

Liverpool, People, Prosperity and Power Diana E. Ascott, C. S. Lewis, and Michael Power. Liverpool University Press. *Liverpool was unique among English towns in the rate of its commercial development from the late seventeenth century.*

During the 17th century Liverpool merchants increased their participation in this line of traffic. They advanced further in the 18th century. By the 18th century Liverpool overtook Bristol and London to become the leading British slave-trading port, whether measured by the number of ships dispatched to Africa or the number of slaves carried across the Atlantic Ocean. Indeed, Liverpool increased its share of slaving voyages emanating from British ports over those next six decades. In the period Liverpool sent out 43 per cent of the ships engaged in the British slave trade. Locational advantages were also significant, for Liverpool had a unique combination of regional advantages, including access until to smuggled merchandise on the Isle of Man, safe shipping routes around the north of Ireland in wartime, and after an industrialising hinterland with plenty of textile production suitable for export cargoes to Africa and America. Liverpool also capitalised on the commercial acumen of its merchants, notably their success in forging effective commercial partnerships along the West African coast, especially in the Bight of Biafra, the epicentre of slave supplies to British vessels, and in coordinating payment mechanisms for slave sales with Caribbean agents and London sugar commission houses. Her merchants were also quicker than rivals at other ports to exploit new markets for slaves such as the Ceded Islands after 1763. The Liverpool Documents in Context Original manuscripts relating to the conduct and organisation of the Liverpool slave trade are scattered throughout Britain, the Caribbean and the United States. The National Archives, Kew, naturally includes much relevant information among government departments such as the Treasury, the Colonial Office, the Board of Trade, the Admiralty, the Exchequer and Chancery. Business records and shipping information on the Liverpool slave trade can be found in archives as far apart as Minneapolis and Glasgow. As might be expected, some of the most illuminating surviving material is deposited in Liverpool itself. This publication covers all of the relevant material now housed at the latter repository. Eleven different types of surviving material are included. They were generated by individual Liverpool merchants or merchant partnerships. Each group of items varies in format and range; but all provide essential information for students and researchers wishing to understand the organisation of the Liverpool slave trade. Overview of the Individual Collections The documents pertaining to David Tuohy are those of an Irishman who spent fourteen years in the African trade, including the captaincy of four slave voyages between 1763 and 1777 and part-ownership of ten Liverpool slave ships from 1763 to 1777. Tuohy married in Liverpool in 1763 and settled there in 1764. After his experience as a captain of slave vessels, he settled down as a merchant on Merseyside. His correspondence indicates that he divided his commercial affairs mainly between trade between Liverpool and Ireland, a trade in which he imported beef, butter and tallow, and exported salt, beer and cheese, and the slave trade. His ventures in the triangular slave trade involved sending ships to the Windward, Ivory and Gold coasts, the Bight of Benin, and especially Angola, and then selling the Africans at Jamaica, Barbados, St. Kitts, Antigua, Dominica and Grenada. Tuohy had few mercantile contacts on the North American continent apart from in Charleston, South Carolina. The Case and Southworth records see MD cover the years from 1763 to 1777. They are the surviving commercial manuscripts of a Liverpool merchant firm with a branch house in Kingston, Jamaica. Thomas Case was listed in the Liverpool trade directory for 1763 as a merchant in Water Street. He owned a number of ships, became a member of the African Company of Liverpool, and held shares in eighteen slaving vessels. Two of these ships, the *Fortune* and the *Bee*, were vessels where he was the sole owner; the others were co-owned with his brother Clayton and other Liverpool merchants such as William Boats and William Davenport. Thomas Case entered into an insurance brokerage business with William Gregson in 1763. This was dissolved in 1768, however, when bankruptcy proceedings were issued against Case after he fell into financial difficulties. Southworth was the part owner of several slave vessels in the 1760s and 1770s but he never co-owned vessels with Case. Both ends of the business, at Liverpool and Kingston, acted on commission, but sales were much more valuable at the Jamaican end largely owing to the slave sales than on Merseyside. The Liverpool house under Case sold on behalf of far fewer people than the Kingston branch

under Southworth. This resulted from the much larger population of the Lancashire port and its hinterland compared with the much smaller white population in Jamaica. At first sight these list a bewildering array of sales but they can be collated and analysed to indicate some interesting patterns in consumer behaviour. Some of the detailed accounts of slave sales, giving the purchasers, date of purchase, size of lot sold and prices gained, are duplicated in the two Sales account books see MD but some are not. He was involved in various trading partnerships. He built up much of his mercantile fortune from participation in the slave trade, and was particularly active in that traffic as well in various other trades in the last two decades of the eighteenth century. Leyland had an interest in sixty-nine slaving voyages from Liverpool. The ships in which he was concerned delivered an estimated 22, Africans to the Americas. He was associated with some other important Liverpool merchants but he also linked up with smaller fry. Thus, for example, he was part owner with David Tuohy in the slave ship Kitty in . In Leyland entered into a banking partnership with Clarke and Roscoe, a firm of Liverpool bankers. After this was dissolved in , he set up his own bank in Liverpool with his nephew Richard Bullin in . There are also many examples of dealings in commodities with far-flung business connections in England, Ireland, Scotland France, Spain, Holland, Portugal and the United States. Leyland dealt in various commodities, including wine, salt, barley, tallow, earthenware, cotton, sugar, oranges, bark, coal and rice. These volumes follow a set format. John Newton is the best-known captain in the history of the British slave trade. He was the captain of three slaving voyages between and , and sailed on a further voyage as a mate. He documented his experiences on these voyages in detailed logs. Later in life he became an evangelical minister in the Church of England, renounced his involvement in the slave business, and became a prominent abolitionist who testified against the slave trade before committees of the House of Commons in and . The letters cover the s, when Newton was still active in the slave trade. They include details on his experiences on board Africa-bound vessels that can be fruitfully dovetailed with his diaries, logs and other writings from the period. They provide a broader view of the implications of involvement in slave trading than one gathers from the purely business orientation of many other sources reproduced here. The Robert Bostock letterbooks, covering the period , include much business correspondence on the slave trade see MD . Bostock was both a ship captain and a merchant. He was captain and first owner on three Liverpool slaving voyages, in , and . He was the first owner of fourteen other Liverpool slaving voyages between and , and took shares in twelve other slaving voyages from the Mersey. He delivered slaves to Antigua, St. Kitts, Barbados, Grenada and Jamaica. His letters include instructions to ship captains about the conduct and destinations of their African voyages; advice on the purchase of slaves and commodities in Africa; requests to London merchant houses for financial guarantees for payment of slave sales; the average prices for which captains should sell slaves in different Caribbean islands; and communications with factors and agents about economic conditions in the Caribbean. Several smaller items among these microfilms include interesting additional details on the Liverpool slave trade. The sailing instructions of 16 October for the captain and supercargo i. Deposited in the Norris Papers, it offers advice on the loading of provisions at Kinsale, Ireland, and the purchase of slaves on either the Gold Coast or at Whydah, in the Bight of Benin. The slaves were to be sold in the West Indies. Tomlinson was the first owner of thirty Liverpool slaving voyages that disembarked some 5, slaves to markets in North America and the Caribbean. Though little contemporary material has survived about Knight, he was a major Liverpool slave trader with an interest in voyages over thirty years that delivered over 26, Africans to America. The logs kept on board H. These records were apparently kept by Thomas Dixon, and are all in one volume. The descriptive entries are particularly interesting when the ships were based on the West African coast. Details of the course of the ships, their latitude and longitude, and remarks on provisioning, stores, watering, painting and cleaning are also provided. The log of H. Agamemnon covers the period 1 October June . The remarks for the Count du Nord extend from 29 September to 10 June . The descriptions on board the Madampookata cover the period 29 March to 22 January . For the most part, these are separately compiled contemporary documents that were gathered together in this volume. The most significant documents on the Liverpool slave trade found here are: Significance for Research These various records on the Liverpool slave trade can be used in numerous ways. They are obviously vital for the study of individual Liverpool slaving merchants. Altogether, the sources filmed here are essential source items for the investigation of one of the

most notorious trades with which Liverpool was associated. Bibliographical Note Information about the growth of the eighteenth-century shipping, trade and port of Liverpool is available in C. Northcote Parkinson, *The rise of the port of Liverpool* and F. Hyde, *Liverpool and the Mersey: A pioneering modern collection of essays on the Liverpool slave trade* is Roger Anstey and P. The original sources available on the Liverpool slave trade are outlined in F. Behrendt, David Richardson, and Herbert S. Klein, *The Trans-Atlantic slave trade: The manuscripts of the Liverpool slave merchant William Davenport held at Keele University Library* have already been published in the same BRRAM series as the present collection, as have the American materials from both the above-mentioned Tarleton papers and the Holt-Gregson papers. The eighteenth-century Liverpool trading community is described in Sheryllyne Haggerty, *The British-Atlantic trading community* Several individual merchants and voyages represented in this publication have received attention from historians. Material on his life is also included in John Hughes, *Liverpool banks and bankers* and W. Wadsworth, *A hundred years of joint stock banking*, 4th edn. For the Bostock letterbook, see J. See also Vera M. Marcus Rediker, *The slave ship: Comments on the log of the brig Ranger* are found in Averil Mackenzie-Grieve, *The last years of the English slave trade*, Acknowledgements My thanks to David Stoker, Manager of the Liverpool Record Office and Local Studies at the Liverpool Central Library, for checking the material to be filmed and supplying me with copies of in-house typescript descriptions of these records. Description of the material The James Brown papers consist of a private log book see MD 47 kept by Captain James Brown when he commanded the Liverpool trading ship *Gossypium* on a total of eleven voyages between Liverpool and New Orleans between and six from Liverpool to New Orleans and five return voyages to Liverpool ; a letter book see MD 48 containing copies of letters written by Brown himself between and his death on 23 October , and by his executors; and a collection of accounts connected with the voyages of the *Gossypium* see MD 49 and other ships in which Brown had some financial interest. Little is known of Brown himself save what can be gleaned or surmised from these papers; the highlight of his seafaring career seems to have been the violent hurricane he and the *Gossypium* survived in the Gulf of Mexico in October

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Industry Industry in Liverpool was relatively minor until the late seventeenth century. Various medieval and post-medieval documents mention brewers, goldsmiths, weavers and smiths, but these were mainly essential crafts to support the local community, as was milling, probably the largest of the industries. A respectable trade in pottery manufactured from local clays continued throughout the post-medieval period. By the eighteenth century, glass manufacture, iron-working, clock-making and rope manufacture were all well established industries. From the registers of St. Farm buildings generally encompassed other outbuildings necessary for the additional trades, such a tanning, milling, iron-working or brewing, but later many farmsteads became more specialised, such as Tanhouse Farm and Court House Brewery in Halewood. Watch-making had spread to several townships during the seventeenth century but these were often out-workers supplying tools and parts to the centre of the industry in Liverpool and Prescot. He was most likely Thomas Aspinwall, one of the new Puritan settlers in Toxteth Park who died in Yates LIVERPOOL in the 19th century During the medieval and post medieval period there was a thriving fishing industry in the waterside coves and inlets of the Mersey. In the late seventeenth century, the fisheries had become so extensive that they had become a hindrance to navigation. In , Thomas Patten of Warrington, wishing to make the Mersey navigable to Manchester, believed the river to be over-fished and proposed to suppress the offenders. How difficult today to imagine that there were once so many salmon at Garston that they were fed to pigs. The Liverpool hinterland was opened up and the rise in the port swiftly followed. Salt has always been a necessity of life, not only for seasoning but also as a preservative for meat and fish, and as the population increased, the growing demand for the commodity made its preparation on a large scale essential. A few miles upstream on the Mersey, near the small hamlets of Oglet and Speke, a small refinery was constructed at Dungeon, where the remains of a small harbour can still be clearly seen. A few cottages lined Dungeon Lane, which housed the salt workers with two Customs and Excise cottages still standing close by. The economic importance of salt had quickly been recognised by Liverpool merchants. Before this discovery of rock salt, brine had to be purified on site, but it was now a simple matter to transport the raw material to more economically sited factories where it could be refined. Three refineries sprouted on or near the Mersey; at Frodsham Bridge c. The regular supplies of both salt and coal to the refineries continued to be problematic and was the motivation to develop the lines of communication into the salt fields of Cheshire and the coal fields of south west Lancashire. It was, for example, an essential commodity of the Newfoundland cod fisheries, from where the salted fish was taken to the West Indies and sold or exchanged for sugar, coffee or fruit. In the coastal trade it was of great importance; it was taken to Cornwall where in return came china clay for the pottery industries of Staffordshire and Liverpool. It was also necessary in other Liverpool industries such as metal and glass working, where it was used as a flux, and later it became integral to the basic growth of the local chemical industry as an ingredient in the manufacture of soda. By the s, the Weaver Navigation supply route into the salt fields was complemented with a similar operation to the Lancashire coalfields with the opening of the Sankey Brook Canal. Much of the support had come from the merchants and industrialists of Liverpool and the proprietors of the salt works of Northwich and Winsford. Ashton, in fact, provided just under half of the capital, owning 51 of the shares in the Navigation, and the completion of the project was mainly owed to him. Liverpool Salthouse Dock The canal opened in November and its effect on the production of salt was quite remarkable; 14, tons in , 40, by , , by and , in When the Dungeon works was inherited by Nicholas Ashton after the death of John Ashton in August , he was quick to secure a regular and economic supply of coal by leasing coalmines at Parr, near St. Helens owned salt-works in Cheshire. Ashton was still only 30 years old and had already held the office of High Sheriff of Lancashire. The salt trade is frequently ignored when assessing the factors that contributed to the rapid expansion of the port, yet this was a

sizeable trade and quickly gave Liverpool a boost to surge past the declining port of Chester and provide a solid infrastructure to be exploited by those who were to follow. Further research Ascott, Diana E. *People, Prosperity and Power* Lpool Univ Press This is a modern and significant detailed study of the social and political structure of the town during this crucial period, using parish registers, probate material, and town government records to consider the characteristics a fast-growing and mobile population, the occupational structure, family lives and connections of workers in the town, and the political structures and struggles of the period.

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Chapter 4 : Books by Michael Power (Author of The Audit Society)

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Liverpool Community, 12 Th e parish registers of St Nicholas, Peter an d Georg ar in Liverpool Recor Offic (Liv.R.O.) NIC, PET, GEO; that of St Nicholas is printed t Lancashireo

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Chapter 8 : Liverpool, : Diana E. Ascott :

Liverpool's Rise as a Slaving Port The documents reproduced in this publication relate to the triangular slave trade between Britain, Africa and the Americas during.

Chapter 9 : Mike Royden's Local History Pages Salt and the Rise of Liverpool

37 The argument and data for this mercantile domination of the council are contained in 'Liverpool town governors ', a chapter of the proposed book, Approaches to the History of the Liverpool Community,