

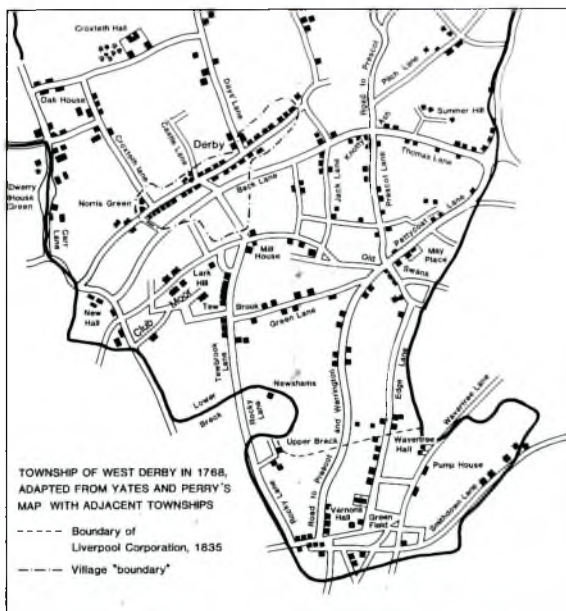
THE DEVELOPMENT OF WEST DERBY VILLAGE,
1825-1881:
THE SOCIAL, POLITICAL & PATHOLOGICAL CON-
SEQUENCES

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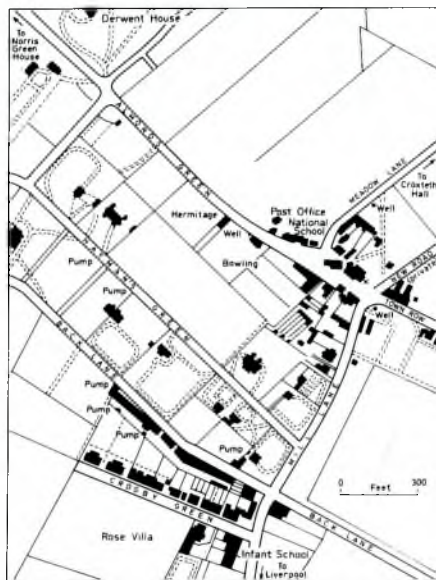
The term 'West Derby' has been applied at various times to the original village, to the Hundred, to the Township, to the Union (for overseeing the poor), and to the Registration District. This paper is concerned mainly with the village, which lies about 4 miles east of the Town Hall in Liverpool. In the 19th century it was at the eastern extremity of the township, which bordered on Liverpool, Walton and Childwall. In 1825 the population of West Derby village¹ was about 500²; by 1881 it was 1,873. This increase was modest when compared with that for the township as a whole: in 1831 some 6 per cent of the township's population had lived in the village whereas in 1881 only 1.8 per cent did so. Thus while the village had undeniably grown between 1825 and 1881, it had changed rather more qualitatively than quantitatively.

This paper seeks to show the social changes which took place as a result of building developments in the years 1825-1845 and their impact on the indigenous population; to recount the political struggles which occurred from 1851-1860, both in church life and local government; and to reveal the beneficial effects of the Local Board on the health of an already relatively disease-free society.

The mainly rural, working-class inhabitants of the village of 1825 found themselves part of a development which was in essence bourgeois. In 1825 they had lived in an 'agricultural village'; in 1881, they, or their descendants lived in a 'suburb'. In the early decades of the century the village had proved less hazardous to the health of its population than nearby Liverpool; but by 1881 as a result of twenty years of efficient administration by the Local Board of Health, it was



WEST DERBY VILLAGE, 1851



yet more sanatory. In 1881 infant mortality was lower than it had been 40 years earlier and those who succeeded in living beyond infancy could look forward to old age with even more confidence in 1881 than at any time before mid-century.

Not all the villagers were equally blessed by the *milieu* they inhabited. 'Residing' in Haymans Green with its detached or semi-detached villas was undoubtedly preferable to 'making do' in the squalor of the Barracks.³ Yet even there and in other poor parts of the village, such as Back Lane, sanitation was improved under the jurisdiction of the Local Board, albeit perhaps because of their proximity to more prestigious streets.

The working-class folk in the village were, therefore, better placed than they would have been had it remained a rural backwater. They were certainly more fortunate than their brethren in most parts of Liverpool. It should be noted, however, that many people who grew up in the village also left it, in particular if they were unskilled labourers.⁴ There were no guarantees of employment for such men in a non-industrialised suburb and for many male working-class villagers migration to a less desirable situation was inevitable. It is questionable whether or not the middle-class gentlemen who sought to dominate the life both of the village and the rural Township as a whole, thought much of their poorest neighbours when they spoke of their community. The presence of these 'solid citizens' in the village was a reality made possible by mainly speculative building which followed the acquisition in 1825 of a large area of land north of Mill Lane by Isaac Cooke.⁵

Cooke retained most of this land for himself and his family, but shrewdly sold off 60,000 square yards at the margins, along Mill Lane and Back Lane, to local builders. These transactions left Cooke £1,800 the richer and created the preconditions for large villa developments along Mill Lane, small villa construction at Crosby Green, as well as humbler dwellinghouses for labourers, along Back Lane. Adjacent land – between Back Lane and the village centre – was subsequently acquired by Richard Radcliffe⁶ who created Haymans Green, a thoroughly bourgeois conception, and Almonds Grove.

The social consequences of this period of house building were considerable.⁷ In 1826 most villagers lived in less than substantial property as the rate book shows, with the exception of farms. In 1841 there was still a considerable

agricultural dimension to the social make-up of the village. By 1881 it had all but vanished. The table below shows the occupational changes for men, revealed by analysis of Census Enumerators' Books:—

TABLE 1: % of all men with recorded occupations, 1841/81

Year	Merchants	Professional	Farming	Tradesmen	Crafts- men
1841	4.0	3.2	24.5	3.3	33.9
1881	5.2	6.3	4.7	6.9	17.5

The merchant and professional categories had continued to expand between 1841 and 1881, and the percentage of men in trade more than doubled in the same period, a consequence no doubt of increased demand. By contrast the percentage of craftsmen almost halved, with the passing of the housing boom. Loss of employment on farms was to some extent compensated for by increased employment for general labourers and gardeners. The numbers employed as coachmen or in connection with horses and omnibuses also increased considerably in the same period.

To a great extent, therefore, the working-class men of the village functioned as a service class for the middle-class villagers. There was also a large female service class in the village — the domestic servants. There were over 200 of these women in the village between 1851 and 1881, comprising on average 22 per cent of the entire female population and about two thirds of all women giving an occupation in the Census returns. The second largest 'occupied' category among West Derby women was that of laundresses and charwomen. While most of these were born locally, it is interesting to note that the opposite was the case for domestic servants. At each Census the number of female servants born in West Derby Township never exceeded 27 and in 1851–61 was as few as 18. Furthermore, few of these appear to have been born and brought up in the village.⁸ For the daughters of the village working class, therefore, the development of the village as a middle-class suburb of Liverpool conferred no benefit in terms of employment, although it may well have enhanced their chances of living long enough to gain employment elsewhere.

The reasons why the new middle-class villagers chose not to employ local domestics can only remain conjectural. Obviously some will have brought their existing domestics with them. As to the others, it was perhaps conventional wisdom not to employ girls and women who had relatives and neighbours nearby, since these might have provided a distraction from their domestic labours. Domestic servants could be found in most parts of the village including the homes of skilled working-class families. It was inevitable that more of them worked in the large villas of Mill Lane, Sandforth Road, Haymans Green and Town Row, than in more modest homes. It was in these villas that the social elite of the village resided; there and at Croxteth Hall and Norris Green House. These dominated respectively the eastern and northern approaches to the village and were largely responsible for ensuring the continuation of its bucolic character: '*rus in suburbe*', as it were.

By mid-century the Sefton family had acquired all the land we now know as Croxteth Country Park, including that upon which the Parochial School and the new St. Mary's Church were later built. There was no question of this land being developed for housing, nor, as it turned out, was there any such possibility on land owned by J.P. Heywood of Norris Green House.⁹ The Heywood family had acquired the land at Norris Green from Samuel Colquitt in 1827, and thereafter, first Arthur Heywood, then his son John Pemberton steadily expanded their holdings. Eventually J.P. Heywood came to own much of what is now Norris Green and Fazakerley. For whatever reason, he chose to keep the land principally for farming purposes. With Isaac Cooke retaining most of the land behind Holly Lodge as private grounds, and with Sandfield Park to the south-west¹⁰ being developed as a most exclusive estate, one can understand why the growth of the village was arrested between the 1850s and 1881.

This limited development made it a relatively easy matter for the wealthier inhabitants to keep control of the social and political life of the village, which they considered to be the focal point of the rural Township.¹¹ This was despite the fact that the rest of the Township was growing faster than the village, particularly around Old Swan, Tuebrook, Kensington and along West Derby Road. Another dichotomy was also growing: that between the considerable orthodox Anglican presence in the village and the more heterodox character of the Township as a whole.

In the 1830s and 1840s villagers held positions of some influence in the structures of local government as these existed at the time. A meeting of the Rural Watch in 1839¹² elected 12 inspectors, of whom six were villagers. These were George Etches, a landowner at Norris Green (whose land was soon to be bought by J.P. Heywood); Thomas Harrison, who farmed 120 Acres at Norris Green; Samuel Bright of Mill Lane, merchant, magistrate and 'philanthropist'; William Eaton Hall of Mill Lane, agent to Lord Sefton; John Butler of Town Row; and Richard Radcliffe, the developer of Haymans Green. In addition, the Treasurer was Thomas Crosby, the eponymous developer of Crosby Green, and a man with a hand in many aspects of village life.¹³

The Annual Vestry of 1842¹⁴ appointed as Surveyor of the Highways, Jesse Winward, schoolmaster at the National School in the village, on the motion of Thomas Freme, owner of Grove House, seconded by William Eaton Hall. The accounts were audited by Robert Westmore, a builder whose family had resided in the village for many years. Winward's tenure proved quite unsatisfactory and he was replaced in 1845 by a Highways Committee of 20, seven of whom had to be rural ratepayers. Again the interests of the village were well represented with three villagers and three close relatives of villagers being appointed – five of these were farmers. Eleven years later, village interests and particularly farming interests were still well represented on the Highways Board. The Chairman for 1856–57 was Mr. Anthony, a solicitor and resident of Haymans Green. The Board included among its 17 members: Thomas Harrison, farmer at Norris Green, Thomas Orrett, farmer at Wall Hill (Town Row), Richard Shacklady, farmer at Almonds Green, Reubin Ledger of Grove House and Thomas Crosby. In 1845 Crosby and Mr. Hodson, Collector of Rates and Taxes, a resident of Crosby Green, were elected assessors of rates and taxes for the rural Township. In 1853 Robert Westmore became the Collector of Rates and Thomas Crosby the 'honorary assessor'.

All those mentioned so far in connection with local government were prominent members of the Anglican Church in the parish of St. Mary's; most of them served as Chapel Wardens in the 1830s and 1840s.¹⁵ From at least 1839, local 'prominenti' attempted to raise sufficient money to build a church on land offered by Lord Sefton. That year a Committee was established for that purpose¹⁶ and among

its number were Richard Radcliffe, *père*, Thomas Harrison, Thomas Freme, Thomas Toulmin of Mill Lane, and W.R. Preston of Beech Hill, Sandforth Road. In 1846, the Reverend John Stewart of Nottingham, whose father was an Alderman of Liverpool, became Curate of the new parish, and, a year later, its Rector.¹⁷ He was to play a leading role in the local politics of West Derby.

By the 1850s the direction of public life in the village, and to a large extent throughout the rural Township, was in the hands of an alliance between the older agrarian and building interests and the newcomers to the village, under the informal auspices of the Anglican establishment. Their hegemony, whether sought after or not, was real enough in the 1840s but the speed at which the district as a whole was growing increasingly laid it open to challenge.

Two episodes in the history of the Township serve to illustrate this point: the first in the 1850s concerned the continuing desire to erect a new church in the village; the second around 1860 revolved around the pressures to reform the local government of the Township. By the time the Census on Religion was taken in 1851, the Chapel in West Derby village had become woefully inadequate for the population it served. In the village and its immediate environs the population, irrespective of social class, was largely Anglican, although there were a number of working class Catholic families, and the Wesleyan Chapel in Crosby Green attracted about 50 people. The village 'worthies' had been raising funds for a new church since 1839. By mid-century they were still well short of what they deemed necessary. It was in these circumstances that controversy arose about the rights and powers of the established Church, and its practices in West Derby. The first public indication of what was afoot came in a letter to the *Liverpool Mercury* in March 1849, under the heading 'Church Abuses and New Churches in West Derby'.¹⁸ It was signed by 'a Churchman'. The letter pointed out that the parish of West Derby yielded to the Rector an income of upwards of £1,500 a year and went on to say this of the Rector:

...all who know him esteem him an amiable young gentleman, and a promising clergyman, and I do not wish to surround his name with those abuses which belong to the present parochial system, except so far that it is in his power to remedy them.

The writer concluded with an attack on the practice by which churches in the parish, other than St. Mary's, were

not supported by parish income. The parish was co-extensive with the Township and experiencing a rapid increase of population and St. Mary's was almost three miles from those parts of the Township contingent to Liverpool. Furthermore, by the Rector's own admission, the church of St. Mary was unable to cater for all those wishing to worship there.

One cannot know for certain who the author of this letter was because he employed a pseudonym, although his choice of alias suggested a cleric. In all probability, however, the 'Churchman' was the Reverend McConkey, the incumbent of St. James, Mill Lane. His return to the religious census a few months later contained an extensive commentary along strikingly similar lines to those contained in the letter of 1849.

The Reverend McConkey also spoke at an important meeting in March 1851, a special general vestry, called by the Reverend Stewart. This was to discuss once more the proposed new church and also the question of a burial ground. This meeting, reported at great length by the *Liverpool Mercury*¹⁹ illuminates clearly the issues at the heart of the community concerning the Church and is worth particular attention. The meeting was convened by Thomas Harrison, a Churchwarden, prominent in the work of the Vestry at large. The meeting was called for the following purpose:

...taking into consideration the inadequacy of the present parish church for the accomodation of the inhabitants desirous of attending public services at the church, and the liberal offers of contribution which have been made by many parishioners, on condition that a new church be erected according to the design of Mr. G.G. Scott, and also to take into consideration the necessity for the immediate purchase and appropriation of a suitable piece of land as a burial ground for the parish . . . the erection of a new church according to the said design, on a new site in the town of West Derby, in part by voluntary contributions above referred to, and in part by a sum of money to be borrowed by the church-wardens, on the security of the rates, to be repaid with interest by annual instalments out of the rates, pursuant to the powers or provisions contained in acts relating to the building of churches; and also of determining upon a resolution authorising the churchwrdens to purchase a piece of land . . . to be used as a parish burial ground, pursuant to the act of the third George iv cap 72.

Not surprisingly given the purpose of the meeting the attendance was 'very numerous . . . the body of the church being well filled'. The Rector opened the meeting in his capacity as chairman and outlined the inadequacy of the

existing building. Most of its faults were physical but the Rector pointed out that 'many of the poorer inhabitants of the parish had complained to him of the want of accomodation'. The assembled company were informed that the Earl of Sefton had placed four acres of land at their disposal and that it was also possible, therefore, to have a new burial ground beside the new church. In explaining the virtues of such a course of action the Rector met some vocal opposition which indicated that he would not have matters all his own way:

if they decided upon having the burial ground beside the new church, it would save the cost of erecting a church in connection with the burial ground, in which the burial service could be performed, and then, possibly, they would have to pay a clergyman for officiating in it. (Cries of 'We won't'). He (the Chairman) could assure the meeting that whatever resolutions were carried, no pecuniary benefit could accrue to the Rector therefrom. ('Oh! Oh!')

It is interesting that the Rector should have felt it necessary at such an early state in the proceedings to make such a defensive closing remark. He was clearly conscious of the fact that there was criticism abroad of his financial position. The first motion put to the meeting – that a new church was needed for want of accommodation in the existing church – was lost following a rather eloquent speech from a Mr. Hardie. Among other things he supposed that 'if they once got a church they would then want a tower, and in that tower they would next require a peal of bells'. His closing remarks, however, were at the root of the concern felt in the community:

He did not object to the erection of as many churches and chapels as people thought fit to build, but he should most strenuously endeavour to prevent them putting their hands in his pockets to pay for them (Applause and hisses).

The Rector tried to allay such fears by pointing out the church would cost no more than £10,000 to build, that 'they had already raised £7,000 by voluntary subscriptions, at least £100 of which had been subscribed, in many cases unsolicitedly, by the poorer inhabitants of the parish'. He believed the rest could also be raised voluntarily. This hope, however, was followed by a second motion, proposed by Lord Sefton's agent Reuben Ledger, which authorised the churchwardens to borrow against the rates part of the cost of erecting the new church. A counter motion was then

proposed that 'it is inexpedient that any rate be levied for the erection or enlargement of any church in West Derby.' The mover stated:

...it was amazing that . . . men should be found who were willing to put their hands into other people's pockets, and compel them to contribute for the maintenance of a religion to which they had conscientious objections ('Hear, Hear') . . . religionists should pay for their own places of worship (cheers and hisses).

The loquacious Mr. Hardje seconded this motion, suggesting mischievously perhaps, that 'it was in contemplation to procure a rectory . . . for which the parishioners would be rated'. This brought cries of 'shame' and a denial from the Rector.

This episode was followed by an exchange between the Rector and the Rev. McConkey. The latter said he was 'decidedly of the opinion that the revenues of the Church, if properly applied, were more than sufficient to meet all her requirements, without levying a rate upon anyone who conscientiously dissented from her'. He was most determined, he continued, to oppose the erection of any church of whatever denomination 'upon any principle except the voluntary one'. This speech like others was met by applause and hisses and was followed by a dialogue between the two Anglican ministers which surely revealed a measure of antipathy between them.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. McConkey, you are out of order. You must confine yourself to the question, and conclude within a reasonable time.

MR. McCONKEY: What time will you give me?

THE CHAIRMAN: You must finish in two minutes.

MR. McCONKEY: That is only time to execute a man (laughter)

THE CHAIRMAN: You must now conclude within a minute and a half.

MR. McCONKEY: How can I proceed? This reminds me of my own country (Ireland) where all speak at once, and nobody says anything.

The Rector's official superiority was insufficient to win the day, for once again the opponents of the new church carried

the vote. At this juncture a poll was demanded. This led to further controversy as to where such a poll should be held. There was a clear split between the Rector's supporters, mainly villagers, and his opponents, who came mainly from outside the village. It will be recalled that earlier in the century Vestry meetings had been held at Low Hill but by 1851 the Highways Board Offices were in Town Row, in the village. It was at this latter place that the Rector ordered the poll be conducted.

This decision again moved Mr. Hardie to speak. He felt that 'the convenience of nine-tenths of the parishioners ought to be consulted, and therefore there should be a polling place in Harper Street, Low Hill.' This remark was met with much applause. The Rector's decision, by contrast, had been received with 'hisses, groans, and great uproar'. Fortunately for him this was one decision that he alone was empowered to take: it was to prove his only success. Another motion was put, seconded by Mr. Holgate, an Ironmaster living in Town Row, to establish a burial ground on the land made available by Lord Sefton. This was, however, lost 'by a large majority'. In truth there was no urgency over this because in 1851 the parish had the right of burial at Walton for fifteen years more.

The final act in this drama was a proposal by Mr. Haigh, an architect who lived in Haymans Green, authorising the church-wardens 'to proceed with the erection of a new church, but that no rate be levied upon the parishioners for defraying the cost of the same'. This attempt to reopen the question was met with great uproar and was denounced as 'a claptrap on the part of those who had got up the meeting for the purpose of carrying out their own ends in an underhanded way'. The accusation by an unnamed speaker was repudiated by the Rector who must have been relieved by then that the motion was withdrawn and he could close the meeting.

On the very day that the report of this meeting appeared in the *Liverpool Mercury* a letter was published written by the Rector's adversary, the Reverend McConkey. The intention of the letter must have been to influence the poll agreed upon at the meeting.²⁰ The Reverend McConkey complained that the Rector would not allow the solemnisation of marriages at St. James', nor assign any district to it for pastoral visitation. He wrote that 'we may pray, preach, baptise, administer the Lord's Supper, but we may not marry in it (for) . . . it would lessen his clerk's fees. He did

not say anything of his own fees'. McConkey continued to point out that there were five churches in the parish, besides St. Mary's, and two more in the course of erection, but that 'the duties of all these churches are discharged without a farthing from the Rector or the income of the parish'. The entire expense of large districts of the parish was therefore saved to the Rector, 'leaving the whole income untouched and free for his own immediate locality'; that is West Derby village.

Following these criticisms the Reverend McConkey was apparently unable to prevent himself engaging in a certain personal vehemence at the Rector's expense. In the course of this he made some telling remarks about the way the Established Church conducted itself: 'If a gentleman buy a church living as a portion for his son' (as had indeed happened in this case) does he become 'thereby entitled to make his own personal interests the main point of the trust?'. Was it right, asked McConkey, that attempts should be made to lay a rate on the township at large 'that the new church might be a suitable one, that is . . . that it might be worthy of a parish producing a peeled £1,500 a year to the rector?'

McConkey's closing remarks are worth recording in full since they most eloquently state the case against the Rector and his associates, irrespective of any personal antagonism there might have been between the two men:

To lay such a rate on Roman Catholics and other Dissenters, who would never attend this new church, however beautiful it might be, or even upon churchmen in the remote parts of the township, where they have already raised churches for themselves, and maintain those churches at their own charges, and to whom the new church could be of no object, except as part of the landscape, appeared to me so unwarrantable, with funds in their hands amply sufficient for a church adequate to the wants of the locality, that I felt it my imperative duty to attend in my place as a ratepayer, and give it my open and decided opposition. Having from my pulpit exposed the abuses of the church revenues in the highest quarters, I could not . . . overlook one which smelled so strongly at my very door.

The opposition to what might be called the establishment view in fact triumphed at the poll. What effect reports of the special Vestry or the Reverend McConkey's letter had on public opinion cannot be assessed. However, the result was in no doubt: 488 persons voted against and 350 voted for the proposition that the ratepayers be taxed to meet the cost of a new parish church. The actual votes cast – some rate-

payers had more than one vote – were 736 to 549.²¹ Thus despite the advantages to the supporters of the proposal of holding the poll only in the village, they lost the argument decisively. All the controversy engendered by the determination to build a new parish church did not prevent its construction and in 1853 the foundation stone was laid by the then Lord Sefton, who had himself contributed £500, and the site, of course.

This episode must have given the local establishment quite a shock. It was an experience they were to undergo again, 8 years later in respect of public administration. Before 1858 the village lay within the administrative compass of West Derby Vestry. This was an open vestry, its representatives elected by the ratepayers, its proceedings regularly reported in the local newspapers. Its office was at Harper Street, Low Hill, just outside Liverpool, where meetings were also held. Following the 1835 Municipal Corporations Act and the incorporation of part of the township into Liverpool, a rural section of the vestry was created with its own watch committee and surveyor of the Highways. The latter was replaced by a Highways Committee in 1845. Additionally, the vestry was responsible for returning members to the West Derby Union for Overseeing the Poor. Men of substance, who were resident in the village, were regularly and well represented in all aspects of the work of the vestry. On this situation the 1848 Public Health Act made little impact; more significant was the growth of population in the township as a whole and a growth in concern about the efficacy of local administration in the face of mounting health problems.

The vestry was responsible for collecting government and local taxes (and setting the latter) and had statutory responsibilities for Constables and the Highways. In 1855 the Nuisances Removal Act of that year (18+19 Vic.c.121) was adopted by the Highways Committee, but not all its enabling clauses were made use of. Thus by 1858, neither an Inspector of Nuisances, nor a Medical Officer of Health had been appointed. Yet by then there was increasing concern at what many ratepayers felt was the inadequate and inappropriate response of the Highways Committee and vestry to sanitary difficulties. These were not so great in the village as in other parts of the township: this might explain a degree of complacency among the membership of the Committee.

The 1858 Local Government Act made it far easier for ratepayers to call a public meeting, with a view to the

implementation of the 1848 Public Health Act. Local Government, then as now, had to balance need – providing a social service – and the ability to pay – which is usually a political estimation of what the ratepayers will stand for! Those who follow the deliberations and decisions of the West Derby Vestry and the Highways Board through the pages of the *Liverpool Mercury* can have no doubt that the paramount consideration for the social elite centred on the village was to keep expenditure at the minimum. It cannot, therefore, have given Thomas Crosby and Richard Radcliffe, *fls.*, much pleasure in their capacity as Churchwardens to call a public meeting, as required by act of Parliament, as follows:

We the Churchwardens of the parish or township of West Derby . . . having received a requisition in writing signed by 20 ratepayers pursuant to the 13th Section of the Local Government Act 1858 do as directed by the said act appoint a MEETING to be held at the National School Room in the village of West Derby aforesaid on Monday 23rd January at 10 o'clock in the forenoon to determine whether the said Act shall or shall not be adopted to the whole of the said Township except the part comprised in the Borough of Liverpool and we do summon the owners and ratepayers . . . to attend such meeting.

It should be noted that by 1860 the village itself had become the focal point for public gatherings, a development which reflected the social importance the community there had acquired or had taken upon itself as a consequence of developments over the previous thirty years.

The meeting was duly held under the Chairmanship of the Rector, John Stewart, and it was extensively reported in both the *Liverpool Mercury* and the *Daily Post* whose coverage was substantially the same.²² The *Daily Post* noted such prominent villagers as Messrs. Radcliffe, Crosby, Ledger, and Dr. Glazebrook of Haymans Green, among 'a rather numerous attendance of owners and ratepayers'. The Reverend Stewart proposed the adoption of the Act formally 'without expressing my opinion whatever upon the resolution'. Dr. Glazebrook seconded the motion 'because the powers of the present Highways Board . . . were insufficient to deal with the present and prospective difficulties and requirements of the Township as regarded its sewerage, drainage and general sanitary condition; and secondly, because the powers granted by the Local Act were complete and practical'. Dr. Glazebrook explained that despite applications to improve sewerage and drainage, the Board had

been 'almost powerless'. Significantly, he noted that if things did not improve 'the Government would be asked to send an inspector down'. Glazebrook's next two statements embraced the duality of Victorian public concern: that taxation should be as little as possible and that the men of property had a duty to their less fortunate neighbours. 'He thought there would be no occasion to increase the present amount of taxation (hear, hear). But he maintained that, beyond the question of taxation, they had to consider the comfort and health of the working classes, for whose dwellings good drainage ought to be effected, as those classes could not effect it themselves (hear, hear)'.

A letter signed by Richard Radcliffe on behalf of the Highways Board was then read out to the meeting. Much of the letter was concerned with the history and ineffectiveness of recent legislation. It then provided some interesting details about the sanitary condition of West Derby. The meeting was informed that applications for assistance from the Board had come from various districts in the Township including West Derby village and Haymans Green. Conditions around the Zoological Gardens (adjacent to the Borough of Liverpool) were described and it was stated that similar facts applied to the populous portions of the parish including the village, namely: 'suillage from all the privies and ashpits runs into the entries and streets, on the open road, then flowing into an open ditch on the roadside'. The letter concluded, as Dr. Glazebrook had, in a tone of moral concern for the poor and working classes:

The Committee feel another and most important reason for the step proposed – the welfare and well-being of the poor and working classes. Improve their dwellings, their sanitary condition, and you improve their social and moral condition. The rich can partially and for a time remedy their own nuisance by creating a lesser nuisance – a cesspool; but the congregated thousands of our parish are utterly helpless. They have neither means to do it with, nor space to do it in; they are condemned to drag out a miserable existence in places of inhabitation unfit for human beings.

This note of almost passionate concern for the poor was designed in all probability to detract attention from the penultimate paragraph in the letter – not to obscure the point therein but to overshadow it as a motive for accepting the new act. Given that the Highways Board had not made any previous pleas on behalf of the poor, the cynic might be forgiven for suspecting that in this paragraph lay the main motive for accepting the act:

...it was the duty of every parish to secure its own local self-government and especially parishes bordering on such important and rapidly increasing towns as Liverpool. If this parish fails in providing the requisite sanitary improvements, eventually, and at no long periods, a large portion of this parish will be absorbed into the borough.

During the discussion which followed, one speaker expressed 'some astonishment at the Board's support for the act and wondered why the meeting had been delayed since the previous June'; he said there was a reported opposition on the part of Board to the adoption of the act and alluded to 'the great reluctance of the churchwardens to call the meeting'. Such criticism suggests that expediency may well have been a major factor behind the Board's conversion to the merits of the 1858 act.

In any event the meeting proceeded to adopt the act by 44 votes to 24. This was just two-thirds of those present. A proposal was made, as the act allowed, for a poll of the ratepayers. This was withdrawn, however, due to the estimated cost involved. The discussion surrounding the proposal allowed another speaker to inject a note of sarcasm into the proceedings at the Board's expense:

(on) a late occasion when a poll was taken measures were so admirably adopted by the authorities of the township, and time so greatly economised, as not to allow more than one half of the electors an opportunity of recording their votes (laughter).

Once this meeting completed its business, the next crucial stage was the election of the new Board of Health, which it had been agreed would have a membership of 21. It is clear from reports in the *Liverpool Mercury* and the *Daily Post* that there was a concerted attempt by the members of the Highways Board to ensure that their nominees were elected to the new Board of Health. A week before the election took place the following report appeared in the *Daily Post*:

False and interested reports have been extensively circulated in the district to the effect that owners and ratepayers can only vote for the 21 candidates named on the churchwardens' list, the fact being that voters may select any number (not exceeding 21) out of the general list of candidates on the voting papers to be sent round on the 23rd. instant.²³

Two days prior to the poll a meeting of ratepayers was held at the 'Sefton Arms' in the village. This gathering was far more instructive regarding the motives of the Highways

Board than either the obligatory meeting or the Board's official report had been. This meeting in May was held for the purpose 'of taking the necessary steps to promote the return of the gentlemen nominated by Mr. Heywood and others'.²⁴ Mr. Heywood of Norris Green House was the most substantial of landowners and his nominees corresponded to the churchwardens' list which was also endorsed by the Rector. The meeting was well attended, being held on a Saturday night, and 'a large room at the hotel was filled'. The Rector was unanimously called to the Chair. It may be recalled that at the meeting on January 23rd, when the Reverend Stewart was also in the Chair, he refrained from personal comment. Now he was more forthcoming, as he put forward the view that 'it was considered that gentlemen paying a considerable portion of the rates should . . . be members of the board to take care that the money was not too lavishly expended'.

Richard Radcliffe then spoke, enlarging on the Rector's view and repeating the fear that if the Highway Board did not act then others would do so:

They were obliged to adopt the act to get rid of many nuisances which existed in the township . . . in fact they were threatened if they did not adopt it, application would be made to the Home Secretary to compel them to do so . . . every effort should be made to get an influential board which while it would clear away real nuisances, would interfere as little as possible with persons' property (applause).

Radcliffe moved a list of recommended gentlemen which the meeting approved. Of the 19 (sic) names read out to the meeting, ten were of men closely involved in the life of the village. These included:- J.P. Heywood, the Rev. Stewart, Richard Radcliffe, Reuben Ledger, Dr. Glazebrook, Thomas Crosby, W.H. Anthony, Benjamin Heywood Jones (banker) and William Owen, who was Thomas Harrison's successor at Norris Green Farm.

The day after this meeting it became clear that the former Highways Board did not have the complete confidence of ratepayers throughout the rural Township. A Public Notice appeared in the *Daily Post* sponsored by '89 of the most influential owners and ratepayers', urging voters to endorse 21 candidates, eight of whom were also on the churchwardens' list. These eight included J.P. Heywood, Reverend Stewart, Reuben Ledger, William Owen and W.H. Anthony but not Richard Radcliffe, Thomas Crosby or Dr. Glazebrook.²⁵ These last three had all been prominent in the

Highways Board and of course Radcliffe and Crosby were churchwardens in 1860. The alternative list also had the effect of reducing the representation of villagers on the proposed Board and by so doing it offered a fairer geographical representation of the rural Township.

Richard Radcliffe appears to have been the particular *bête noire* of those opposing the vested interests of the Highways Board. Two letters criticising him appeared in the local newspapers in the days preceding the poll,²⁶ to which he replied in the *Daily Post*, two days *after* the poll.²⁷ Radcliffe explained in his letter that he had declined an approach by Mr. Urquhart of Millbank to replace six of the churchwardens' list with six others nominated at a meeting held in Green Lane, Tuebrook. Radcliffe's reasons for his refusal was that the meeting had been attended 'by only 10 ratepayers . . . nearly all recent inhabitants'. Radcliffe owned property 'in the immediate vicinity' of Green Lane, whose poor condition had been a matter of some controversy the previous year. Radcliffe denied the allegation that he 'ever ordered any repairs without first obtaining the sanction of the board' and further pointed out, as justification for his proper conduct, that he had 'twice been unanimously elected Chairman of the Highway Board'. Radcliffe concluded his letter with a further justification of his activities, if not his 'right' to be on the new Board, as follows:

I am the owner of about 250 houses in the neighbourhood (of Green Lane) all of which are thoroughly drained into the Brook . . . and one of the objects of the present movement is to remedy that defect. I have sewered all my property but am not permitted to sewer beyond my own land. I am not a 'professional builder' but as I own 1/20 of all the houses (both in property and value) in West Derby . . . I should be a member of the Board.

Radcliffe's letter was too late, of course, to influence voting in the election, although the two earlier letters critical of him may well have had a detrimental effect on the number of votes cast in his favour. The full results of those elected, including Radcliffe, were as follows:²⁸

<i>Name</i>	<i>Residence</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Votes</i>
Wm. Owen	Norris Green	Farmer	1151**
Rd. Bennett	Breck Lane	Merchant	1133**
J.P. Heywood	Norris Green	Banker	1131**

<i>Name</i>	<i>Residence</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Votes</i>
R. Ledger	Grove House	Agent	1123**
W.H. Anthony	Mill Bank	Merchant	1103
G. Schwabe	Handstyle House	Gentleman	1087**
R.L. Jump	New Hall	Merchant	1067***
Wm. Taylor	Laurel Road	Brewer	984**
Rev. Stewart	Sandfield Park	Clerk	953**
B. Heywood Jones	Lark Hill	Banker	837
R.C. Lowndes	Clubmoor	Gentleman	766
Rd. Barker	Lark Hill Lane	Builder	765***
S.J. Arnold	Sandfield Park	Broker	752
Rd. Radcliffe	Derwent Road	Gentleman	729
Thos. Crosby	Mill Lane	Painter	694
J. Crellin	West Derby Road	Plumber	677
Wm. Fitzpatrick	Knotty Ash	B. Med.	671***
J. Leatherbarrow	Green Lane	Engraver	661*
R.W. Ronald	Edge Lane	Broker	658***
Rev. Gardner	Stanley	Clerk	637
N.S. Glazebrook	Haymans Green	Surgeon	613

*not on Churchwarden's list. ** on alternative list *** both as*above.

The Rector, Churchwardens and members of the old Highways Board must have been fairly pleased with the general outcome of this election. Only 3 of the 19 men proposed at the 'Sefton Arms' meeting failed to gain election and none of these were villagers. Of those gaining more than 1,000 votes only one, Ralph Jump had not been on the churchwardens' slate. The others had been on both lists put before the electors. Those who had put forward the alternative list saw 11 of their 21 nominees elected, including four who had not gained the churchwardens' blessing. It is worth noting that the Rector himself, although on both lists, gained 200 votes less than the maximum and that the Reverend Gardner fared even worse. There is a possibility here that non-conformists chose not to vote for representatives of the Anglican Church. Equally interesting is the relatively low vote recorded for the three villagers most closely associated with the old Highways Board, i.e. Thomas Crosby, Richard Radcliffe and Dr. Glazebrook. Crosby and Radcliffe, it may be recalled, had sustained criticism as the churchwardens reluctant to call the crucial meeting which led to the establishment of the new Board of Health.

The election over, the Local Board of Health could proceed with its work under the 1858 Local Government Act which afforded considerable scope for action. Some of the most important benefits conferred by the acts were to be

found in Sections 44, 45, 50 and 75. These incorporated portions of the Model or Clauses Act, 'so that districts could henceforth obtain by mere adoption advantages for the attainment of which a private act had hitherto been necessary'.²⁹ Thus Sections 44 and 45 incorporated certain provisions of the Towns Police Clauses Act, 1847, notably with respect to 'obstructions and nuisances in the streets', and the Towns Improvement Clauses Act was in part incorporated regarding 'improving the line of the streets', 'ruinous or dangerous buildings', 'precautions during the construction and repair of sewers, streets and houses', and also water supply, smoke prevention, and control of slaughterhouses.

The main source of information for any appraisal of the work of the new Board is its own records. Through these one can evaluate the extent to which the Board used the powers available to it, and at what cost to ratepayers. Initially, a Committee for Roads, Scavenging, Watering Streets, and Lighting was established in June 1860 under the chairmanship of Reuben Ledger. The Committee had ten other members including Messrs. Owen, Crosby, Stewart and Radcliffe. The village's interests were therefore well served.³⁰ In May 1864 a Works Committee was set up under Radcliffe's chairmanship³¹ and in May 1865 a Health and General Purposes Committee was brought into existence.³² The Board gradually increased the number of professional and salaried employees. The Local Board Minutes for July 1860 refer only to Mr. Hodson, collector, and Mr. Watkin, Surveyor of Highways who received £120 per annum plus an extra £10 a year for doubling as Inspector of Nuisances!³³ This state of affairs was somewhat reminiscent of the style of the old Highways Board which is not entirely surprising given that many of the influential figures in both were the same. However, by 1869 there had been a considerable improvement.

In answer to a questionnaire from the Sanitary Commission in 1869, the Board gave the salaries of its officers. These included: a Surveyor (£350), a Road Surveyor (£150 + £50 expenses), two assistant Surveyors (£136 10s. and £109), an Inspector of New Buildings (£104), an Inspector of Sewers (£104), an Inspector of Nuisances (£120) and a Bookkeeper (£120).³⁴ In 1869 there was not yet a Medical Officer of Health, despite Liverpool's pioneering example, nor was one appointed until November 1872 (at a salary of £100) by which date it was a requirement of the 1872 Public Health Act, Section 10.³⁵

This development was typical of the process by which Victorian authorities extended their powers: they were acquired piecemeal as legislation was passed by Parliament. Before 1872, for example, several acts had been passed conferring new powers on Local Boards. An informative legal note appeared in the General Board Minutes of August 1868, following the deaths of two girls from Asiatic cholera in Crosby Green:

the Sanitary Act of 1866 (29+30 Vic. c. 90) gives the Board many powers to deal with or anticipate cholera. The sewage Utilisation Amendment Act 1867 (30+31 Vic.c.113) gave powers to provide temporary hospital accomodation (by extending the Sanitary Act). Section 10 of the Sanitary Act 1868 gave the Board power to provide medicine and medical assistance for poorer inhabitants with the Privy Council's Sanction.

It would appear from this and from the minutes of the Road's Committee that the new Board was committed to the full exploitation of its powers. On occasion this meant crossing swords with powerful interests in the community. This resolution was passed, for example, in 1860: 'sand and gravel being scarce . . . and the lands of Richard Radcliffe containing such . . . that legal powers be obtained to take sand and gravel from the lands of the said Richard Radcliffe or any other landowner'.³⁶ Two weeks later the Board softened its position – in all probability after strong representations from Radcliffe – so that 'should (he) require the land for building or any other purpose this Board abandon its privilege'.

The same year, the Board sought clarification as to 'what remedy the Board may have against persons occupying unwholesome dwellings'³⁷ orders were made to lop hedges and trees, and scour ditches adjoining highways. In 1861 the Board explained its powers over unadopted streets: it could 'light lamps placed in unadopted streets under 3+4 William IV c.90, *before* the adoption of the Health Acts'; further it had the power 'to compel owners to pave, flag, level, channel and light unadopted streets, and can declare them public streets'.³⁸ In 1864 the Board used its compulsory powers in the village to get the road widened and improved in Mill Lane. This was done because 'the Solicitors of the Trustees of the late Mrs. Thornton re land in front of premises occupied by Messrs. Parke and Maskery (had) been applied to without effect'.³⁹ Thus one finds the Board quite prepared to act and indeed wanting greater

powers. When in 1869 the Board gave evidence to the Sanitary Commission, it stated that the 1858 Local Government Act was insufficient for enforcing building standards and that it wanted more powers for houses built prior to that act.⁴⁰ The answers given in another questionnaire, from the Rivers Pollution Commission are as instructive to the enquirer today as they must have been to the Commission in 1868. It was informed that West Derby was supplied with water by the Corporation of Liverpool, with gas by a private company, and that the Board had commenced sewerage works in October 1865. Cesspools were being done away with as houses were drained into sewers and the 3,300 privies and 3,000 middens were being connected thereto.⁴¹

The Health Committee minutes reveal that in 1869 'the old sewer taking drainage from the village to a ditch on Lord Sefton's land behind the National School now diverted and connected with the new sewer in Almonds Green'.⁴² A campaign was clearly being waged at the same time against foul privies which constituted a nuisance. Two examples will suffice: 'privies in Mill Lane . . . abut on the back wall of inhabited houses in the Barracks' and 'privy at John Harrison's Meadow Lane abuts Richard Rawlinson's house'.⁴³ Orders were made in these cases and the Board was quite prepared to issue summonses to those failing to comply, e.g. to W. Morecroft for 'a foul privy on the premises in Town Row'.⁴⁴

The same year the Sanitary Commission was informed that sewage was drained into a neighbouring stream (the River Alt) and that the Board had applied for a Government grant to build an outlet to the sea but that this had not been granted by the Home Secretary.⁴⁵ That some remedy was needed to the problem of sewage in West Derby is clear from the Report of the Local Board, prepared by the Committee in 1864:

...at present there are few Sewers, properly so-called, in the Township, and the house drainage is carried ultimately in open ditches to the Tue Brook, Dey's Brook, and the River Alt, which is not only objectionable on account of the accumulated pollution of the water courses, but, from the shallowness of the various streams prevents effective house drainage.

Dey's Brook, which ran around the eastern perimeter of the village received 'the whole of the drainage from that portion of the Township'.⁴⁶

From the preceding outline of the Board's work it seems

that its affairs were conducted on a basis far more satisfactory than that of the old Highways Board: in other words, the gentlemen of the Township, having been obliged to engage in local government activity to an extent they had previously resisted, had nonetheless made a respectable success of their new responsibilities. The minutes of the various committees also make clear the practical impact of the Board's work on the village of West Derby from where many of the Board's members came. Within three and a half years of the Board's first meeting it had been agreed to authorise road improvements for Town Row, Mill Lane and Almonds Green – the three main roads through the village and for the village centre.

Despite themselves, therefore, the municipally minded middle classes of West Derby adopted, after 1860, a far more positive attitude to local government than they previously had. The interests of the village were still represented on the new Board, at least until the 1870s. In 1871 Richard Radcliffe and Dr. Glazebrook, Thomas Crosby's eldest son, John, William Owen of Norris Green Farm and Edward Parke, a surgeon who had long resided in Mill Lane, were on the Board. The Treasurer was Arthur Heywood, nephew of J.P. Heywood of Norris Green House. A degree of continuity was accordingly maintained. Circumstances had changed to some extent, however, with a prominent Roman Catholic, William Leeming, and a leading Liberal, W.H. Meade-King on the Local Board in 1871.⁴⁷

What were the pathological consequences of the social and administrative developments that have been outlined above? It has been stated already that the village had been far more healthy than Liverpool, at the beginning of the period under review. The earliest reliable evidence for such an assertion lies in the Reports of the Registrar General, which date from 1838. These Reports are based on Registration Districts (R.D.) which often covered widely varying populations and conditions. Thus while the Liverpool R.D. corresponded with that of the Corporation, the West Derby R.D. contained the area around Liverpool running from Sephton (sic) in the north to Garston in the south. (see 1768 map) Within this District, population density per acre in 1841 varied from 0.5 in Sephton to 16.8 in Toxteth (Park). Within West Derby Township there was a density in the incorporated part, adjacent to Liverpool, of 14.5, but a density of only 1.1. in the rural Township.

Density of population, it must be said, is only one factor in mortality and morbidity, but surely not an insignificant one. When comparing districts it is worth bearing density in mind: West Derby village was much closer in this respect to nearby Ormskirk R.D., than to Liverpool or incorporated West Derby. The mean mortality rates per 1,000 people for the years 1838-44 for Liverpool, West Derby and Ormskirk R.Ds were 33.7, 23.5 and 20.0 respectively. The infant mortality rates for the corresponding Districts in 1841 were 258.5, 180.6, and 96.7. Clearly West Derby R.D. was preferable to Liverpool for anyone who wanted their children to celebrate their first anniversary. One might assume that areas like West Derby village were more like Ormskirk than the figure for the Registration District as a whole suggests. Mere speculation can be improved upon by correlating census returns and Anglican registration. Reference to the parish registers shows 28 baptisms at St. Mary's of children belonging to families living in the village in the year preceding the 1841 Census. Of these, only three did not appear in the enumeration, in the village. Two of those missing are recorded in the Burial Register of Walton on the Hill, the mother church of St. Mary's chapel. What became of the third absentee is not known, but for the purposes of this exercise death was presumed. Cross reference between baptismal and burial registers reveals that only one other infant from the village died in the year preceding the census. Therefore, in the Anglican community there was a maximum of four infant deaths to 28 births, which ratio can reasonably be applied to the village as a whole (unless Anglicans had especial demographic characteristics). By this method I have calculated an infant mortality rate in the village of 142.2 for 1841.⁴⁸ Thus the chances of children living beyond the age of one in the village were almost twice as good (or half as bad!) as in Liverpool.

The village also emerges favourably when figures for specific diseases are examined as the Table below shows:

TABLE 2: *Deaths per 10,000 from Infectious Diseases, 1838-40*

	<i>Smallpox</i>			<i>Scarlatina</i>			<i>Typhus</i>			<i>Measles</i>		
	1838	1839	1840	1838	1839	1840	1838	1839	1840	1838	1839	1840
Liverpool R.D.	-	11.5	23.8	3.4	16.8	32.6	22.6	13.8	22.6	8.5	17.0	21.6
W. Derby R.D.	-	1.25	8.3	1.4	13.9	28.4	7.8	6.0	11.7	5.6	4.2	8.75
Ormskirk R.D.	-	12.0	3.8	0.9	2.9	32.6	9.7	9.7	14.1	0	2.3	7.6

In all 11 columns West Derby R.D. scored less than Liverpool; smallpox, typhus and measles were all significantly more lethal in Liverpool, and only the scarlatina rate for West Derby R.D. approached that for Liverpool with any consistency. In this period (1838-40) it is impossible to assert that the village was less susceptible to fatal diseases than the District as a whole. Fortunately we are better served at the end of our period.

The gentlemen elected to the Board of Health in 1860, and thereafter, undoubtedly had a good basis upon which to work and by the end of the 1870s their efforts appear to have effected improvements, taking the Reports of the M.O.H. as a guide.⁴⁹ In 1877, for example, he reported an Infant Mortality Rate of 115 for rural West Derby as a whole, which compared favourably with a national figure of 150 per thousand.⁵⁰ The village it seems was better than the standard for the district as a whole, as the M.O.H. wrote in his 1874 Report:

In Division Martin and many other streets continuous with the Borough of Liverpool . . . as well as Old Swan, much of the population is poor, crowded and often very dirty; in Tuebrook, West Derby village, Knotty Ash and Broadgreen . . . the conditions are much more rural, without . . . possessing many of the sanitary drawbacks . . . so generally found in country districts.

From figures provided by the M.O.H., I have calculated a mortality rate for rural West Derby, including the village, in 1871 of 12.4 per thousand, about one-third the rate pertaining in Liverpool.⁵¹ This figure was also half that given by the Registrar general for West Derby R.D. in 1844. The calculated village rate of 12.4 may be compared with one of 10.4 in Waterloo⁵² and 15.8 in neighbouring Walton, in 1875.

Close scrutiny of the Health Committee Minutes confirm the relatively low pathological hazards of life in the village. All cases of serious infection were recorded in the Minute Book, yet in the 33 months from May 1867 to January 1870, only ten households (out of 310) in the village experienced any noteworthy visitation from infection. Between 1869 and 1877 neither the Local Board Minutes, nor the local school log books recorded any incidents involving zymotic diseases⁵³ such as cholera: this suggests the water supply in the village was fairly free from pollution.

Contagious diseases did, however, take a toll in the village: scarlet fever in 1869, measles in 1870, scarlet fever

and smallpox in 1871 are mentioned in the school log books and Board Minutes. From details provided by the M.O.H. it is clear that the village was as likely to play host to these infections as the District as a whole. It is equally evident that Back Lane (now Eaton Road North) was particularly bad (but elsewhere in the village was relatively safe). One third of infected village households were in Back Lane, where three of the six fatalities also occurred. The only occasion between 1867 and 1877 when the village suffered more than other parts of the district was in 1874: then a scarlatina epidemic hit Knotty Ash and West Derby village particularly heavily. Where this disease is concerned the significance of the level of sanitation is perhaps less than that of close physical contact. In a community like the village, with a high level of church going and crowded classrooms, there existed the ideal *milieu* for scarlatina. Having said that, the smallpox epidemic of 1876/77 led to only two cases in the village out of 119 in the whole district.

Overall West Derby was able to sustain the advantage it had held over Liverpool in the 1840s: the work of the Local Board almost certainly increased the difference. The village set the standard for the rest of the district. Little wonder that the steady exodus of wealthy and well to do folk from Liverpool to West Derby which began in the 1830s continued for at least 50 years. By 1881 the villagers of West Derby were living 'in a world which was demonstrably getting more comfortable and running without too much friction'.⁵⁴ Whether the middle-class inhabitants included the poor in their thoughts when they spoke of the 'village community' is uncertain but there is little evidence of practical philanthropy on the part of the rich villagers.

As most of the villagers congregated on Sundays in Gilbert Scott's splendid parish church they may well have shared a sense of spiritual unity. There is no reason to assume 'much friction' between the poorer inhabitants, crowded into the rear of the church, and their superiors, socially, in the rented pews, nearer their Rector. Nor need anyone doubt that the poor of the village were better off than their grandparents had been. However, it is equally certain that this was not the result of deliberate altruism on the part of the rich and powerful, but rather a happy confluence of circumstances.

NOTES

- 1 The village is taken to mean the nucleus around the Chapel, Almonds Green, Crosby Green, Haymans Green, Back Lane (Eaton Road North), Mill Lane, Meadow Lane, Sandforth Road, and Town Row/ Leyfield Road to Honey's Green Lane.
- 2 Calculated from the 1826 Rate Book L[liverpool City] R[ecord] O[ffice], 354 WES 1/1/1. An average of 5 persons per household has been used, following P. Laslett & R. Wall, *Household and Family in Past Time* (Cambridge 1972), p. 138.
- 3 These were described in the 1826 Rate Book as 'wash-houses', in 1827 as 'cottages', with a value of 2s. 6d. per annum for rating purposes. LRO 354/WES 1/1/1.
- 4 M. Auton, *The Development of West Derby Village, c. 1825-1881*, unpublished Liverpool M. Phil thesis, 1984, pp. 101-4.
- 5 Cooke, a Quaker and cotton merchant, bought 36 acres for £7,000. At that time he lived at Millbank, but he soon had Holly Lodge built. LRO, 920 SAL, Court Roll 1825, p. 286. Holly Lodge is shown on the 1838 tithe map, schedule reference 1275.
- 6 Richard Radcliffe was an attorney and town clerk of Liverpool. He died in 1844 before his development was completed, but his son, also Richard, ensured its completion. LRO, 920 SAL, Court Roll 1847, p. 299, records that Radcliffe died intestate. The court gave temporary tenancy of his property to his eldest son Richard.
- 7 Auton, thesis, chapter 2 gives extensive details of land and building transactions.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 154.
- 9 Owner of Heywoods Bank, Liverpool. The Heywoods built Charity Cottages at Almonds Green (opposite Hornspit Lane); there are initials and the date on a plaque on the houses. Anna Maria, wife of J.P. Heywood, was converted from Catholicism to Anglicanism and paid for the construction of the Chapel Memorial in the village in celebration, J. Houl, *Notes on West Derby* (1913). When J.P. Heywood died his estate was valued at £1.9 million, will proved at Liverpool 1877.
- 10 An advertisement in the *Liverpool Mercury*, November 1844, informed that 'no house less than £1,500 is to built upon it'.
- 11 In 1835 West Derby Township was divided for administrative purposes, that part adjacent to Liverpool being incorporated into it. (Municipal Corporate Corporations Act). The Rural Township and the Vestry continued to function thereafter. *Liverpool Mercury*, *passim* for regular reports of meetings.
- 12 *Liverpool Mercury*, June 21, 1839, meeting at Harper St., Low Hill.
- 13 Crosby was one of the few genuinely local men to cut an important figure in village life. He was born in July 1804, the son of another Thomas, a shoemaker and victualler, and described himself consistently in Census Returns as a 'plumber and glazier' which does not truly reflect his wealth or status. He married the daughter of a well to do local farmer, owned a brewery, farmland and many properties. In local public life he seems to have been ubiquitous. M. Auton, thesis, *passim*, especially chapters 2 and 7 and appendix 5. The will was proved at Liverpool, 1879.
- 14 *Liverpool Mercury*, April 1, 1842.
- 15 Until 1843 St. Mary's was part of the parish of Walton on the Hill. A

- Private Act secured its becoming a Parish in its own right. Walton on the Hill Rectory Act, 6 & 7 Vic. c. 16.
- 16 *Liverpool Mercury*, November 21, 1839.
 - 17 An Order in Council, dated 20th May, 1847, constituted the parish of West Derby as a Rectory. Referred to in the Parish Church Centenary Magazine (1956) in St. Mary's Rectory.
 - 18 *Liverpool Mercury*, March 27, 1849.
 - 19 *Ibid.*, March 14, 1851.
 - 20 *Ibid.*, March 14, 1851.
 - 21 *Ibid.*, March 18, 1851.
 - 22 *Liverpool Mercury* and *Liverpool Daily Post*, January 24, 1860.
 - 23 *Liverpool Daily Post*, May 17, 1860.
 - 24 *Ibid.*, May 21, 1860.
 - 25 *Ibid.*, May 22, 1860.
 - 26 *Ibid.*, May 21, 1860, letter from 'Fairplay', and *Liverpool Mercury*, May 21, 1860.
 - 27 *Liverpool Daily Post*, May 25, 1860.
 - 28 LRO 354 WES 2/1, Local Board General Minute Book.
 - 29 J. Redlich & F.W. Hirst, *History of Local Government in England* (1970) p. 155.
 - 30 LRO 354 WES 10/1.
 - 31 LRO 354 WES 10/2.
 - 32 LRO 354 WES 4/2.
 - 33 LRO 354 WES 2/1.
 - 34 LRO 354 WES 4/2, Health Committee Minutes pp. 203-224, q.13.
 - 35 *Ibid.*, p. 296, November 28, 1872.
 - 36 LRO 354 WES 10/1. Roads Committee Minutes, Dec. 7, 1860.
 - 37 *Ibid.*, July 20, 1860.
 - 38 *Ibid.*, August 29, 1861.
 - 39 *Ibid.*, March 31, 1864.
 - 40 LRO 354 WES 4/3, Health Committee Minutes, Sep. 30, 1869, q. 42.
 - 41 LRO 354 WES 2/1, General Board Minutes, December 5, 1868.
 - 42 LRO 354 WES 4/3, Health Committee Minutes, February 11, 1869.
 - 43 *Ibid.*, February 25, 1869.
 - 44 *Ibid.*, March 1, 1869.
 - 45 *Ibid.*, Sanitary Commission q.32.
 - 46 LRO 354 WES 2/1, General Board Minutes, Report Inset in Book.
 - 47 J. Cooper & D. Power, *A History of West Derby* (Ormskirk, 1982), p. 225
 - 48 Auton, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-83.
 - 49 Appointed in 1873, as required by 1872 Public Health Act, section 10, referred to in the Health Committee Minutes, LRO, 354 WES 4/2, p. 296.
 - 50 Figure taken by MOH from *English Life Table*, MOH 1877 report in Lancs. CRO.
 - 51 Auton, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-91.
 - 52 A new middle class suburb between Bootle and Crosby.
 - 53 'Zymotic' refers to fermentation. The disease is introduced into the body by eating or drinking and the bacilli ferment and multiply in the stomach and viscera. (O.E.D.).
 - 54 J.H. Clapman: *Economic History of Modern Britain*, II, Preface (1932).