houses

4. Seventeen double pages, 465–81 in which the totals for each of the pages 1–464 are listed. Folio (i.e. here double page) 481 gives the totals for pages 465–80.
5. Folios 482–4 are blank.
6. Folios 485–501 contain an index to streets, courts, etc.
7. Eight blank and unnumbered folios plus three blank endpapers.

Folios 381–481 are in a different hand from the main part of the manuscript. There are many corrections in a third hand, chiefly reclassifying houses and writing in street names at the top of pages where they follow on from a previous page. The street index, and probably title page and page headings, are the work of the same hand as these corrections.

APPENDIX 2 PERSONS ENUMERATED IN INSTITUTIONS

Institution	*ED*	*Page*	*Families*	*M*	*F*	*Total*	*Description of inmates*
[1]New Gaol	N3	38	—	[1786]	—	[1786][3]	'Prisoners of War'
The Fort	N3	48	—	4	13	17[3]	
Hospital (Plumbe St)	N6	64	—	—	—	—[3]	'Cheshire Militia'
[1]Bridewell (Chapel St)	N11	132	—	[6]	—	[6][3]	'Prisoners for Ireland'
Gaol (Water St)	N12	139	—	101	7	108[3]	'Prisoners'
Seamen's Hospital	J7	262	42	31	63	94[3]	
Infirmary	J7	262	1	76	45	121[3]	
Lunatic Asylum	J7	262	1	38	33	71[3]	
[2]Workhouse	J12	283	—	457	955	1412[3]	
House of Correction	J12	283	—	16	54	70[3]	
Bluecoat School	P10	317	1	197	61	258[3]	
School (St Anns St)	J2	229	1	2	35	37	
School (St Anns St)	J2	229	1	—	13	13	
School (Queen Anns St)	J2	230	1	—	17	17	
School (Gerrard St)	J5	249	1	2	4	6	
School (Weal St)	J5	251	1	1	1	2	
School (Commutation Row)	J8	264	1	—	8	8	
School (Rodney St)	P3	289	1	1	31	32	
School (Bold St)	P6	303	1	—	25	25	
School (Strand St)	P15	345	1	2	4	6	
Total excluded from Appendix 3			45	2712	1231	3943	

[1] These inmates were not included in the totals in the census manuscript. There is therefore no evidence that all the prisoners were males.

[2] Includes the house of the Governor, Joseph Hall, which was entered on a separate line in the manuscript though not entered in the columns for houses. It contained 1 male and 1 female.

[3] Persons wholly excluded from the ED totals summarized in Appendix 3.

ED	DWELLINGS						POPULATION			% PERSON IN:			PERSON IN:			FAMILIES			
	C	BH	FH	V	Total	New	Males	Females	Total	C	BH	FH	C	BH	FH	Total	C	BH	FH
N1	59	124	445	43	671	29	1501	1888	3389	258	641	2490	7.6	18.9	73.5	791	59	148	584
N2	109	70	223	38	440	29	1132	1287	2419	507	375	1537	21.0	15.5	63.5	537	110	84	343
N3	89	66	159	1	315	—	776	964	1740	385	359	996	22.1	20.6	57.2	392	91	81	220
N4	12	30	59	2	103	—	290	363	653	58	198	397	8.9	30.3	60.8	151	12	45	94
N5	42	46	197	6	291	—	676	860	1536	148	224	1164	9.6	14.6	75.8	365	42	53	270
N6	93	163	217	5	478	2	1168	1340	2508	346	810	1352	13.8	32.3	53.9	604	93	185	326
N7	123	90	293	14	520	8	1250	1479	2729	498	478	1753	18.2	17.5	64.2	647	124	104	419
N8	52	104	241	2	399	—	988	1111	2099	210	488	1401	10.0	23.2	66.7	515	52	119	344
N9	4	22	204	4	234	—	603	719	1322	21	121	1180	1.6	9.2	89.3	339	4	27	308
N10	14	61	286	9	370	4	1000	1137	2137	49	311	1777	2.3	14.6	83.2	487	15	71	401
N11	33	134	205	5	377	—	990	1200	2190	126	664	1400	5.8	30.3	63.9	491	33	157	301
N12	18	25	110	3	156	1	397	484	881	59	105	717	6.7	11.9	81.4	201	18	27	156
N13	8	6	96	1	111	—	272	337	609	30	34	545	4.9	5.6	89.5	127	8	6	113
G1	60	46	238	—	344	—	809	1035	1844	226	251	1367	12.3	13.6	74.1	425	62	58	305
G2	5	—	19	1	25	—	58	75	133	17	—	116	12.8	—	87.2	25	5	—	20
G3	15	—	79	—	94	—	221	300	521	50	—	471	9.6	—	90.4	97	15	—	82
G4	37	6	152	1	196	—	395	584	979	131	23	825	13.4	2.3	84.3	218	37	6	175
G5	24	3	123	1	151	—	344	485	829	90	16	723	10.9	1.9	87.2	165	24	3	138
G6	26	37	198	1	262	—	595	736	1331	86	163	1082	6.5	12.2	81.3	307	27	38	242
G7	45	11	189	—	245	—	626	818	1444	157	65	1222	10.9	4.5	84.6	330	45	13	272
G8	14	24	160	1	199	—	484	558	1042	50	132	860	4.8	12.7	82.5	228	14	27	187
G9	5	10	112	—	127	—	319	395	714	19	37	658	2.7	5.2	92.2	149	5	10	134
G10	10	6	142	4	162	—	478	528	1006	31	30	945	3.1	3.0	93.9	195	10	6	179
G11	13	4	73	1	91	—	255	328	583	49	20	514	8.4	3.4	88.2	114	13	5	96
G12	22	3	97	—	122	—	318	389	707	74	16	617	10.5	2.3	87.3	159	23	3	133
G13	24	5	113	12	154	5	334	417	751	87	22	642	11.6	2.9	85.4	166	24	5	137
G14	27	—	40	—	67	—	127	200	327	108	—	219	33.0	—	67.0	73	27	—	46
J1	—	2	149	22	173	6	326	534	860	—	6	854	—	0.7	97.3	164	—	2	162
J2	—	2	139	7	148	6	271	532	803	—	4	799	—	0.5	99.5	148	—	2	146
J3	2	—	110	1	113	1	244	445	689	3	—	686	0.4	—	99.6	137	2	—	135
J4	87	9	227	7	330	5	663	868	1531	338	31	1162	21.9	2.0	76.0	397	90	10	297
J5	87	5	178	1	271	—	527	688	1215	320	30	865	26.3	2.5	71.2	299	89	5	205
J6	22	—	162	7	191	3	419	523	942	75	—	867	8.0	—	92.0	209	22	—	187
J7	1	15	58	2	76	—	190	200	390	5	77	308	1.3	19.7	79.0	96	1	20	75
J8	11	—	47	6	64	5	136	190	326	43	—	283	13.2	—	86.8	65	11	—	54
J9	27	4	102	17	150	9	298	386	684	104	24	556	15.2	3.5	81.3	160	28	4	128
J10	7	3	43	5	58	4	126	187	313	24	20	269	7.7	6.4	85.9	63	8	3	52
J11	11	26	75	23	135	19	252	366	618	41	165	412	6.6	26.7	66.7	137	11	40	86
J12	43	3	173	8	227	5	454	594	1048	178	15	855	17.0	1.4	81.6	244	45	3	196
P1a	—	—	46	—	46	—	28	91	119	—	—	119	—	—	100.0	62	—	—	62
P1b	—	4	11	—	15	—	35	47	82	—	14	68	—	17.1	82.9	15	—	4	11
P2	—	—	43	3	46	3	100	218	318	—	—	318	—	—	100.0	43	—	—	43
P3	19	7	106	2	134	—	288	439	727	71	36	620	9.8	5.0	85.3	142	19	7	116
P4	20	52	64	4	140	3	380	393	773	88	290	395	11.4	37.5	51.1	158	21	62	75
P5	33	26	128	—	187	—	387	512	899	120	104	675	13.3	11.6	75.1	227	33	29	165
P6	6	2	89	5	102	—	220	410	630	21	8	601	3.3	1.3	95.4	98	6	2	90
P7	8	21	83	3	115	2	270	386	656	21	100	535	3.2	15.7	81.1	130	8	23	99
P8	10	14	70	4	98	3	245	298	543	34	84	425	6.3	15.5	78.3	105	11	16	78
P9	5	1	60	9	75	7	131	228	359	20	6	333	5.6	1.7	92.8	72	5	1	66
P10	18	14	111	1	144	—	345	421	766	63	66	637	8.2	8.6	83.2	180	18	15	147
P11	12	4	65	3	84	1	203	259	462	45	13	404	9.7	2.8	87.4	96	13	5	78
P12	28	30	186	4	248	—	649	756	1405	108	125	1172	7.5	8.9	83.6	313	32	33	248
P13	22	28	125	3	178	—	485	616	1101	95	128	878	8.6	11.6	79.7	242	23	35	184
P14	20	13	89	2	124	—	325	360	685	77	74	534	11.2	10.8	78.0	146	21	18	107
P15	91	17	202	5	315	—	737	978	1715	403	84	1228	23.5	4.9	71.6	377	102	17	258
T1	—	—	14	3	17	—	43	54	97	—	—	97	—	—	100.0	17	—	—	17
T2	—	4	43	—	47	—	132	184	316	—	12	304	—	3.8	96.2	50	—	4	46
T3	—	20	145	1	166	—	503	705	1208	—	114	1094	—	9.4	90.6	281	—	23	258
T4	—	11	113	—	124	—	387	498	885	—	57	828	—	6.4	93.6	189	—	15	174
T5	—	—	94	1	95	—	304	356	660	—	—	660	—	—	100.0	144	—	—	144
T6	—	—	96	1	97	—	249	329	578	—	—	578	—	—	100.0	116	—	—	116
T7	100	43	161	—	304	—	737	856	1593	421	203	969	26.4	12.7	60.8	370	102	50	218
T8	37	25	136	1	199	—	504	626	1130	140	125	865	12.4	11.1	76.5	261	37	30	194
T9	56	24	82	3	165	—	357	490	847	196	144	507	23.1	17.0	59.9	197	56	31	110
T10	47	14	74	—	135	—	318	407	725	177	70	478	24.4	9.7	65.9	166	49	14	103
T11	1	—	16	—	17	—	62	49	111	5	—	106	4.5	—	95.5	17	1	—	16
T12	52	30	100	—	182	—	418	489	907	171	119	617	18.9	13.1	68.0	210	52	34	124
T13	74	26	95	—	195	—	447	555	1002	283	127	592	28.2	12.7	59.1	238	76	28	134
T14	30	30	49	1	110	—	255	284	539	99	153	287	18.4	28.4	53.2	116	30	33	53
T15	59	23	112	1	195	—	436	538	974	208	100	666	21.4	11.5	67.1	206	60	23	123
T16	47	36	202	—	285	—	699	821	1520	176	178	1166	11.6	11.7	76.7	334	48	43	243
T17	49	40	101	—	190	—	445	562	1007	174	188	645	17.2	18.7	64.2	217	49	42	126
T18	75	128	185	3	391	—	895	1071	1966	299	652	1015	15.1	33.2	51.8	422	75	133	214
T19	105	79	271	7	462	—	1092	1150	2242	467	375	1400	20.7	16.7	62.6	500	106	86	308
N	656	941	2735	133	4465	73	11043	13169	24212	2695	4808	16709	11.1	19.9	69.0	5647	661	1107	3879
G	327	155	1735	22	2239	5	5363	6848	12211	1175	775	10261	9.6	6.3	84.1	2651	331	174	2146
J	298	69	1463	106	1936	63	3906	5513	9419	1131	372	7916	12.0	3.9	84.1	2119	307	89	1723
P	292	233	1478	48	2051	19	4828	6412	11240	1166	1132	8942	10.4	10.1	79.5	2406	312	267	1827
T	732	533	2089	22	3376	—	8283	10024	18307	2816	2617	12874	15.4	14.3	70.3	4051	741	589	2721
Total	2305	1931	9500	331	14067	160	33423	41966	75389	8983	9704	56702	11.9	12.9	75.2	16874	2352	2226	12296

DISTRICTS: the letters N, G, J, P and T represent the 5 Police Districts.
ED P1a = almshouses, P1b = the rest of ED P1.

DWELLINGS: C = cellars, BH = back houses, FH = front houses, V = vacant houses.
New houses are *included* in the vacant houses.

M-F RATIO: males per 100 females.

FAMILIES PER:				PERSONS PER:				AVERAGE FAMILY SIZE:				OCCUPATIONS					M-F
C	BH	FH	Dwlg	C	BH	FH	Dwlg	C	BH	FH	All	Agr	Trade	Dwlg	%	Labs	Ratio
1.00	1.19	1.31	1.26	4.4	5.2	5.6	5.4	4.4	4.3	4.3	4.3	25	540	185	29.5	149	79.5
1.01	1.20	1.54	1.33	4.7	5.4	6.9	6.0	4.6	4.5	4.5	4.5	6	404	166	43.1	163	88.0
1.02	1.21	1.39	1.25	4.4	5.4	6.2	5.5	3.9	4.4	4.5	4.4	1	200	156	49.7	99	80.5
1.00	1.50	1.59	1.50	4.8	6.6	6.7	6.5	4.8	4.4	4.2	4.3	2	62	54	53.5	65	79.9
1.00	1.15	1.37	1.28	3.5	4.9	5.9	5.4	3.5	4.2	4.3	4.2	4	243	111	38.9	68	78.6
1.00	1.13	1.50	1.27	3.7	5.0	6.2	5.3	3.7	4.4	4.1	4.2	5	449	150	31.6	115	87.2
1.01	1.16	1.43	1.28	4 0	5 3	6.0	5.4	4.0	4.6	4.2	4.2	10	546	132	26.1	99	84.5
1.00	1.14	1.43	1.18	4.0	4.7	5.8	5.3	4.0	4.1	4.1	4.1	10	460	95	23.9	68	88.9
1.00	1.23	1.51	1.47	5.3	5.5	5.8	5.7	5.3	4.5	3.8	3.9	4	287	53	23.0	35	83.9
1.07	1.16	1.40	1.32	3.5	5.1	6.2	5.9	3.3	4.4	4.4	4.4	—	439	119	33.0	56	88.0
1.00	1.17	1.47	1.32	3.8	5.0	6.8	5.9	3.8	4.2	4.7	4.5	2	341	157	42.2	59	82.5
1.00	1.08	1.42	1.31	3.3	4.2	6.5	5.8	3.3	3.9	4.6	4.4	—	169	53	34.6	29	82.0
1.00	1.00	1.18	1.15	3.8	5.7	5.7	5.5	3.8	5.7	4.8	4.8	2	148	21	19.1	7	80.7
1.03	1.26	1.28	1.24	3.8	5.5	5.7	5.4	3.6	4.3	4.5	4.3	6	322	30	8.7	16	78.2
1.00	—	1.05	1.04	3.4	—	6.1	5.5	3.4	—	5.8	5.3	—	26	2	8.3	—	77.3
1.00	—	1.04	1.03	3.3	—	6.0	5.5	3.3	—	5.7	5.4	1	80	19	20.2	1	73.7
1.00	1.00	1.15	1.12	3.5	3.8	5.4	5.0	3.5	3.8	4.7	4.5	1	154	31	15.9	1	67.6
1.00	1.00	1.12	1.10	3.8	5.3	5.9	5.5	3.8	5.3	5.2	5.0	1	144	29	19.3	3	70.9
1.04	1.03	1.22	1.18	3.3	4.4	5.5	5.1	3.2	4.3	4.5	4.3	2	246	51	19.5	32	80.8
1.00	1.18	1.44	1.35	3.5	5.9	6.5	5.9	3.5	5.0	4.5	4.3	1	310	34	13.9	23	76.5
1.00	1.13	1.17	1.15	3.6	5.5	5.4	5.3	3.6	4.9	4.6	4.6	1	220	34	17.2	6	86.7
1.00	1.00	1.20	1.17	3.8	3.7	5.9	5.6	3.8	3.7	4.9	4.8	—	154	20	15.7	12	80.8
1.00	1.00	1.26	1.23	3.1	5.0	6.7	6.4	3.1	5.0	5.3	5.2	3	246	24	15.2	6	90.5
1.00	1.25	1.32	1.27	3.8	5.0	7.0	6.5	3.8	4.0	5.4	5.1	—	111	20	22.2	15	77.7
1.04	1.00	1.37	1.30	3.4	5.3	6.4	5.8	3.2	5.3	4.6	4.4	—	167	20	16.4	14	81.7
1.00	1.00	1.21	1.17	3.6	4.4	5.7	5.3	3.6	4.4	4.7	4.5	1	142	12	8.5	6	80.1
1.00	—	1.15	1.09	4.0	—	5.5	4.9	4.0	—	4.8	4.5	—	51	9	13.4	2	63.5
—	1.00	1.09	1.09	—	3.0	5.7	5.7	—	3.0	5.3	5.2	7	97	19	12.6	1	61.0
—	1.00	1.05	1.05	—	2.0	5.7	5.7	—	2.0	5.5	5.4	5	71	16	11.3	7	50.9
1.00	—	1.23	1.22	1.5	—	6.2	6.2	1.5	—	5.1	5.0	3	86	14	12.5	5	54.8
1.03	1.11	1.31	1.23	3.9	3.4	5.1	4.7	3.8	3.1	3.9	3.9	11	236	105	32.5	60	76.4
1.02	1.00	1.15	1.11	3.7	6.0	4.9	4.5	3.6	6.0	4.2	4.1	5	225	55	20.4	21	76.6
1.00	—	1.15	1.14	3.4	—	5.4	5.1	3.4	—	4.6	4.5	2	182	23	12.5	12	80.1
1.00	1.33	1.29	1.30	5.0	5.1	5.3	5.3	5.0	3.9	4.1	4.1	6	73	12	16.2	5	95.0
1.00	—	1.15	1.12	3.9	—	6.0	5.6	3.9	—	5.2	5.0	2	54	3	5.2	—	71.6
1.04	1.00	1.25	1.20	3.9	6.0	5.5	5.1	3.7	6.0	4.3	4.3	2	118	14	10.5	2	77.2
1.14	1.00	1.21	1.19	3.4	6.7	6.3	5.9	3.0	6.7	5.2	5.0	—	55	4	7.5	—	67.4
1.00	1.54	1.15	1.22	3.7	6.3	5.6	5.5	3.7	4.1	4.8	4.5	3	95	8	7.1	3	68.9
1.05	1.00	1.13	1.11	4.1	5.0	4.9	4.8	4.0	5.0	4.4	4.3	1	181	58	26.5	21	76.4
—	—	1.35	1.35	—	—	2.6	2.6	—	—	1.9	1.9	—	5	5	10.9	—	30.8
—	1.00	1.00	1.00	—	3.5	6.2	5.5	—	3.5	6.2	4.5	—	17	4	14.8	2	74.5
—	—	1.00	1.00	—	—	7.4	7.4	—	—	7.4	7.4	1	25	7	16.3	—	45.9
1.00	1.00	1.09	1.08	3.7	5.1	5.8	5.5	3.7	5.1	5.3	5.1	3	91	44	33.3	8	65.6
1.05	1.19	1.17	1.16	4.4	5.6	6.2	5.7	4.2	4.7	5.3	4.9	4	132	48	35.3	60	96.7
1.00	1.12	1.29	1.21	3.6	4.0	5.3	4.8	3.6	3.6	4.1	4.0	1	140	69	36.9	35	75.6
1.00	1.00	1.01	1.01	3.5	4.0	6.8	6.5	3.5	4.0	6.7	6.4	1	89	26	26.8	6	53.7
1.00	1.10	1.19	1.16	2.6	4.8	6.4	5.9	2.6	4.3	5.4	5.0	1	96	31	27.7	21	69.9
1.10	1.14	1.11	1.12	3.4	6.0	6.1	5.8	3.1	5.3	5.4	5.2	—	86	31	33.0	11	82.2
1.00	1.00	1.10	1.09	4.0	6.0	5.6	5.4	4.0	6.0	5.0	5.0	2	50	12	18.2	2	57.5
1.00	1.07	1.32	1.24	3.5	4.7	5.7	5.3	3.5	4.4	4.3	4.3	—	150	38	26.2	20	81.9
1.08	1.25	1.20	1.19	3.8	3.3	6.2	5.7	3.5	2.6	5.2	4.8	1	103	31	38.3	8	78.4
1.14	1.10	1.33	1.28	3.8	4.2	6.3	5.8	3.4	3.8	4.7	4.5	1	333	55	22.5	35	85.8
1.05	1.25	1.47	1.38	4.3	4.6	7.0	6.3	4.1	3.7	4.8	4.5	1	226	58	33.1	38	78.7
1.05	1.38	1.20	1.20	3.9	5.7	6.0	5.6	3.7	4.1	5.0	4.7	—	165	43	35.2	35	90.3
1.12	1.00	1.28	1.21	4.4	4.9	6.1	5.5	4.0	4.9	4.8	4.5	2	315	85	27.4	78	75.4
—	—	1.21	1.21	—	—	6.9	6.9	—	—	5.7	5.7	1	15	—	—	—	79.6
—	1.00	1.44	1.39	—	3.0	7.1	6.7	—	3.0	6.6	6.3	1	21	4	11.1	—	71.7
—	1.15	1.78	1.70	—	5.7	7.5	7.3	—	5.0	4.2	4.3	—	69	4	2.4	—	71.3
—	1.36	1.54	1.52	—	5.2	7.3	7.1	—	3.8	4.8	4.7	1	59	9	7.3	—	77.7
—	—	1.53	1.53	—	—	7.0	7.0	—	—	4.6	4.6	—	49	2	2.1	—	85.4
—	—	1.21	1.21	—	—	6.0	6.0	—	—	5.0	5.0	—	56	4	4.2	—	75.7
1.02	1.16	1.35	1.22	4.2	4.7	6.0	5.2	4.1	4.1	4.4	4.3	1	80	4	1.3	—	86.1
1.00	1.20	1.43	1.32	3.8	5.0	6.4	5.7	3.8	4.2	4.6	4.3	2	68	36	18.2	18	80.5
1.00	1.29	1.34	1.22	3.5	6.0	6.2	5.2	3.5	4.6	4.6	4.3	—	26	22	13.6	8	72.9
1.04	1.00	1.39	1.23	3.8	5.0	6.5	5.4	3.6	5.0	4.6	4.4	—	44	31	23.0	9	78.1
1.00	—	1.00	1.00	5.0	—	6.6	6.5	5.0	—	6.6	6.5	—	8	1	5.9	—	146.9
1.00	1.13	1.24	1.15	3.3	4.0	6.2	5.0	3.3	3.5	5.0	4.3	2	57	30	16.5	8	85.5
1.03	1.08	1.44	1.23	3.8	4.9	6.4	5.1	3.7	4.5	4.4	4.2	1	62	15	7.8	6	80.5
1.00	1.10	1.08	1.06	3.3	5.1	5.9	4.9	3.3	4.6	5.4	4.6	—	29	9	8.3	2	89.8
1.02	1.00	1.10	1.06	3.5	4.9	5.8	5.0	3.5	4.3	5.4	4.7	1	82	26	13.4	10	81.0
1.02	1.19	1.20	1.17	3.7	4.9	5.8	5.3	3.7	4.1	4.8	4.6	—	102	89	31.2	50	85.1
1.00	1.05	1.25	1.14	3.5	4.7	6.4	5.3	3.5	4.5	5.1	4.6	—	74	55	28.9	28	79.2
1.00	1.04	1.16	1.09	3.9	5.1	5.5	5.1	3.9	4.9	4.7	4.7	1	140	87	22.4	45	83.6
1.01	1.09	1.14	1.10	4.4	4.7	5.2	4.9	4.4	4.4	4.5	4.5	—	195	67	14.7	29	95.0
1.01	1.18	1.42	1.30	4.1	5.1	6.1	5.6	4.1	4.3	4.3	4.3	71	4288	1452	33.5	1012	83.9
1.01	1.12	1.24	1.20	3.6	5.0	5.9	5.5	3.6	4.5	4.8	4.6	17	2373	335	15.1	137	78.5
1.03	1.29	1.18	1.16	3.8	5.4	5.4	5.1	3.7	4.2	4.6	4.4	47	1473	331	18.1	137	70.9
1.07	1.15	1.24	1.20	4.0	4.9	6.1	5.6	3.7	4.2	4.9	4.7	18	2023	589	29.4	359	75.3
1.01	1.11	1.30	1.21	3.8	4.9	6.2	5.5	3.8	4.4	4.7	4.5	11	1236	495	14.8	213	82.6
1.02	1.15	1.29	1.23	3.9	5.0	6.0	5.5	3.8	4.4	4.6	4.5	164	11393	3202	23.3	1858	79.6

OCCUPATION: those in agriculture and trade are as recorded in the manuscript. 'Others' (which in all cases equal the total population minus those in agriculture and trade) have been omitted to save space.
Dwlg = the number of dwellings where at least on occupation is recorded (*see Appendix 5*); this is then expressed as a percentage. Labs = number of labourers recorded.

Institutions are omitted as indicated in Appendix 2.

APPENDIX 4 LIST OF NAMES IN ED G3 IN THE 1801 CENSUS MANUSCRIPT WITH MATCHING ENTRIES FROM GORES' LIVERPOOL DIRECTORY (1800)

Numbers on the left indicate the start of new folios in the manuscript

	1801 CENSUS	GORE'S 1800 DIRECTORY
	BASNIT STREET South East Side	
	John Leigh (in Law)	John Leigh, Attorney, 17 Basnett St
	Mary Lafone	Mrs Mary Lafone, Basnett St
	Thomas Smith [cellar]	
	William Durning	William Durning, Liquor Merchant, 3 Basnett St
	George Loft [cellar]	
	Ann Davidson (Commedian)	Cpt. Richard Davidson, 4 Basnett St
	William Sinclair	William Sinclair, Drug Merchant, 5 Basnett St
	Thomas Salt	Thomas Salt, Clerk in the Post Office, 6 Basnett St
	George Goring	George Goring, Merchant, 8 Basnett St
	Thomas Hitchen	Thomas Kitchen, Book-keeper, 7 Basnett St
	Thomas Hambleton [cellar]	
	CHURCH STREET N.E. side	
	James Currie (Doctor)	Dr James Currie, F.R.S., Physician, 22 Church St
161	John Parry	John Parry, Broker, 9 Church St
	Robert Latham	Robert Latham, Shoemaker, 24 Church St
	Thomas Holland	Mrs Mary Holland, 26 Church St
	Mary Thompson [cellar]	
	James Anderson	James Anderson, Carpenter, 27 Church St
	Nancy Chester [cellar]	
	Sarah Welch	Richard Welch, Taylor and Victualler, 25 Church St
	Thomas Wilson	
	Ann Birkett [cellar]	
	John Wilcock [cellar]	
	Robert Norris [cellar] (Labourer)	
	Joseph Patten	Joseph Patton, Earthenware and Porter Dealer, 31 Church St
	Charles Wilson	Charles Wilson, Roper, 30 Church St
	Margaret Jones [cellar]	
	Elijah Clarkson	Elijah Clarkson, Staymaker, 32 Church St
	— Humes [cellar]	
	Jonas Ward	
	— Whales [cellar]	
	Thomas Townley	Thomas Townley, File Cutter and Victualler, 34 Church St
	William Thompson [cellar]	

HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE

	Thomas Dean	Thomas Dean, Boatbuilder, 35 Church St
	James Murray	James Murray, Painter, 36 Church St
	Richard Wilding	Thomas Wilding, Boot and Shoemaker, 37 Church St
	RANELAGH STREET N. Side	
	Charlotte Tomlinson	
	Jane Remington	Jane Rimmington, Butcher, 3 Ranelagh St
	John Thomas	John Thomas, Livery Stable-keeper, 4 Ranelagh St
	Rachael Ford	
	John Billing	John Bellin, Cooper, 5 Ranelagh St
	Robert Johnson	Robert Johnson, Hair Dresser, 6 Ranelagh St
	Elizabeth Whitaker	Elizabeth Whittaker, Mantua-maker, 7 Ranelagh St
	Mary Thornton [cellar]	
	Elizabeth Whittall	Mrs Elizabeth Whittle, Boarding-house, 8 Ranelagh St
	Elizabeth Thompson	Elizabeth Thompson, Mantua-maker, 9 Ranelagh St
162	John McCartney Doctor	Dr John McCartney, Physician, 10 Ranelagh St
	Abram Critchlow Saxton	Abraham Critchlow, Sexton of St Peter's Church, 11 Ranelagh St
	CASES STREET W. Side	
	William Southel	William Southwell, Cabinet-maker, 12 Ranelagh St
	Elizabeth Case	Mrs Elizabeth and Margaret Case, 2 Case St
	PICCADILLY	
	William Glading (Constable)	[not in directory; but in list of officers as William Gladding, Case St]
	John Barnes	
	John Chatterton	
	Robert Kenyon	
	CLAYTON SQUARE S. West and N. Side	
	Ann Dobson	
	Nicholas Ashton	Nicholas Ashton Esq., 19 Clayton Sq
	Henry Parry	Henry Parry, Merchant, 20 Clayton Sq
	Richard T. Tatham	Richard Trotter Tatham, Merchant, 21 Clayton Sq
	Thomas Rodie	Thomas Redman Rodie, Merchant, 22 Clayton Sq
	John Smith (Clargyman)	Revd. Joseph Smith, 23 Clayton Sq
	Elizabeth Lowe	Mrs Elizabeth Lowe, 1 Clayton Sq
	Richard Statham (2 Atty. 1 Dy Town Clark)	Richard Statham, Attorney, 2 Clayton Sq
	William Dickson	William Dickson, Merchant, Anfield and 3 Clayton Sq
	Benjamin Thomas	Benjamin Thomas, Merchant, 4 Clayton Sq
	Edward Burne	Edward Byrne, Jun., Merchant, 5 Clayton Sq
	Samuel Went	Samuel Went, Merchant, 6 Clayton Sq
	Ann Donovan	Mrs Ann Donovan, 7 Clayton Sq

HOUGHTON STREET S.W. Side

John Wright Junior	John Wright Junior, Corn Merchant, 1 Houghton St
William Lupton (Attorney)	William Lupton, Attorney, 2 Houghton St
Thomas Molyneux	Thomas Molyneux, Merchant, 43 Mount Pleasant
John Stewart	John Steward, Merchant, 4 Houghton St
Joseph Ridish (Accomptant)	Joseph Redish, Accountant, 5 Houghton St
Josiah Willimson [sic] (Attorney)	Josiah Williamson, Attorney, 6 Houghton St

LEIGH STREET

Susan Fell	Mrs Susannah Fell, 71 Henry St
James Leay	
Richard Blundell	Richard Blundell, Flour Dealer, 14 Leigh St
163 Ellis Johnson	
Margaret Williams	Mrs Margaret Williams, 16 Leigh St

TYRAR STREET

Thomas Thompson	Thomas Thompson, Slater and Plaisterer, 1 Tyrer St
John Ellis	John Ellis, Cowkeeper, 2 Tyrer St
William Formby	William Formby, Shoemaker, 3 Tyrer St
James Cluff	Thomas Clough, Tailor, 4 Tyrer St
John McCreedy	John McCreery, Printer, 6 Tyrer St

PARKER STREET

Richard Sutton (Attorney)	Richard Sutton, Attorney, 6 Parker St
Mary Cataral	Mary Caterall, Grocer, 7 Parker St
Sylvester Bickersteth (Bellman)	Sylvester Bickersteth, Bell-man, 7 Parker St
John Ratchcliffe (Book-keeper)	John Ratcliffe, Book-keeper, 2 Temple Lane
Timothy Ellison (Surgeon)	Timothy Ellison, Surgeon, 9 Parker St
Margaret Braowett	
Mary Rogers (Surgeon)	Mrs Mary Rogers, 1 Parker St
Betty [cellar]	
Samuel Lafone	Samuel Lafone, Merchant, 2 Parker St
Margaret Jennions [cellar]	
Thomas Banning (Post Master)	Thomas Banning, Post Master, 3 Parker St
Corn' Shuttleworth (Surgeon)	

APPENDIX 5 A CLASSIFIED SUMMARY OF OCCUPATIONS RECORDED IN THE LIVERPOOL 1801 CENSUS MANUSCRIPT

	St Nicholas	*St George*	*St John*	*St Peter*	*St Thomas*	*Total*
1 Medicine	7	12	3	8	—	29
2 Law	20	36	3	17	1	77
3 Clergy	4	4	9	10	1	28
4 Teachers	30	9	6	9	1	55
5 Accountants	—	1	3	1	1	6
6 Book-keepers	136	64	45	244	—	489
7 Revenue officials	1	2	5	4	1	13
8 Civic officials	55	24	9	13	6	107
9 Port officials	202	66	33	69	42	412
10 Mariners	188	—	37	18	218	461
11 Mariners at sea	31	—	48	34	7	120
12 Boatmen	19	10	—	—	—	29
13 Riggers	22	—	—	1	1	24
14 Fishermen	39	—	—	—	—	39
15 Labourers	1012	137	137	359	213	1858
16 Road transport	5	5	10	10	—	30
17 Music and arts	3	28	3	3	1	38
18 Other occupations	5	4	4	4	2	19
19 Blind etc.	—	—	28	—	—	28
Total	1779	401	383	804	495	3682
Dwellings with one or more recorded occupation or condition	1452	335	331	589	495	3202

The above categories are comprised as follows:

1 Doctor 8: Surgeon 14: Phy(i)sician, In physic 6: Despensary 1
2 Att(orne)y 55: In Law, At Law 22
3 Cle(a)rgyman, Clergyman & Professor of F 16: Minister, Dec(entin)g Minister, Dissenting Minister 5: Methodist Minister 5: Catholic Clergyman 2
4 Teacher 6: School(Scholl) Master, School-master 42: School Mistress 7
5 Accountant, Accomptant 6
6 Book-keeper, B-keeper 489
7 Tax receiver, Tax gatherer, Surveyor of Tax, Receiver of Tax, Tax Colector 12: Revenew Office 1
8 Mayor 1: Town Clark, Depy Town Clark, De Recorder, Town Clarks Office 4: Overseer of Parish, Overseer of the Poor, In the Overseers Office 3: Constable, Parish Constable, High Constable 15: Beetle, Sword Bearer, Bellman, Bailiff, Sherriffs Officer: 9 Keeper of Bridewell, Turnkey at Bridewell, Turnkey at Goal 3: Corn Inspector,

Inspector of raw hides, Overlookers of Markets, Market Looker, Market Office, Toll House, Corporation Machine 7: Registar Office 1: Post Master, Post Office, Let(t)er Carrier 4, Watchman, Fireman 55: Water Works, Agent for Waterworks, Engr at Water Works 3: Exchange Keeper, Bath Keeper 2

9 Customs, Collector of Customs 223: Excise Officer, Colector of Excise, Excise Port Surveior 67: Salt Officer 1: Land Waiter, Landwaiter 7: Tide Waiter, Cusm Tide Waiter, Extra Tide Waiter, Ex Tide Waiter 14: Dock Mater, Deputy Dock Master, Harbour Master 5: Pil(l)ot, At Pilots Office, Clark Com. of Pilots 80: Dock Watch, Dock Watchman 7: Dock Gate, Dockgate Man, Dock gateman, Dockgateman 6: Billet Master Impress Master 2

10 Mariner 461

11 Mariner at sea, Mariner abroad 62: At sea 55: Abroad 3

12 Boat-man, Boatman 29

13 Rigger 24

14 Fisherman 39

15 Labourer 1858

16 Coachman, Coach man 21: Chairman 7: Carter, Ostler 2

17 Com(m)edian 30: Dancing Master, Musician, Organist, Musac Master 8

18 Auctioneer, Clark, Clark.E.Church, At Canal Office, Survg Man, Shop Keeper, Saxton, Acting Adgt L[iverpool] I[ndependent] V[olunteers], Librarian at A[thenaeum], Rec[eiver] of G. Hospital &c., Navey Agent, Workhouseman, Secretary to the L[iverpool] L[ibrary], Governor of B[lind] Asylum, F Masons L Keeper, Swedish Consul, Master Porter, Scale Porter, Pound Broker 19

19 Blind, Blindman, In the B. Asylum 26: In the Asylum, 2 of an Officer *2

* In view of its ambiguity this has been treated as a description of one person; it could refer to two bastard children.

For the sake of consistency and completeness the preceding list contains an exact transcription of all entries with their varied forms and spellings.

APPENDIX 6 A NOTE ON LINKING THE 1801 CENSUS WITH OTHER NOMINAL SOURCES

As part of a wider research project on Liverpool *circa* 1770–1830 being undertaken by Dr John Langton and the author, the census manuscript is currently being placed into machine-readable form to enable a computer to reproduce it as a direct transcript and to produce editions sorted in various ways (e.g. a complete alphabetical listing by name, or an alphabetical listing of all persons by occupation, or by one of the three types of dwelling). These listings will be made publicly available.

It is proposed to treat several other records which list individuals or properties in a similar manner so that dossiers on individuals, families or districts may be formed by bringing together items of information that by themselves or within the limits of a single type of document are of limited value. Gore's directories for the years 1790–1805 (a total of about 45,000 entries) are already being sorted in this way and have thus greatly facilitated the checking of the street order in the 1801 census. In addition to providing a context for each other these files provide a commentary on the quality of each other (for example in the rendering of personal names or the reporting of occupations). It is hoped in the computer edition of the 1801 census to add the street number in as many cases as possible.