

**Business leaders and society:
the originators of the statistical societies of
Liverpool, Manchester and London**

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The 1830s saw the emergence of statistical societies throughout Britain.¹ This was at a time when we had seen the Reform Bill of 1832, and those interested in social reform saw the potential for statistics to be collected to support their cause. The statistical societies in London and Manchester have been in continuous operation to the present day, but all the others in England appear to have fizzled out after only a year or two.

Some investigations have been made previously into the founders and members of the societies in Manchester² and London³. This paper contains the first analysis of the membership of the Liverpool Statistical Society, and it goes on to compare the original membership of the three societies. We show the way in which business leaders maintained links with other groups, such as doctors and ministers, in examining social and economic problems of the day. We also examine the information available to throw light on the networks that existed in Manchester and Liverpool. We also use the information about the membership to see what we may deduce about the relative success of the society in Manchester and the failure of that in Liverpool.

Statistics in the 1830s had a rather different meaning from that of today. Statistical methodology was covered in a few of the early meetings in London (where some of the members were professors of mathematics), but not apparently elsewhere. The concern was the collection of statistics, with a view to providing information for society, though perhaps also meeting the pre-conceived views of the investigators⁴. However, one member of the Manchester Statistical Society, Samuel Robinson, did write a book on "a new and improved method of arithmetic."⁵

In section I we review briefly the history of the three statistical societies. We pay particular attention to the Liverpool society, whose origin has not been documented previously. In section II we analyse and compare the original members of the three societies. We also compare the findings with what is known about the background and activities of business leaders as revealed by the previous literature. In section III we consider the evidence available on links between the families of the members of the Manchester and Liverpool societies: what does this tell us about family links and the relationship between these Northern towns in the 1830s? In section IV we use the results to suggest reasons for the failure of the society in Liverpool, in comparison with Manchester, the only provincial statistical society to survive.

I

¹ Cullen (1976).

² Elesh (1972).

³ Rosenbaum (1984).

⁴ Cullen (1976).

⁵ Robinson (1852).

The oldest statistical society in Britain is that in Manchester. Its history is described by Wilkinson,⁶ in a paper that was informed by discussion with William Langton. Langton was a banker, and was an honorary secretary of the Manchester District Provident Society, along with Dr James Kay. Kay was senior physician to the Ardwick and Ancoats dispensary. They were concerned about the lack of information on schools and other subjects, and Langton suggested forming a society to collect statistics. Shortly after, Kay made a tour in Derbyshire in the company of Samuel Greg and William Rathbone Greg: they were sons of Samuel Greg senior, who owned the Quarry Bank cotton mills at Styal, Cheshire; and Samuel junior had established a model village. The subject was discussed with the Gregs and the project began to take shape. The idea was then put to Benjamin Heywood, then President of the District Provident Society, who invited friends to discuss the subject, and the idea of the Society was confirmed.

The first report of the society, issued in July 1834, commented:

“The Manchester Statistical Society owes its origin to a strong desire felt by its projectors to assist in promoting the progress of social improvement in the manufacturing population by which they are surrounded. Its members are associated not merely for the purpose of collecting facts concerning the condition of the inhabitants of this district, as its name might seem to imply, but the first resolution entered on its minutes pronounces it to be “a Society for the discussion of subjects of political and social economy, and for the promotion of statistical enquiries, to the total exclusion of party politics.”⁷

The Society was very active in carrying out its own surveys. Amongst the reports produced were on education, living conditions of the working classes, and diet. However the number of surveys declined; Elesh’s analysis of papers they presented to British Association meetings showed 14 in 1834-41 but none afterwards; the subsequent 21 papers over the period to 1873 were all secondary analyses.⁸

The society went through a sticky period in the 1840s; Ashton, in a centenary history, finds little information available on the work done, and in 1849 there was a suggestion that the society be dissolved.⁹ However, there was enough energy on the part of the remaining members to carry on the work, and the society remains active to the present day.

The society in London had a rather different beginning. The British Association for the Advancement of Science met in Cambridge in 1833, and a visitor, M. Adolphe Quetelet, representing the Belgian government, arrived with some statistical information – but none of the then current sections of the British Association could satisfactorily receive it. Therefore, a number of those present, led by Charles Babbage, professor of mathematics at Cambridge, decided to form a statistics section of the British Association¹⁰. This they duly did, although not without some difficulties. However, the British Association only met once a year, and a more regular forum for discussing statistics was needed. Therefore, a meeting was held in London on 21 February 1834, at which it was decided to take steps to form a statistical society in London. A public meeting was held on 15

⁶ Wilkinson, 1875. However, as Cullen (1975) points out, this paper was prepared after discussion with Langton, some 30 years after the events occurred; so it is quite possible that the role of Langton is overstated.

⁷ MSS Annual report, date. [first]

⁸ Elesh, (1972), p.288.

⁹ Ashton (1934).

¹⁰ Rosenbaum (1984), also ref. to British Association history

March, at which the society was formally founded. The society received its royal charter in 1887.

At this stage we note that the eight present at the meeting on 21 February included Lieut.-Col. W.H. Sykes (of whom more below), and also George William Wood, MP¹¹: the latter was father of William Wood, one of the first 28 members of the Manchester Statistical Society, which had just been formed.

The society in London took some time to get off the ground fully. Abrams finds that its members "were united in a common sense of the usefulness of quantitative social information."¹² He goes on to comment that what the London society had, that other groups lacked, was the capacity to bring together government officials concerned with and keen to promote statistics, with a very distinguished group of individuals.

The London Statistical Society was keen to promote and assist societies in the provinces. It established, in 1834, a committee of correspondence to arrange plans for communicating with provincial societies.¹³ The RSS archives in 1835 refer to societies having been or on the point of being formed in many places, including Liverpool. However we actually had to await the 1837 meeting, in Liverpool, of the British Association. At one of the sessions of the statistical section, Lieut.-Col Sykes suggested the formation of a statistical society in Liverpool.¹⁴

A meeting in November 1837 decided to go ahead with the society. William Reynolds, a physician, chaired the meeting and was to be Vice-Chairman of the society. The society was subsequently formed, with Sir John S.P. Salusbury, a landowner, as chairman. Other physicians involved were James Vose as Treasurer and William Henry Duncan as one of the Secretaries. Duncan was son of a Scottish merchant, and his younger brother George was president of Liverpool Law Society in 1833-34. William Henry Duncan was to become Chief Medical Officer of Health for Liverpool, the first such appointment in any English town.¹⁵ The other secretary was John William Harden, a judge appointed by Lord Denman (father-in-law of Edward Cropper, a member of the society) and who married Angelina, second daughter of Sir John S.P. Salusbury: such was the networking.

Of the 85 members of the Liverpool Statistical Society in 1838, 53 had joined the British Association for the Liverpool meeting in 1837¹⁶, and indeed 4 had been at the meeting in Cambridge in 1833¹⁷.

The Society published its Papers and Proceedings, vol.1, part 1¹⁸, which reports on a meeting on 30 March 1838. There was an intention to establish sub-committee into "the moral and physical condition of the most destitute classes of this large town", and other matters of great interest were also discussed, but it appeared as if the enthusiasm was not matched by the ability to overcome

¹¹ RSS archives

¹² Abrams (1968), p.13.

¹³ RSS archives.

¹⁴ Liverpool Mercury; note that Cullen's (1976) reference to the idea emanating from Lord Sandon is incorrect.

¹⁵ There is a pub in Liverpool city centre, the "Doctor Duncan".

¹⁶ List of members of the British Association, resident in or near Liverpool, September 1837 (Liverpool Athenaeum library).

¹⁷ Report of the public meetings of the British Association who met at Cambridge, June 1833.

¹⁸ LESS archives.

practical realities. There is no evidence of the society surviving beyond 1838, and only Manchester and London of the English societies progressed beyond the early 1840s. Indeed, we cannot be sure how many meetings the Liverpool society held, and whether all the 85 members listed actually participated in its activities.

We should, however, note that in 1903 a Liverpool Economic and Statistical Society was formed, with its president being Charles Booth, author of *Life and Labour of the People of London*, and great-nephew of Henry Booth¹⁹. The society lasted until 1914. It was revived in 1935, with economics professor Gorge Allen the initiator, and (except for a break in 1940-44) has been active since and continues today with regular meetings.

II

We now consider who were the early members of the three societies.

The RSS archives describe the 15 March 1834 meeting, which established the society, as "a public meeting of Noblemen and Gentlemen...", so the social background of those who attended is clear. There is already an analysis of the early membership: Rosenbaum's article concerned with the 378 members at the end of 1834.²⁰ This included information on their ages, shown in Figure 1, and we can deduce that the average age was about 46.

The Manchester Statistical Society had a closed membership at the outset. At its formation on 2 September 1833 it consisted of 13 members, increased to 16 on 16 October (the second meeting) and subsequently to 28. On 15 October 1834 a committee appointed to review the rules of the society reported that the society had financial difficulties, which could be overcome either by not limiting the number of members (as in London) or by having voluntary contributions. They favoured the latter course as they were concerned that opening up the society "would impair its social character".²¹ The new rules adopted on 19 November 1834 retained a limit on membership numbers but the maximum was increased to 50. Messenger refers to the "society's small, and always rather clubby circle of personally acquainted members."²²

We compare the London members with Manchester, using the list of the first 28 Manchester members,²³ where we can establish the dates of birth (year only in a few cases) of 22 of them, using Dictionary of National Biography (DNB), local directories, Burke's family records, local newspaper cuttings, etc. The average age, as at 1 January 1834, was 35.4

We have dates of death for 21 of the members, the average being 76.5. However, any assessment of their longevity has to take into account that we know they were alive in 1834. We therefore calculate the number of years lived after January 1834, and compare this with the expectation of life for their age in January 1834. For this purpose we use the first published English life tables.²⁴ We find that the members lived, on average, 40.5 years after January 1834, compared with the expectation of 29.4, an excess of 11.2. We would expect some

¹⁹ Elesh (1972) refers to Charles Booth as the lineal descendant of the early statistical societies. Henry Booth, one of the initiators of the Liverpool-Manchester railway, was a member of the Liverpool Statistical Society.

²⁰ Rosenbaum (1984).

²¹ MSS archives.

²² Messenger (1985), p. 49.

²³ MSS archives.

²⁴ Graham (1843).

excess on the basis of the higher longevity of the wealthier classes offsetting the deleterious effect of living in or near Manchester; however, the 11.3 figure is surprisingly high.

We carry out a similar exercise for the Liverpool members. We have the names of the 85 members of the Society as published in Vol.1 no. 1 of the Papers and Proceedings.²⁵ We can trace the date of birth of 55, and the average is 43.5, i.e. noticeably older than the Manchester members though slightly younger than in London.

The average age at death of the Liverpool members was 70.8 (54 members), and they out-performed the life tables by just 2.9 years.

Rosenbaum analysed the occupations of the London members, using the list of Fellows of the society and DNB. However, there were some multiple entries, e.g. barrister and MP: for the purpose of Figure 2, we have ignored the MPs on the basis that this is likely to represent duplication. The largest category was from the legal profession. Fewer than 5% were from industry and commerce; while this may have been an understatement as industrialists were less likely to be included in DNB compared to professionals and public servants, it is still clear that they were in a minority.

Ashton's centenary history of the Manchester Statistical Society²⁶ includes some notes on the members in the 1830s and 1840s. He comments, "the cotton industry contributed a strong team ... the part played by clergymen ... and nonconformist ministers ... a long line of medical men ... most of all ... the dominant role played by men connected with banking." He indicates that this may have been due to the role of Langton and Heywood. However, we must be careful about double-counting: it is true that three of the early members were founders of the Manchester and Salford Bank in 1836 but none of Shakespear Phillips, James Murray or Henry Newbery (to whom Ashton refers) appears to have been bankers as such.

We can analyse the occupations of the Manchester and Liverpool members. From Manchester we have occupations for 26 of the 28 initial members; for Liverpool, 80 of the 85. The distribution, using the categorisation of Rosenbaum, is shown in Figure 2. This also shows the occupations of the fathers of the Manchester members.

We can see clearly that the Manchester society is closely formed from those in industry and commerce. Of the 28 initial members only one was working in the medical area, John Phillips Kay (he was to give up medicine in 1835), and only one was a minister, John James Tayler, a Unitarian (although another, William Rayner Wood, was administrator at Manchester College, a training establishment for Unitarian ministers).

The Liverpool society was more open in terms of membership and had a greater variety. There were 32 in industry/commerce; the merchants were often involved in several activities, so categorising by industry is somewhat fraught. Sometimes members were involved in partnerships; or they had business relationships: for example, the company of iron merchant William Jevons delivered iron rails to the Liverpool-Manchester railway (Henry Booth was treasurer). 11 fall into the "clerical" category. These included two eminent men who were next-door neighbours. James Martineau was one of the greatest Unitarian thinkers of the

²⁵ LESS archives.

²⁶ Ashton (1934).

19th century. Rev Thomas Raffles was first cousin of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles who founded Singapore; Rev Thomas was congregational minister at St George Street chapel in Liverpool, and it is reported that when he died, thousands lined the streets at his funeral. He was a member of the local council appointed for the British Association meeting at Liverpool:

“and took a great interest in its proceedings. People in the present day will hardly understand how dubious the Association was at that time regarded by many, and how slightly it was spoken of in some leading public journals.”²⁷

The legal profession was well-represented, with 10, including five presidents of the Liverpool Law Society (originally Liverpool Law Library): one was James Robinson, who was president in 1838.²⁸

As previously indicated, medical men were well-represented, with 9, including 4 surgeons. There were 7 in the category of public service. These included local government officials such as Elias Arnaud, collector for customs; and the town clerk (Richard Radcliffe) and his deputy (G W Croke). There were also the chief constable, William Whitty (an Irish Catholic, who later became publisher of the “Liverpool Daily Post”) and his deputy, Maurice Dowling. Rawson Rawson, a member of the London Statistical Society, had been very helpful to the Liverpool society, and he was an honorary member (he was an official at the Board of Trade).

Perhaps surprisingly, the financial sector was not prominent. Joseph Langton was manager of the Bank of Liverpool, and Adam Hodgson was managing director for 20 years. Samuel Turner was manager at the Liverpool branch of the Bank of England (he was also local secretary for the Statistics section of the British Association at its 1837 meeting in Liverpool). Lastly there was Swinton Boulton, who was manager of an insurance company (Liverpool Fire & Life office); he was grandfather of Sir Adrian Boulton. However, a number of other members had directorships of banks or insurance companies: indeed, Charles Turner was chairman of Royal Insurance for longer than any another chairman in the company’s history.

We should mention that one individual, Benjamin Heywood, was a member of both the Manchester and London societies. There was also one who was a member of both Manchester and Liverpool: André Melly. His father was a wealthy watchmaker from Geneva, and André, born in Geneva in 1802, came to England in 1822 and settled in Liverpool. He moved to Manchester in 1830 and went back to Liverpool in 1835²⁹. His son Charles Pierre Melly was Liberal MP for Stoke-on-Trent; his great-great-grandchildren include jazz singer George and actress Andrée Melly.

We now turn to what is known about the places of birth of the Manchester and Liverpool members, shown in Table 1. While there are many gaps, we note a number of Scots, which number understates their influence. Both of the Manchester vice-presidents were Scots, while some of the members came from Scottish families (Henry McConnel, Manchester; William Henry Duncan, Liverpool).

Table 1. Places of birth of members of Manchester and Liverpool societies

	Manchester	Liverpool
Manchester/Liverpool	9	14
Other northern England	2	4

²⁷ Raffles (1884).

²⁸ See www.liverpoollawsociety.org.uk

²⁹ Melly (1889)

Other England	2	5
Scotland	3	5
Ireland	0	2
Abroad	1	4
Unknown	11	51
Total	28	85

The Scottish influence is also visible in documenting the universities that members attended. We can here include data on the London society from Rosenbaum.³⁰ As we shall see, many of the Manchester and Liverpool members were dissenters and hence not allowed to graduate from Oxford or Cambridge. However, Erickson finds that of steel manufacturers in 1860, only 4 attended Oxbridge compared with 9 at some other university.³¹ The table also shows, in brackets, for Manchester and Liverpool, the number of those in the industry/commerce category attending university. In practice, those going to university tended to be professionals (lawyers, doctors) or ministers.

Table 2. Universities attended by members of the London, Manchester and Liverpool societies.

	London	Manchester	Liverpool
Oxford	38	0	3
Cambridge	64	0	2
Edinburgh	9	3 (2)	8 (1)
Glasgow	1	2	0
St Andrew's	1	0	0
Aberdeen	0	0	1
Total	113	5	14

We now move on to examine the religious and political affiliations of members. Elesh has highlighted that 10 of the original 13 Manchester members were Unitarians and Whigs. He goes on to consider 55 people known to have been a member in the period 1833-1840, on which information is available for 51. 25 were nonconformists and 6 were known to be in the established church, 20 not classified. The prominent place of Unitarians in Manchester at this time is well-established.³² We also know that 18.2% of the cotton masters surveyed by Howe were Unitarian.³³

Our own analysis shows that, of the initial 28 members, 14 were Unitarian (see table 2). Since there is better information available on Unitarians compared with Anglicans, the data presented no doubt exaggerate the difference. It is clear, though, that Unitarians were prominent in the early days of the Society, although it appears that their proportionate share of the membership fell over time. This is consistent with the experience of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, where for members joining in 1841-42 10% were Unitarian and 4% in 1850-52; compared with 17% pre-1781 and indeed 30% in 1809-11.³⁴

Unitarianism was strong in north-west England, with nearly one-third of the congregations listed in the 1851 religious census being in Lancashire, Cheshire and the West Riding of Yorkshire.³⁵ We may hypothesise that Unitarians were also

³⁰ Rosenbaum (1984).

³¹ Erickson (1959), p.37.

³² Seed (1986).

³³ Howe (1984).

³⁴ Thackray (1974).

³⁵ Seed (1986).

prominent in the Liverpool society. This turns out to be true; of 85 members, we can identify the religious affiliation of 27, of whom 15 are Unitarian.

There is also a strong tendency for members to be Whigs. In the London society:
"The close connection of the society as a whole and of many of its most active members individually with government constantly reinforced this feeling for a pure empiricism. In its early years the Council of the Society often looked like a subcommittee of a Whig Cabinet."³⁶

We have already referred to Elesh's comment that the majority of Manchester members were Whig. In the case of Liverpool, Whigs were dominant but this was not universal: we know the political affiliations of 21 members: 16 Whigs and 5 Tories.

We should also comment on political activity. In London, the 378 members included 69 MPs. The Manchester society included one individual who had been an MP (Benjamin Heywood, 1831-32) and three who would be MPs later (John Cheetham, Robert Philips, John Turner). In contrast, the (larger) Liverpool society featured just two MPs: Joseph Christopher Ewart and Charles Turner. We also note that the Manchester men included three knights: Benjamin Heywood (knighted in 1838) and two who became knights after marriage (James Kay, who became James Kay-Shuttleworth, and James Shaw, later James Shaw-Kennedy). Later in the century, Manchester businessmen had a strong record of holding parliamentary seats, and with many of their mayors receiving knighthoods.³⁷ It therefore looks as if the Manchester men were playing on a larger stage than their Liverpool counterparts.

However, the Liverpool members were very active in local politics: 19 were councillors or aldermen, and 7 were mayor of Liverpool (these figures exclude John Alston, who was a councillor, later provost, of Glasgow, before moving his business interests to Liverpool). The members included the mayor in 1838, William Rathbone, as well as his two brothers: they were perhaps the most influential family in the town. In contrast, only 2 of the Manchester members were local councillors.

III

We now move on to consider the networks involved with the societies' membership.

Elesh has emphasised the interest of the Manchester members in social reform, and their being active in other societies in the town. Of the 51 members he identified, at least 42 were active in social reform. 29 were members of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, and 16 were active in the Mechanics' Institute. 19 were members of one or more society to encourage the adoption of a national system of education.³⁸

We find similarities in the Liverpool membership. The Royal Liverpool Institution was founded in 1817, as a place of education (Charles Booth was educated there). We find that, of the Presidents from 1831-63, no fewer than 17 were members of the Liverpool Statistical Society.³⁹

³⁶ Abrams (1968).

³⁷ Berghoff (1985), p.74-75.

³⁸ Elesh (1972).

³⁹ Ormerod (1953).

We can list only a sample of the involvement that members had with charitable organisations. William Rathbone worked with his wife Elizabeth and Kitty Wilkinson to establish public baths and wash-houses in Liverpool. Richard Vaughan Yates donated Princes Park to Liverpool, and had a project to build a college or university in Liverpool. Henry Booth's concern for the poor is evidenced by a wide-ranging pamphlet he issued in 1824, covering issues such as the corn laws, taxation, charitable institutions, prison discipline and a system of national education.⁴⁰

Nevertheless, there may have been conflicts. In Manchester, Samuel Greg was concerned to provide pleasant working conditions, good housing and recreational facilities for the workers. This did not prevent a strike in 1846, by operatives keen on having secure employment.⁴¹ His elder R.H. Greg had earlier said that factory labour was not unhealthy but that urbanisation was the culprit.⁴² Given the mix of Tory and Whig supporters in Liverpool, we can imagine there were differences in views, which may have detracted from initiating investigations.

However, the way in which members were involved with other organisations meant that there was a competition for members' time. The Athenaeum, a Liverpool gentlemen's club, was founded in 1797. Eight Liverpool Statistical Society members became president, two others were vice-president, and two were secretary. There were specialist organisations being established at around this time. The Liverpool Law Library Society was founded in 1827. The Liverpool Medical Society was formed in 1833 (there had previously been a Medical Library) and from 1840 the name was Liverpool Medical Institution, with James Dawson (a Liverpool Statistical Society member) president until 1865.⁴³

Other societies were catering for a more generalist audience. The Literary and Philosophical Society (Lit & Phil) was founded in 1812, and two Liverpool Statistical Society members became president (Joseph Brooks Yates and James Martineau). Ten others were members, including Swinton Boulton, who was a life member⁴⁴. There was a sister society, the Liverpool Philomathic Society, a "debating society for the attainment of knowledge by discussion": it was founded in 1825, and by 1846 it had just 60 members.⁴⁵ When William Duncan had a key paper to present in 1843 "on the physical causes of the high rate of mortality in Liverpool", it was delivered before the Lit & Phil, of which he had been a member since 1836. Perhaps the Liverpool Statistical Society had found it too difficult to compete.

We find networks in connection with education.

John James Tayler, a Manchester member, was son of Rev James Tayler, Minister at High Pavement Unitarian chapel, Nottingham, in January 1802. It was reported:

"Mr Tayler's preaching appears to have created great interest in the town [of Nottingham], and caused a large accession to members of the Congregation. It was for this reason, probably, that the original Chapel was wholly or partially pulled down in 1804...and rebuilt. At the first time the Schoolrooms and in which the Day and Sunday schools could meet were erected behind the Chapel... At one time he [Mr Tayler] kept a boarding school, as did many of the Nonconformist

⁴⁰ Booth (1824).

⁴¹ Rose (1986), p.65.

⁴² Cullen (1976), p.107.

⁴³ Shepherd (1979).

⁴⁴ Liverpool Literary and Philosophical Society, proceedings.

⁴⁵ Kidman (1899).

ministers in earlier days, and the sons of a number of well-known Unitarians throughout the country used to attend. Among them were two or three members of the Greg family (certainly Samuel Greg [the Manchester Statistical Society member]) – and possibly William Rathbone [Liverpool], members of the Phillips family, Heywoods and Robinsons, all of Manchester... and, last but not least, his own son James, who afterwards became principal at the Manchester New College ... Mr Tayler first lived and kept his school at the gabled house at the bottom of Short Hill [in the centre of Nottingham]."⁴⁶

An old photograph of what was the house in Short Hill is Figure 3.

This is not the end of the Nottingham connection. Samuel Greg married Mary Needham, daughter of Matthew Needham (hosier of Nottingham), who lived at Lenton House.⁴⁷ The mother of another Manchester member, Robert Needham Philips, was Anne Needham, also of Lenton in Nottingham.

We also mention here a link with James Martineau. He was apprenticed to Samuel Fox of Derby to become a civil engineer. Martineau was a cousin of Catherine Rankine of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, who married Rev. Henry Turner, who was assistant minister of the High Pavement congregation in Nottingham from 1817 until his death in 1822. Martineau, who was then living in Derby, attended the funeral, and was so affected that he decided to give up his engineering career and join the (Unitarian) church. In 1832 he moved to become a Unitarian minister in Liverpool.

The family connections within the Manchester society were investigated by Elesh⁴⁸. Eight of the original 13 members were related to each other; 23 of the 51 later identified members were related to at least one other member. We find that, of the original 28 members, 12 (possibly more) were related in some way. These are shown in Figure 4. We can add the following relationships to those identified by Elesh on the chart in his paper:

- André Melly married Ellen Greg, sister of Samuel and William Rathbone Greg;
- John Douglass and Edward Tootal were sons-in-law of John Kennedy's brother James;
- William Wood's father-in-law was James McConnel. Father of member Henry; and
- Robert Philips' mother was related to the wife of Samuel Greg (this is not shown on Figure 4).

The relationships might have been even more: James Kay was courting Helen Kennedy, daughter of James and niece of John Kennedy, but his proposal of marriage was refused.⁴⁹

We can also illustrate some family connections between the members of the Manchester and Liverpool societies. As an aside, we note that the directors of the Liverpool to Manchester railway included six members of the Liverpool Statistical Society and one of the initial Manchester Statistical Society members, John Kennedy, who was a referee at the Rainhill trials in 1829.

⁴⁶ High Pavement Chapel (n.d.)

⁴⁷ This is now owned by Boots plc and is on the main campus of the University of Nottingham (Train, 1980)

⁴⁸ Elesh (1972).

⁴⁹ Sellick (1994). He goes on to say, "Kay vented his anger in a flurry of aggressive exchanges with two friends and members of the Statistical Society, William Langton and John Douglas," p. 97.

- William Langton(Manchester) was a cousin of Joseph Langton (Liverpool); and also a cousin of Joseph Hornby (Liverpool);
- Robert Needham Philips (Manchester) married Margaret Yates, daughter of Joseph Brooks Yates (Liverpool); and
- Samuel Greg and William Rathbone Greg (Manchester) had, as a cousin, Adam Hodgson (Liverpool); and their sister Elizabeth married William Rathbone (Liverpool).

IV

We now make some concluding comments.

We find that the membership of the Liverpool Statistical Society share several common characteristics with those of the Manchester Statistical Society.

In particular, the members included many of the key people in the town, with many sharing an active interest in social reform. We also find that many were Unitarians. There is also evidence of a preponderance of Whig political support, though this was probably not as strong as in the Manchester Statistical Society.

We do, however find some differences. The membership was noticeably older, by some eight years. There was also a greater diversity of membership. While industrial and commercial interests were the largest group, prominent places were taken by physicians (who occupied three of the positions of officers), ministers, and lawyers. The Liverpool members included several who were active in local politics.

Although the Manchester Statistical Society was to maintain a continuous existence, it was in decline in the 1840s, connected to financial difficulties.⁵⁰ Elesh had pointed to the decline of social surveys, and suggested the following possible reason for the failure of the operations of the Society to become institutionalised⁵¹:

- An inability to agree on common goals;
- Diversion of interest, money and manpower to other causes;
- Government institutions were developed to collect statistics;
- The government co-opted members of the Manchester Statistical Society;
- The researchers had quite limited aims of social reform.

Cullen feels that the decline is difficult to explain, apart from the financial aspect.⁵² Some of the leading figures did, however, move away (e.g. James Kay: he became assistant Poor Law commissioner in East Anglia in 1835), and there were other organisations to attract time and attention, in particular the anti-corn law agitation.

Cullen also comments on the failure of the other provincial societies to sustain an existence. They were, he says, largely amateur, and unsuited to the resource-hungry job of collecting large-scale sets of statistics. Furthermore, he suggests, the results of the initial collection of statistics confirmed the pre-conceived views of the investigators and there was no point in further work.

It is, however, difficult to see, in the case of Liverpool, that the work had been done. There was probably not much more than a few months' work attributed to

⁵⁰ Ashton (1934)

⁵¹ Elesh (1972).

⁵² Cullen (1975), p.116

the society, and the ongoing work of William Duncan in the medical field is evidence of the need for more data, which could add to the pressure for social reform.

Although the Manchester Statistical Society had a restricted membership, this may have contributed to its success. The members were a close-knit community, with close family connections and common industrial and commercial links. They were also younger than their counterparts in Liverpool and London. They also realised when carrying out social surveys was beyond their resources and adapted accordingly. The disparate membership of the Liverpool Statistical Society shows the interest that business leaders had in networking with other parts of the community. However, this may have meant that more effort was needed to progress and co-ordinate the society's activities. Collecting and analysing statistics was no easy job: it took time and resource. This effort was not forthcoming in the presence of competition from local politics and from other organisations that were attractive for those attracted to social reform.

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Figure 1. Distribution of members by age

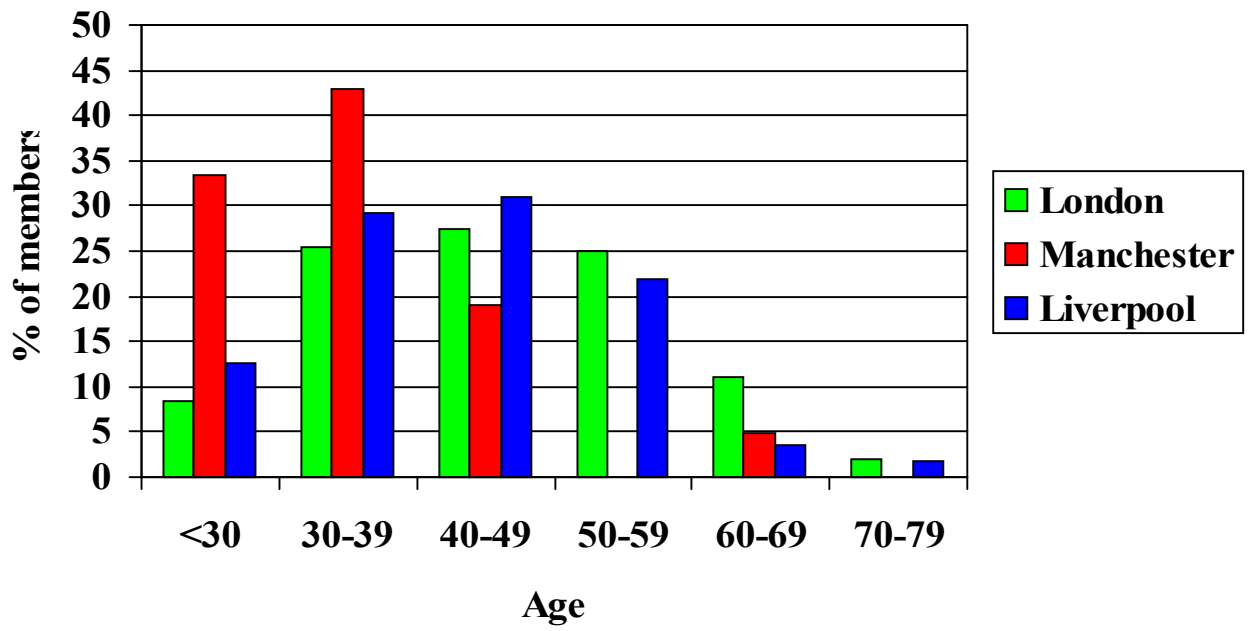


Figure 2. Analysis of members' occupations

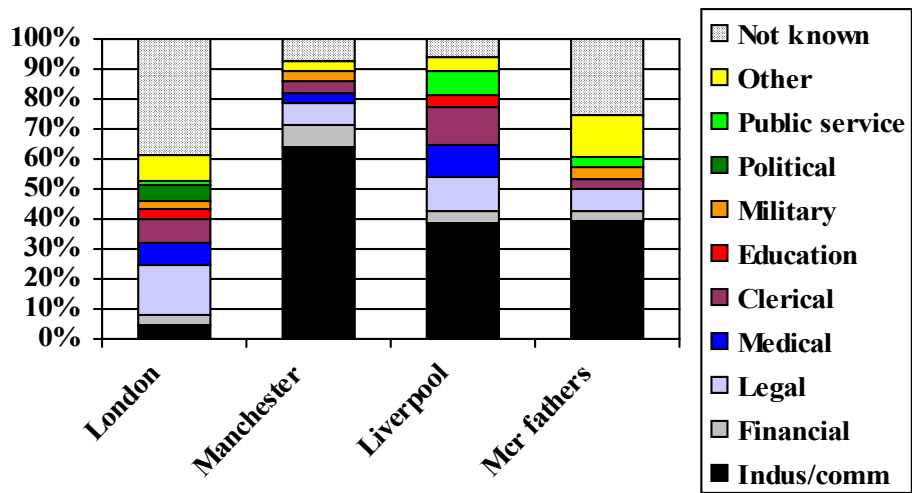


Figure 3. photograph of Rev James Tayler's school in Short Hill, Nottingham (the gabled house)⁵³



⁵³ Whatnall (1928).

Figure 4. Chart of relationships of Manchester Statistical Society members

Bold line indicates marriage.

Key to members, denoted by numbers:

4 John Douglass, 6 Samuel Greg, 7 William Rathbone Greg, 8 Benjamin Heywood,
 11 John Kennedy, 13 William Langton, 15 Henry McConnel, 16 André Melly, 19
 Robert Philips, 21 Samuel Robinson, 24 Edward total, 27 William Rayner Wood.

P = possibly related to John Murray

