

**The Rushworths of Liverpool: A Family Music Business.
Commerce, Culture and the City**

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Nicholas Wong

Abstract

The Rushworth family have been largely overlooked in the seminal texts covering Liverpool's socio-economic and cultural history. This thesis will redress this gap in the historiography of the city and account for the contributions made by the family to Liverpool's cultural economy and civic society for a period of over 150 years. The Rushworth family music business was founded by a cabinet maker from Yorkshire, William Rushworth, and operated in Liverpool between c.1840-2002, a period spanning five generations. The company developed two separate interests: the original pipe organ building business, and a musical instrument retail enterprise which grew out of the organ building side during the second generation under the guidance of Edwin Rushworth. Throughout the generations the company passed from father to son and the third and fourth generations saw the organ works and retail arms united under a single owner, whilst the fifth saw them divided between two brothers and into two largely separate companies.

The thesis will examine the growth, development and diversification of the company across the five generations, and analyse the performance of the business in relation to local economic conditions. In doing so it builds on existing research which considers the workings of commerce and culture, family business succession, and the impact of technological advancement on music consumption, production and practice. This framework provides the context in which we can consider the performance, growth and profitability of the business, and how these provided the foundation for, and facilitated, the cultural contribution of the family across Merseyside and the UK.

This thesis provides a unique perspective on the functioning, structure and operations of a musical instrument manufacture and retail enterprise, and addresses four general questions: what factors contributed to the success and longevity of the Rushworth Company? How was the Rushworth family able to maximise the profitability of the firm in relation to the growth and decline of the consumer and cultural economy? How did the family drive music consumption and create the commercial and cultural environment in which the company flourished? How did the city, the business and family work in tandem to service and facilitate the local musical community? In addressing these questions the thesis provides a unique insight into the commercial strategies of a family firm specialising in cultural products, and the regional factors which contributed to the company's shifting fortunes, thereby contributing to existing scholarship on the relationship between commerce and culture in Liverpool.

The thesis will establish how the regional economy impacted upon the profitability of the business and influenced in both positive and negative ways the family's ability to drive music consumption and encourage musical participation, and thus develop the local cultural economy and the commercial success of their business. By examining these developments, the thesis will construct a timeline of development showing how the region's economic prosperity and subsequent downturn mirrored the growth and ultimate demise of the business, thus illustrating the reciprocal and symbiotic relationship between commerce and culture in Liverpool.

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Introduction

Overview

William Rushworth, a cabinet-maker from Huddersfield, began a journey during the early nineteenth century that would take him to Liverpool via Manchester. By the time of his arrival in Liverpool William had re-skilled and developed his craft into that of the trade of pipe organ building. By the mid-1840s William had established his own Organ Works based in dedicated premises near Liverpool city centre. This act set in place the foundation for a family dynasty that would continue until 2002. The company he founded would develop and diversify such that within little over a decade of its formation, William, in partnership with his sons, Walter and Edwin, was operating a musical instrument retail business, in conjunction with the original pipe organ building business. This multifaceted business approach continued until the death of the founder, William, in 1874. During the second generation, the company was divided between the brothers, with Edwin devoting his business concerns to the re-conditioning of pianos and their subsequent retail, whilst Walter continued the pipe organ building company established by his father. This thesis will trace the development of Edwin's branch of the family tree, focusing in particular on the cultural contribution that the family and the business made to Liverpool and Merseyside for a period of more than a century.¹

The third generation of the family, headed by William Rushworth, Edwin's eldest son, further expanded the family's business interests to encompass 'small goods' and military bands equipment. Under William's guidance the company would continue to grow and the organ works and retail arms of the business were eventually re-united under his sole Managing Directorship in 1908. The company would also, in time, open several retail branches across

¹ Appendix I (p. 320): includes a complete family tree of all members of the Rushworth family who had a direct role, or held senior positions, within the Rushworth organisation.

Liverpool city centre. The fourth generation, led by James Rushworth, William's only son, would continue to grow and modernise the business to incorporate a new branch network, which would cover many areas of North-West England and North Wales, whilst during the 1960s the company would relocate from the original Islington premises in Liverpool's cultural quarter to a new site at Whitechapel in Liverpool City Centre. Under James the organ works would also expand in scale and scope with branch offices opened across Scotland, the Lake District, Leeds, London and Bristol. Under the fifth and final generation, the company would once again be divided-up, between two brothers, David and Alastair Rushworth, with the former taking over the running of the retail arm and the latter controlling the Organ Works. This fifth generation would witness the slow demise and closure of both arms of the business as the company fell victim to the regional problems of falling trade, declining consumer market, decline of the port, increasing unemployment and increasing local, national and international competition.

Contexts: Culture and Commerce and the Family Firm

While the economic condition and development of Liverpool and Merseyside during the period 1800-2002 has been well documented, this thesis will provide a unique perspective on the Rushworth family business and how their enterprise was influenced, directed and restricted by the development of the wider regional economy. It will analyse the impact that the company had on the locality and, in turn, the impact of the local economy on the business and its approach, operations and structure. The thesis will show that the profitability and performance of local businesses are intimately tied up with the condition of the local economy. Dealing in cultural products, the Rushworth business was driven by the prevalent cultural attitudes and musical engagement of the local populace.

The thesis, at the same time, will demonstrate the cultural contribution undertaken by successive generations of the Rushworth family, revealing how their business was designed to have a dual purpose: in the first instance, like all businesses, they were concerned with survival growth, and income-generation; secondly, they were concerned to facilitate and encourage the development of a musically engaged, educated and enthusiastic community through the sponsorship, organisation, administration and facilitating of festivals, competitions and performance. The emphasis on cultural contribution and the creation of a local musical marketplace resulted in increased profitability for the company, providing capital that was reinvested in the company, and in the facilities and services it provided to music and the arts across Merseyside. As the profits of the company increased, the Rushworth family efforts in engendering an atmosphere of musical appreciation, engagement and interaction were recognised and appreciated within the local establishment circles, as well as amongst the local community at large. As a result, the company's social status, civic duties and public roles were enhanced, providing a further boost to its image, respectability and reputation. Rushworths were able to build their ethos of public service and, in tandem with their increasingly profitable business, were well positioned to further engage with, and cater for, Liverpool's musical requirements from both a commercial and cultural perspective.

This relationship between commerce and culture is a central theme throughout the thesis. During the prosperous nineteenth and early twentieth century the population of Liverpool, with growing levels of disposable income and employment, were able to culturally and educationally engage with music, helping to establish the connection between musical appreciation, education and performance as an indicator and measure of social status, respectability and intelligence. This would develop to incorporate attendance at musical events and performance, subscription to local music societies, the facilitating of musical evenings and understanding of musical scores, composers and musical development – all of which reinforced

the notion of music as 'high culture'. This resulted in increased musical participation and tuition and, ultimately, provided the social framework and foundation upon which Rushworth's could expand their musical facilities. These were designed to enable the spread and access to music for all sectors of the local populace. In this way, the symbiotic nature of the relationship of commerce and culture is represented. Conversely, we can see the process in reverse during the post-war period, although musical participation remained high in Liverpool, the ability to purchase new instruments and equipment was stifled by the economic condition of the city, as characterised by indicators such as decreasing population, increasing rates of unemployment, the decline of the port and the exodus and relocation of industry from the region. This thesis will examine how the Rushworth family adapted and adjusted to fluctuations in the local economy throughout their history and the impact this had on their operations, services and profitability; reflecting throughout the reciprocal nature of the relationship between commerce and culture. The definition of culture is a much-debated and notoriously difficult concept to define. In the context of this thesis the appropriate definition is taken from the *Oxford English Dictionary*, which states that culture is, in the first instance, 'the arts and other manifestations of human intellectual achievement regarded collectively', which encompasses, in the main, those with 'a refined understanding or appreciation of the Arts'. Similarly, the idea of culture can be interpreted collectively in terms of the wider socio-economic or cultural community, 'the ideas, customs, and social behaviour of a particular people or society' which can be embodied in 'the attitudes and behaviour characteristic of a particular social group'.

According to Davies and Benbough-Jackson culture can be referred to as, 'Culture as a 'social adhesive' or a mechanism which 'perpetuates or generates difference'. Similarly, Davies and Benbough-Jackson, refer to other scholarly descriptions to define culture, in particular, Matthew Arnold who explains that it is, 'the best which has been thought and said' or Edward B. Tylor who explains that culture is, 'a complex whole which includes knowledge,

belief, arts, morals, law, custom and any other capability and habit acquired by man as a member of society'.² It is from this perspective that this study will consider the concept of 'culture'.

Rushworths, as a respected musical family firm, were able to take advantage of the complex networks of the local 'club-land', the increasing wealth of the locality and the increasing profitability of the firm to be in a position to make sustained and important cultural contributions to the city.³ This, in turn, benefitted the business by enabling the greater accumulation of financial, social and cultural capital, and enabled the company to re-invest in the creation of new departments, facilities and festivals/competitions, which reinforced the Rushworth family name, brand and reputation; serviced the musical demands of the locality; and engendered a spirit of musical enjoyment, interaction and participation. It created a type of virtuous circle that was mutually beneficial to the family, the business and the community simultaneously. As the company moved through the various eras of development the thesis examines how the company adapted and adjusted not only to a changing local socio-economic environment but also to a new commercial and musical environment. The introduction of the recorded medium (sound recordings) and the concept of 'music without musicians'⁴ (as in music created through recorded sounds rather than live instrumentation) forced a shift in Rushworth's business approach and product range and provides a clear example of their entrepreneurial and innovative approach to business.

The thesis moves through the successive generations of the Rushworth Company and assesses how the family negotiated the challenges and opportunities of the period. Across the length of thesis, we will focus consistently on three areas of enquiry: how the different

² Benbough-Jackson, M., and Davies, S., 2011. *Merseyside: Culture and Place*. (Cambridge Scholars Publishing: Newcastle upon Tyne). p. 2-3

³ The term 'clubland' coined in: Morris, R, J., 1990. 'Clubs, Societies and Associations'. In Thompson, F, M, L., (ed.) *Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750-1950*, volume 3.

⁴ Suisman, D., 2009. *Selling Sounds*. (Harvard University Press: Massachusetts); Theberge, P., 1997. *Any Sound You Can Imagine: Making Music/Consuming Technology*. (Wesleyan University Press: Hanover);

generations of Rushworth adapted to the changing modes of music production, consumption and practice; the impact of music technology and instrumental developments; and the fluctuating fortunes of the socio-economic environment as they impacted on Rushworths. In the first instance, building on the research of John Belchem⁵, Simon Gunn⁶ and Dave Russell,⁷ the chapters will account for the fluctuating condition of the local economy, the development of local social structure and changing nature of music consumption and production, each interacting with the other. Running alongside this focus will be an assessment of the various expansions, diversification and profitability of the company throughout the different generations. Finally, we consider the cultural contribution and approach of the family and the increasingly prominent civic responsibilities of the individual Rushworths. The thesis will examine some of the key questions relating to family businesses such as longevity, succession and demise. This will help establish how the nature and effectiveness of the Rushworth's cultural contribution was directly connected to the success and profitability of the business, and in turn to the favourable economic conditions of the region. Through this approach the form and functioning of the relationship between commerce and culture will be examined and analysed in the context of Liverpool and the greater Merseyside region. Also consistent throughout the thesis is an analysis of the entrepreneurial traits and abilities of the individual Rushworth family members, considering similarities and overlaps in their methods and approaches to both commercial and cultural contribution and how they were able to take

⁵ Belchem, J., and Hardy, N., 1998. "Second Metropolis: The Middle Class in early Victorian Liverpool". In Kidd, A., and Nicholls, D., (eds.). *The Making of the British Middle Class? Studies of regional and cultural diversity since the eighteenth century*. (Sutton Publishing: Gloucestershire); Belchem, J., (ed.) 2006. *Liverpool 800: Culture, Character and History*. (Liverpool University Press: Liverpool); Belchem, J., 2011. "The Cultural Capital of Liverpool". In, Benbough-Jackson, M., and Davies, S., (eds) Merseyside: Culture and Place. (Cambridge Scholars: Newcastle-upon-Tyne) pp. 22-36.

⁶Gunn, S., 2000. *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class*. (Manchester University Press: Manchester); Gunn, S., 2004. 'Class, identity and the urban: the middle class in England, c. 1790-1950'. *Urban History*, 31, pp 29-47.

⁷ Russell, D., 2000. 'Musicians in the English Provincial City: Manchester, c.1860-1914'. In, Bashford, C., and Langley, L., (ed.), *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914*, pp. 235-236; Russell, D., 1987. *Popular Music in England, 1840-1914: A Social History*. (Manchester University Press: Manchester).

advantage of successive new musical technologies and periods of commercial and consumer expansion. Through this we can see how Rushworths drove musical consumption and practice and developed the cultural and commercial environment which enabled the business to flourish.

There has been little research conducted on musical instrument retail or family firms dealing only in cultural products. As already noted, the thesis is centred on three key themes. Firstly, the theme of ‘culture and commerce’, builds on the research of Arline Wilson⁸, Robert Lee⁹, and Benbough-Jackson and Davies¹⁰. Much of the prior research has focussed on the nineteenth century commercial elites and on their approaches to cultural contribution, but this thesis builds on these themes and considers them in a more contemporary, post-war setting and assesses how values, moral, outlooks and finance shifted to adapt and function in, and with, the twentieth century commercial environment. The second theme is the development of the family firm in historical context, and examines the key phases of transition, succession, adaptation and adjustment (including the development, growth and diversification of the business) and entrepreneurship. The key theoretical grounding will be provided by an assessment of the ‘Buddenbrook Syndrome’ and the work of Mary Rose¹¹ – who provide their own analysis of the decline of family firms and test it against the often-repeated maxim of ‘rags to riches and back again in three generations’. This will enable the thesis to address questions concerning the Rushworth family and their business development: What contributed to the Rushworth’s longevity? Was it their entrepreneurial ability and foresight? Was it their industry? Was it the City? Why did the business ultimately fail? The third theme is cultural

⁸ Wilson, A., 2008. *William Roscoe: Commerce and Culture*. (Liverpool University Press: Liverpool).

⁹ Lee, R., (ed.) 2011. *Commerce and Culture: Nineteenth Century Business Elites*. (Ashgate: Surrey)

¹⁰ Davies, S., and Benbough-Jackson, M., (ed.) 2011. *Merseyside: Culture and Place*. (Cambridge Scholars Publishing: Newcastle)

¹¹ Rose, M., B., 1993. ‘Beyond Buddenbrook: the family firm and the management of succession in nineteenth century Britain’. In, Brown, J., and Rose, M., (ed), *Entrepreneurship, Networks and Modern Business*. (Manchester University Press: Manchester). See ‘Literature Review’ chapter, p.19-42, for detailed analysis of theoretical perspectives relating to succession management.

contribution: what was the nature and purpose of the Rushworth's cultural contribution and how should it be evaluated? How did this contribution develop and shift in focus over time? How did Rushworths engage specifically with Liverpool culture, and what role did they play in facilitating the growth of the local cultural economy? How did it develop overtime? Were the cultural initiatives always designed to benefit the business?

Structure

The thesis has been organised chronologically and divided into three main sections. Section one, covers the period from around 1820 to around 1900 and includes chapters one, two and three. This section provides details of the early movement of the Rushworth family from Huddersfield to Manchester and then on to Liverpool. Referring in the main to Historical Directories, newspapers and periodicals, the first chapter describes the opening of the first Rushworth business in Liverpool, Rushworth and Van Gruisen, whilst the earliest existing company ledger (1864-1871) provides details of the early partnership between William the founder and his two eldest sons, Walter and Edwin, as well as early details of diversification, such as the move into piano and keyboard instrument sales and the dissolution of the partnership in 1874. Chapter two sets out the historical context of Liverpool during the later nineteenth century, highlighting the commercial and cultural infrastructure that enabled Rushworths to emerge. It discusses the nature of music consumption and production and highlights the prevalent 'club-land', that is the labyrinth of organisations, committees, societies and associations, which were designed in the spirit of the times to promote the arts, culture, charity and commerce. This chapter will assess the role of William Roscoe and the cultural awakening which saw the local merchant-scholar's attempts to create in Liverpool a 'Florence of the North'; an attempt to re-imagine the city's cultural identity in the wake of the negativities directed at the city as a result of its connection with the slave trade. Chapter Three provides a case study of the business development at the turn of the twentieth century. This chapter will

introduce William Rushworth, head of the third generation, who would transform the company into the centre of music in Liverpool. It will discuss the expansion of the premises, including the range of services and facilities provided by the business, the opening of new branch sites around Liverpool city centre, the beginning of patented piano manufacture, and the merging and takeover of local musical instrument retailers.

The second section covers the period from 1900 until 1944 and includes Chapters four and five, covering the periods of William and James control of the firm – representing the third and fourth generations. Chapter four will look at how changing technology and the coming of the recorded medium impacted upon Rushworth product ranges, marketing and approach of the business. It will describe the services and departments created by William during his period in charge and analyse his innovative approach to commercial and social entrepreneurship. Chapter five will analyse William's approach to public service and his entry into the upper echelons of Liverpool commercial and cultural society. This chapter will look at the multitude of roles he adopted within the various organisations and the responsibilities and influence he had across Liverpool's 'clubland'.

The third and final section covers the period from 1944-2002 and looks at the Rushworth business adaptation to the modern post-war economy and the changing nature of musical interaction. Chapter six moves on from William to his son, James, and considers the transference of social roles and responsibilities down through the generations. James inherited William's public roles within many of Liverpool's primary cultural institutions; however, he also built a reputation in his own right, continuing the Rushworth family tradition of public service. This chapter will also look at how James adapted to the new commercial environment in post-war Liverpool, and account for important developments in the company structure, such as the relocation from Islington to Whitechapel. Chapter seven provides a snapshot of the Rushworth's strategy for adaptation to the new musical environment. The creation of the charts

system, commercial radio, and television worked in tandem with new modes of musical reception, consumption and styles, presenting Rushworth's with challenges but also new opportunities. The onset of the Merseybeat era and the Liverpool Sound enabled the Rushworth business to shift its cultural identity and place the company at the forefront of the new period of musical development and modes of music consumption. Finally, Chapter eight examines the socio-economic condition of Liverpool during the final decades of Rushworth's existence and sets the decline of the business in the context of the decline of the regional economy. The chapter looks at the incorporation of the fifth generation into the business and the strategy implemented to accommodate James two eldest sons into the company organisation. This chapter looks at the efforts made to save the company and find strategies to reverse the declining profitability. Finally, it traces the company's slow demise and the internal and external factors that contributed to the closure of both arms of the business: retail and organ works.

Sources and Methodology

A major success of the project has been the finding and accumulation of sizeable archive of materials. The Rushworth family provided at the outset a multitude of materials and resources, which included eighty-two separate items including resources such as pamphlets, staff newsletters, company publications, musical year books, several editions of Teachers Notes and newspaper clippings. In addition, the Rushworth family provided the earliest company ledger found to date, detailing from 1864-1874, and a staff ledger containing staff data and information from 1896-1911. Since then the archive has expanded markedly due to a mix of public requests for sources which took the form of public lectures at the Liverpool Athenaeum, St George's Hall and Liverpool Anglican Cathedral (all arranged in conjunction with the University of Liverpool and the Rushworth Foundation), whilst two live radio interviews with BBC Radio Merseyside provided further opportunities to make a request to the Liverpool

public for sources, interviews and information. In addition, there were also at least three newspaper articles in the local and national press requesting information and resources.¹² These events, including the support of the extended Rushworth family, ex-staff and the response of the Liverpool public, reflects the goodwill still felt towards the company over a decade after its closure. More importantly, the material collated provided a sound base of evidence upon which a detailed and comprehensive history could be constructed.

This thesis has relied heavily on the use of oral history as a resource and method for the researching of this thesis. In order to familiarise myself with the process, techniques and approaches to collating oral histories I attended a very useful two-day workshop held at the British library titled, 'Introduction to Oral History'. Much has been written on the practice of oral histories and its benefit as a research tool. Indeed, during the course of the Rushworth research oral histories were collated from a multitude of different sources including family members, staff, company directors, suppliers, customers and people connected to the business who knew the Rushworth's in a professional, commercial or civic capacity. There is huge value of using oral histories in historical research and this has been the case throughout this research. It has enabled the history to be considered from the viewpoint of those who participated in its creation, from the staff on the record department who provide personal recollections of the frequency with which the Beatles visited the shop, to the Directors of the company who were able to recount, first-hand, their feelings, approaches and the difficulties of working in a multigenerational family firm. Perhaps most relevant and useful were the family recollections which recalled in detail the end of the business and their collective efforts to halt the decline and save the business from closure. These family recollections were extremely beneficial in

¹² Examples can be found at following websites: <http://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/news/liverpool-news/bid-track-down-memories-rushworths-3360677>; <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-merseyside-15783375>; <http://www.theguardian.com/uk/the-northerner/2011/nov/14/rushworths-liverpool-music-store-paul-mccartney-beatles>; <http://news.liv.ac.uk/2011/11/16/university-to-research-history-of-rushworths-music-business/>

providing detailed insight into the thought-process behind certain post-war periods of expansion, including the development of a branch network, and the strategies of adaptation and adjustment advanced by the business during the final 25 years of its existence.

Oral history as a methodological technique does not come without its drawbacks and limitations. In the case of the Rushworth research it is evident that some of those interviewed were recalling instances and periods from as many as fifty or sixty years ago. As Claus and Marriot explain, ‘oral history concerns itself by definition with living memory which itself places inescapable temporal limits on its area of enquiry... Veracity and accuracy is another criticism often levelled at oral history. Memory is inherently selective, faulty, deluded and fraught with all sorts of problems as well as revealing and potentially informative’.¹³ In the case of the Rushworth research, it was important to be aware of the fact that the memories of the interviewees could have been influenced and shaped by the press, publications, films and documentaries that have shaped our understanding of socio-economic, cultural and musical development of Liverpool since the cessation of World War Two. Many respondents reinforced popular clichés about Liverpool in the sixties and the prevalence of the ‘Liverpool Sound’ and ‘Merseybeat’, often providing romanticised perspectives about their role, and the subsequently, the Rushworth business’ role in the proliferation of music and culture. However, despite questions around their accuracy, the quantity and quality of the interviews collated during the research proved to be an invaluable research and provided a comprehensive perspective on the functions and operations within the business from both within and outside of the business, and from both frontline customer facing staff and directors and management. Another benefit of collecting oral histories was the help they provided in accumulating further resources to help with the construction of the business history. For example, the interviews conducted with a

¹³ Claus, P., and Marriott, J., 2012. *An Introduction to Theory, Method and Practice: History*. (Routledge: Oxon). pp. 416

member of staff at Rushworth's, Diana Mothershaw, encouraged her to voluntarily transcribe and contribute sections of her diaries from the period of her employment in Rushworth's which provide first-hand contemporary insight into the business, its customers and the management from the perspective of the staff.

The thesis covers a wide span of history and as a result has utilised several different modes of historical enquiry and a multitude of resources and materials – the style and format of these materials shifted as the research moved through different generations and historical periods. Overall the approach has been largely qualitative and the research conducted has been a combination of archived-based research and the collection of oral histories. For nineteenth century the research is reliant on the examination of company ledgers and accounts, historical directories, census data and reports, newspapers and periodicals. During the early twentieth century more publications and materials were available such as company pamphlets, marketing materials and detailed account ledgers. In the post war period until the closure the research benefitted greatly from the first hand recollections of people connected to the business in a variety of forms such as ex-staff and management, customers, suppliers, committee associates, council representatives and the family members themselves. Many hours of recorded and non-recorded interviews were conducted (including face to face meetings, telephone conversations, email exchanges and traditional recorded interviews) during the research across the UK (and including a research trip to Brisbane, Australia, to interview Alastair Rushworth) and these were vital in providing first hand evidence and accounts of the business strategy and approach, the emphasis on cultural contribution and public service, the growth, diversification and ultimate decline and demise of the business.¹⁴ Not all interviews were conducted in the same manner, some being group interviews, but most were individual interviews. No interviewees

¹⁴ See Appendix II (p.331) for a list of interviewees and contributors to the research; including a breakdown of details regarding individual interviews.

were sent questionnaires or topics to prepare for in advance of the interview, except for the members of the Rushworth family – who were provided with detailed and comprehensive questionnaires in advance.¹⁵ In addition to the above sources many valuable resources were available at Liverpool Record Office which detailed the minutes, administration and organisation of many of Liverpool’s primary cultural institutions and these made detailed references to the Rushworth family and the contributions they made to the formation, functioning and financing of these organisations. The examination of these resources enabled the writing of this detailed account of the influence and impact of the Rushworth business and family in a commercial and cultural context across the city.

The PhD research was privately-sponsored by Jonathan Rushworth and the Rushworth Charitable Trust and the enthusiasm, support and engagement of members of the family throughout the process presented considerable benefits and a few challenges. The input and contributions of the Rushworth family has been beneficial to the construction of the history as they have been generous in providing materials, documentation and resources which have enabled analysis of the growth and decline of the business. These include materials such as business and account ledgers, balance sheets, diaries, letters and correspondence, company publications and literature – some of which were personal and private - as well as some help with technical aspects of company law, finance and accounts. More important than the written materials have been the constant dialogue and communication, whether written, face-to-face, or by telephone, between myself and members of the family, who have made themselves instantly available to my requests and been patient when questioned about certain aspects of the company history and family members. At times, there were inevitably sensitive aspects to discuss in the context of the decline of the business. In this regard the family members were

¹⁵ See Appendix III for an example questionnaire which was sent to Alastair Rushworth in advance of Research Trip.

open and honest about events concerning the business and personal relationships, all of which helped to provide a comprehensive overview of the company. Also very helpful has been the list of contacts provided by the family and introductions they provided to suppliers, former staff members, associates and colleagues who were then able to contribute interviews and further resources in support of the research. Obviously, in a history which covers not only the rise but also the decline of a family business, there were some sensitivity in ensuring the final years and closing of the business were covered respectfully and accurately and, at times, limited editing of quotes and reading of draft versions of the thesis was afforded to the family members concerned with the project. In all respects, however, the family were very encouraging, supportive and helpful in terms of their approach to the research.

Literature Review

Introduction

The purpose of this literature review is to provide an overview of the existing research which will help to provide more context and depth to the analysis of the Rushworth family firm. The dominant theme which will run throughout this thesis will be focussed on what internal and external factors determined and influenced the Rushworth Company's ability to make concerted and sustained cultural contributions to the Liverpool city region. Other topics covered throughout the thesis will be issues relating to the ability of the family firm to work with, or influence, the development of the local cultural economy and the impact this had on the profitability of the business. This literature review will examine the key texts, both current and historical, and assess the place of the Rushworth research in the context of the existing scholarly debates.

As Rushworth were a family firm which lasted five generations a key area will be succession management, planning and the strategy adopted by family firms to incorporate the next incumbents to the business. This will demonstrate how successful succession planning will facilitate the growth of a company, contribute to family business longevity and diversification and ensure the successful transfer of knowledge, reputation and social status through the generations. Succession management is a key area for scholarly debate and a multitude of different approaches and related issues will be covered in this literature review. The literature focussed on the cultural contribution of family firms is limited, however, there is plenty of research which focusses on related areas and overlapping themes in family business research such as social entrepreneurship, corporate social responsibility and altruism, charity and philanthropy in family firms – all of which will help contextualise the actions, influence and contributions of the Rushworth family on Merseyside.

The Evolution of Family Business Historical Discourse

The discourse covering family business witnessed a change from being predominantly orientated around case studies and company biography to being considered an important academic area in its own right, which culminated in the creation of the *Family Business Review* in the 1980s. However, family business has been a topic of interest to business historians for considerably longer. The seminal work of Alfred Chandler, with its emphasis on the apparent weakness of British business' management structures, which were orientated towards a personal capitalism model, as opposed to incorporating professional managers, opened up a new area of research which focussed on family business from the perspective of management, organisation and entrepreneurship.¹⁶ As Colli and Rose explain, the study of family business is multidisciplinary and it is difficult to pin-down an exact, all-encompassing definition of the characteristics which constitute a family firm. Scholarly descriptions of family business can differ depending on the prevalence given to family presence amongst board members, in holding companies, at management level, in decision-making and strategy, in share-holdings or voting rights. Perhaps more important than the definitional issues relating to family business is the understanding that family firms must be analysed and examined on their own terms and in their own right, as unique units of analysis, 'as much depends on specific national contexts and surrounding conditions'.¹⁷ For use in this thesis, the definition that will be used to describe family firms is, 'one where a family owns enough of the equity to be able to exert control over strategy and is involved in top management positions'.¹⁸ Generally, the characteristics or

¹⁶ Chandler, A., 1990. *Scale and Scope: The Dynamics of Industrial Capitalism*. (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts).

¹⁷ Colli, A., and Rose, M. B., 2008. 'Family Business'. In, *The Oxford Handbook of Business History*. (Oxford University Press: Oxford). pp. 195-196

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 194

criterion of family firms will involve family involvement in management, directorship, ownership and being multigenerational or having intent of intra-family succession.¹⁹

As the multiplicity of definitions in regards to the family firm suggests, family firms are not uniform and display considerable variation. This is further reflected in the wide-ranging literature on different aspects of family business structure, management, operations, succession, culture, philanthropy and how these have developed and evolved throughout history. Whilst all of these issues relate and can be applied to the Rushworth business it is not within the bounds of this literature review to assess all literature in these fields. Instead the two central topics of the thesis, succession planning (and the impact this had on longevity and survival) and the factors which influence the family firms' ability to make cultural contributions to its locality will be covered in this literature review. The intention is to provide a survey of the papers and books which have researched these themes from a historical perspective and provide an overview of the key themes, debates and questions raised in the existing literature. This will help establish a framework which will help situate the Rushworth research in relation to existing debates and highlight any gaps in the current literature.

Recent Literature in Family Business Studies

From a business history perspective, a special issue of *Business History* published in 2013 provides examples of recent research and topics in family business scholarship. The introduction provides a precise and detailed overview of how debates and methodological approaches have developed during the last twenty years. Using the Chandlerian theories around weaknesses of personal capitalism and his insistence on the necessity of professional management as a starting point, the authors provide an overview of how debates have been

¹⁹ De Massis, et al., 2012. *Family Business Studies: An Annotated Bibliography*. (Edward Elgar: Cheltenham). Ch. 4

designed in family business histories to challenge this position. In recent years the established fields of business history have been centred around the business enterprise, examining their ‘organisational forms and structures, its functions and internal dynamics’. However, new directions in business history have considered family firms in the areas of ‘social and cultural orientation’ – it is within this ‘new direction’ the Rushworth business history will be situated. Perhaps most relevant in this introduction is the general summation of what exactly constitutes the importance and place of family business histories in academic scholarship, ‘a good business history, old or new, is increasingly one able to speak, or to be understood, by other social scientists, unfamiliar with the historians’ research methodology but, nevertheless interested in the evidence and also the spill overs, provided by historical research’.²⁰ The authors explain that family business historians situate themselves at the intersection of many different disciplines, including (but not limited to) history, management, psychology and sociology.

Two papers from this special issue of *Business History* are particularly relevant to the present study. In the first instance, the paper by Jones et al., provides an insight into the dynamic capabilities of an extant six-generation Liverpool family-owned business, the Bibby Line shipping company. This paper provides a seminal perspective on issues which feature heavily in family business literature and are particularly relevant to the study of the Rushworth business: succession, longevity and diversification. The authors focus their study on a central question: how does multigenerational ownership contribute to the creation of dynamic capabilities in family firms?²¹ In line with the concept of entrepreneurship, the authors explain that dynamic capabilities in family business can be addressed through four broad central processes: ‘leveraging existing resources; creating new resources internally; accessing external

²⁰ Colli, A., Howorth, C., and Rose, M., eds., 2013. ‘Long Term Perspectives on Family Business’. Special Issue of *Business History*, 55 (4). p.844

²¹ Jones, O., et al., 2013. ‘Dynamic capabilities in a sixth-generation family firm: Entrepreneurship and the Bibby Line’. *Business History*, 55 (4). p. 910

resources; and releasing resources... in this paper, we contribute to theory by demonstrating how multigenerational ownership and entrepreneurial cognition are linked to dynamic capabilities in a family business'.²² The suggestion that multigenerational ownership promotes entrepreneurship through dynamic capabilities is applicable to the Rushworth family business and helps to explain and understand how the business survived through five generations and over 160 years. There are many striking similarities and overlaps between the key themes of both the Bibby research and the Rushworth thesis, including (but not limited to) issues of: location (which in both cases is Liverpool); the external factors influencing the condition of the local economy and thus provoking the respective companies' strategies of adaptation and adjustment; the timeframe (early nineteenth and continuing until the twentieth century); both firms underwent succession management that incorporated the next generation of the family into the company (as well as in the later stages incorporating non-familial directors to the respective boards); both firms had to advance creative strategies of diversification in order to remain profitable (Bibby Line made moves in to the fields of financial services and logistics²³, whilst Rushworths diversified into musical instrument manufacture and a Concert Agency). Similarly, there is similarities between the papers in terms of the methodologies employed and the evidence and resources engaged with. Both studies construct their histories around evidence such as financial reports, newspaper reports and oral histories collated from family members and directors.²⁴

A second paper from the special issue, by Popp and Holt, and examines an important aspect of family business research: family firm succession and emotion.²⁵ In this paper the authors adopt a microhistory approach which uses as a basis a single letter from Josiah

²² Ibid., p.912

²³ Ibid., p.915

²⁴ Ibid., p.914

²⁵ Holt, R., and Popp, A., 2013. 'Emotion, Succession and the Family Firm: Josiah Wedgwood & Sons'. *Business History*, 55 (6). pp. 892-909

Wedgwood to his eldest son, John, in which he discusses his plan and approach for succession. The paper brings forth an under-researched area, family firms and emotion, and highlights how personal relationships inform and direct succession planning and management and more importantly, how the ‘family’ aspect of family businesses function and interact. Of critical importance is an emphasis on the family as a distinct unit of analysis and that despite the working relationships that are often at play in business, it is difficult (or impossible) to detach the personal from the business interests. In this respect the authors conclude that in Wedgwood & Sons, ‘we find a family firm that is not simply a collection of buildings and machines, or even accumulated capital and bodies of knowledge, but also a constellation of emotions’.²⁶ This paper is critical in establishing how the process of family business succession is not simply one of handing over the reins of a family business to the next chosen incumbent but also a complex web of emotions, personalities and sensibilities which extends beyond the purely economic, commercial or managerial aspect of business – this is an issue which is also central to the history of the Rushworth family business and in this regard it will be possible to assess the role of emotionologies in succession planning within this particular family firm.²⁷ The process of succession is central to the construction of the Rushworth thesis and the next section will provide an overview of the dominant theories and viewpoints in this field.

Succession Management

Succession planning in family firms is an area of academic research which has received much scholarly attention. Often the focus is on the motives for family business succession²⁸ or the

²⁶ Ibid., p.905

²⁷ Emotionologies in this context refers to way groups of people, in this instance the family unit, think and speak about their emotions.

²⁸ Gilding, M., Gregory, S., and Cosson, B., 2015. ‘Motives and Outcomes in Family Business Succession Planning’. *Entrepreneurship, Theory and Practice*, 39 (2). pp .299-312

degree to which process is planned and organised.²⁹ As already discussed, recent research has focussed on emotional and cultural aspects of family firm succession.³⁰ Debates regarding the concept of succession planning in family firms have been well-versed during recent decades. Preparing the next generation for succession is considered by some to be inherently entrepreneurial and a key component in the longevity of family enterprise. A study by Harvey provides insight into several approaches and formats of succession, categorised as follows: the one-heir approach, ‘the chosen one’; the ‘sibling partnership approach’ – where roles are divided depending on the particular skills and talents of the family; the ‘cousin consortium’ – where the family ownership means some members are active at senior level while others are working their way up the organisation; the ‘stop-gap manager’, who holds the fort until the next generation is ready; ‘family ownership and professional managers’. In this situation the family may not have anyone who could run the business, or who wants to run the business, so professionals are brought in while the family retains ownership.³¹ The Rushworth thesis will provide case studies in several of these succession approaches.

Succession can be a difficult and complex process for all concerned for a variety of reasons. Issues arise from difficulties such as the current owner having difficulty relinquishing control, or the next generation is not deemed skilled, competent or committed enough to take over the company. Similarly, the next in-line may have little interest in, or a natural aptitude for, the family business and want to pursue personal interests. The current owner may not accept the new vision or modern approach of the next generation, or they could be unfamiliar with the approach, the industry, the jargon or the new structures and operations proposed by

²⁹ Molly, V., Laveren, E., and Deloof, M., 2010. ‘Family Business Succession and its Impact on Financial Structures and Performance’. *Family Business Review*, 23 (2). pp. 131-147

³⁰ Holt, R., and Popp, A., 2013. ‘Emotion, Succession and the Family Firm: Josiah Wedgwood & Sons’. *Business History*, 55 (6). pp. 892-909

³¹ Harvey, D., 2004. *Keeping it in the Family*. (ACCA: London). Quoted in, Deakins, D., and Freel, M., 2012. *Entrepreneurship and Small Firms* (Sixth Edition). (McGraw-Hill Education: Maidenhead). pp. 66-69

the young successor. In some cases, the current owner may not want to prepare succession at all, unwilling to face their own mortality, dilute their personal control of the business or raise the unpleasant family problems that arise from issues surrounding succession.³² Mary Rose takes analysis of the process of family firm succession further by suggesting that,

since it is possible to plan creatively for succession in a family firm, this is as much entrepreneurship as the introduction of a new machine ... in this respect it [can] be argued that the problems of later generations could be exacerbated by the omissions or entrepreneurial failure of their predecessors and by their attitudes and business culture which founders bequeathed to their successors.³³

In the context of family firms, Rose highlights how generational succession sees not only the transition of the company from father to son (in most cases) but the exchange of knowledge, experience, goodwill, and ‘the assets of the firm, contacts, standing, reputation for quality’.³⁴ Perhaps most relevant in the case of the Rushworth history is the idea that, ‘parental authority ensured that the majority of sons had little alternative but to enter the family business’, Rose considers this a crucial element in generational succession and attributes to this the fact that ‘entrepreneurial failure in family firms is so rife’. Similarly, she highlights ‘dynastic problems’ and the founder’s inability or reluctance to ‘let go’ and a tendency to ‘cling to power too long’ as having a stifling effect on succeeding generations.³⁵ Rose continues by providing specific cases of failure by controlling owners to hand over the reins of their business to the next generation, explaining that delayed retirement can cloud judgment, but also create ‘a source of friction between fathers and sons [leading] to an unstable atmosphere within the firm’. She refers to the case of Samuel Greg, whose ‘reluctance to give his son, Robert, who he saw as his

³² Deakins, D., and Freel, M., 2012. *Entrepreneurship and Small Firms* (Sixth Edition). (McGraw-Hill Education: Maidenhead). p. 68

³³ Rose, M., B., 1993. ‘Beyond Buddenbrook: the family firm and the management of succession in nineteenth century Britain’. In, Brown, J., and Rose, M., (ed), *Entrepreneurship, Networks and Modern Business*. (Manchester University Press: Manchester). p. 129

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 135

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 135

natural successor, any real responsibility, ill-equipped [him] for leadership'. Similarly, Rose cites the case of Lord Lever, of whom it has been written, 'Lever's tragedy was that he could not be obliged to retire. He remained in power too long and towards the end of his life his judgement, distorted by megalomania, led him to serious errors'.³⁶ Family firm histories are littered with examples of controlling owners failing to hand over the reins of the business to the next generation. Of Henry Ford it was noted that, 'he was known to micro-manage and dominate the firm even after his son had officially taken over leadership'.³⁷ Mary Rose challenges the assumption that 'entrepreneurship is a kind of seamless web', stressing the need for a firm's management to avoid agonising 'internal shock' when a patriarch has clung to leadership too long, by evolving a succession strategy permitting some prior delegation of responsibility to the heir of the company – the next generation. The basic question in relation to the issues thrown up by Mary Rose and the Buddenbrook theory is: how do the Rushworths, allowing for all their individuality and uniqueness, help us to understand the dynamics of multi-generation family firms? This will be a central thread throughout this thesis. The Buddenbrook theory refers to the notion that family firms during the third generation lose their dynamism and this ultimately leads to the decline of the business. This is provoked by the increasing gentrification of the family, which is often characterised by increasing land ownership, public school education, increasing public and social profile and civic duties, which lessens entrepreneurial vigour and results in the failure of family firms. The Buddenbrook theory is as much about longevity as succession and forms an important aspect of the Rushworth thesis. Longevity is naturally linked to family firm profitability, and as this thesis will demonstrate, profitability is a key factor in cultural contribution. Much research has been conducted on strategies which promote family business longevity and these look at key issues such as:

³⁶ Ibid., p. 136

³⁷ Collier, P., and Horowitz, D., 1987. *The Fords*. (Collins: London). Quoted in, Deakins, D., and Freel, M., 2012. *Entrepreneurship and Small Firms (Sixth Edition)*. (McGraw-Hill Education: Maidenhead). p. 67

entrepreneurial factors which influence or inhibit family firm survival³⁸; strategies adopted to overcome the role of industry in family business survival³⁹; and cultural factors which influence the approach to survival of family business.⁴⁰

Cultural Contribution

The link between family business and cultural contribution is areas of research which has received little attention. The aim of the Rushworth thesis is not only to provide a family and business history but also to assess the impact the family had on the development of culture and arts across Liverpool and Merseyside. In answering this central question, it is important to analyse what internal and external factors influence and control the family firms' ability to make cultural contributions and effect the development of the local cultural economy – particularly for enterprises dealing primarily in cultural products or operating in the cultural industries. As little research has been conducted in the field of cultural contribution, and none relating to the role of family business in this, the Rushworth thesis will fill a gap in the current literature. However, there are some fields of research related to cultural contribution (and the involvement of businesses, family firms and individuals) such as social entrepreneurship, corporate social responsibility, philanthropy and cultural economy. This literature focuses on topics such family firms and community culture, family firms and philanthropy, family firms and regional development, corporate governance and stewardship theory. This literature will help define, in the context of the Rushworth family firm, how cultural contribution can be framed and defined, managed, motivations for it and outcomes in the context of the business, the individuals and the family.

³⁸ Williams, D., and Jones, O., 2010. 'Factors Associated with Longevity of Small, Family-Owned Firms'. *International Journal of Entrepreneurship*, (14). pp. 37-57.

³⁹ King, R., and Peng, W., 2013. 'The Effect of Industry Characteristics on the Control Longevity of Founding-Family Firms'. *Journal of Family Business Strategy*, 4 (4). pp. 281-295

⁴⁰ Sasaki, I., and Sone, H., 2015. 'Cultural Approach to Understanding Long-Term Survival of Firms – Japanese Shinise Firms in the Sake Brewing Industry'. *Business History*, 57 (7). pp. 1020-1036

A starting point will be to provide a definition of the concept of social entrepreneurship. This area has developed considerable the last twenty years with differing viewpoints on the function, meaning and operation of social entrepreneurship. A social entrepreneur, as defined by Leadbetter, refers to those ‘individuals whose social capital enables them to promote social value through innovation’.⁴¹ This perspective was developed by Thompson et al., to incorporate those ‘who combine vision, values and resources to address an unmet need’.⁴² Mair and Marti explain that social entrepreneurs are those ‘who focus on creating social value over creating economic value’.⁴³ The concept of social entrepreneur is relatively modern, and care must be taken to not be anachronistic in using this term or labelling the Rushworths as social entrepreneurs. It is certainly not one that would have been understood by the third and fourth generations of the Rushworth family, however, as a method and framework for understanding the activities of the family and the motivation behind their actions, social entrepreneurship could be a useful theory. However, the concept of social entrepreneurship is predominantly individualistic, focussing on the activities and contributions of individuals (i.e. company owners) rather than collective contributions (i.e. the company). The cultural impact of the collective (the company) on communities was explored in Joseph Astrachan’s paper titled ‘Family Firm and Community Culture’. In this paper he makes the observation that family businesses that work in harmony with local culture, understanding the community and adding to it through staff facilities and benefits, pensions and philanthropy will lead to higher productivity (i.e. greater sales and profits for the company), higher morale amongst the worker (as illustrated by staff turnover and absenteeism), increased goodwill and reputation for the firm, and ultimately, better standards of outputs and products. This will result in the community

⁴¹ Leadbetter, C., 1997. *The Rise of the Social Entrepreneur*. (Demos: London).

⁴² Thompson et al., 2000. ‘Social Entrepreneurship: A New Look at the People and the Potential’. *Management Decision*, (47). pp. 328-338

⁴³ Mair, J., and Marti, I., 2006. ‘Social Entrepreneurship Research: A Source of Explanation, Prediction and Delight’. *Journal of World Business*, (41). pp. 36-44

taking pride in their work and understand that the success of the business will benefit the whole population. Conversely, the failure to understand and cater for the local community and populace and can lead to poor morale, an uninterested workforce, a community and populace who feel no connection or sympathy for the plight of the local business, and a distinct lack of customer loyalty.⁴⁴ Astrachan's approach in this article involved the construction of a company history over an 80 year period which throughout its existence was transferred from family ownership, to ownership through large conglomerate and then back to family ownership. He makes the assertion that under family ownership the workforce, the community and the company all benefitted, profited and morale was increased. Whilst under the direction of a corporate body with outside managers and no affinity or connection to the locality the company outputs were lessened, profits decreased and workforce morale was decreased. This article provides important observations about the role that family business can have in their locality, and theory that can be applied to the Rushworth history.

The theory of Astrachan has been updated in recent years with a spate of research which focuses on the role of family firms in the development of community culture, corporate social responsibility and policy orientated towards social issues. This is illustrated in a paper written recently by Compopiano et al., which argues that 'family investment in ownership positively influences firm philanthropy while its interaction with family involvement in management produces a negative effect'.⁴⁵ The authors provide excellent summation of the definition of philanthropy, 'altruistic activities are intended to serve others or the act of donating money goods and services to socially beneficial or humanitarian causes [...] more specifically, this includes donations and monetary contributions to social and charitable causes related to, for

⁴⁴ Astrachan, J., 1988. 'Family Firm and Community Culture'. *Family Business Review*, 1 (2). pp. 165-188

⁴⁵ Campopiano, G., De Massis, A., and Chirico, F., 2014. 'Firm Philanthropy in Small and Medium Sized Family Firms: The Effect of Family Involvement in Ownership and Management'. *Family Business Review*, 27 (3). pp. 244-258

example, health care, education and culture'. In the case of Rushworths not only donated money but they also initiated, established, managed and administered charitable causes in the fields of education and culture. The authors continue, 'moreover, philanthropic initiatives are increasingly considered as strategic social investments made to achieve measurable outcomes in terms of competitive advantage, financial returns and enhancing reputation.'⁴⁶ The key focus of this article is to assess how 'philanthropy serves as a mechanism to demonstrate commitment to long-term goals'.⁴⁷

The authors asked respondents involved in the study to assess the extent of their philanthropic contributions in the following areas (the study is based on 130 small and medium family firms in Northern Italy): business organisations (e.g. by supporting chambers of commerce); charitable organisations (e.g. Cultural organisations or exhibitions); service organisations (e.g. Rotary or Lions Club); Religious Groups'.⁴⁸ These categories and questions will be addressed during the present study as the Rushworth family fulfilled all of the above requirements/criterion, and, in most cases, they did not simply contribute towards local philanthropic initiatives but were central to their administration, financing and management. The general premise of this article is that philanthropic activities help family firms act (and be recognised as) good stewards in the community in which they operate.⁴⁹

Interesting is the notion that the actions and contributions of individuals can be removed or detached from the business. Do business leaders develop a policy or strategy of social entrepreneurship with the intention of promoting and benefitting themselves, rather than the

⁴⁶ Ibid., p.245

⁴⁷ Feliu, N., and Botero, I., 2016. 'Philanthropy in Family Enterprises: A Review of Literature'. *Family Business Review*, 29(1). pp.122

⁴⁸ Campopiano, G., De Massis, A., and Chirico, F., 2014. 'Firm Philanthropy in Small and Medium Sized Family Firms: The Effect of Family Involvement in Ownership and Management'. *Family Business Review*, 27 (3). p.249

⁴⁹ Feliu, N., and Botero, I., 2016. 'Philanthropy in Family Enterprises: A Review of Literature'. *Family Business Review*, 29(1). pp.128

business, especially in the pursuit of increasing social status and social capital, or are both the business and the individuals representing them inextricably linked? And ultimately, is the increasing status of the individual (in this case, business leaders) always of benefit to the company in terms of reputation, goodwill and profitability, or can it have a detrimental effect? For example, Martin Wiener has presented a much-challenged paradigm which suggests that increasing gentrification and entry into the realms of civic elites can be of detriment to the performance of family business (as business leaders, usually during the third generation, divert attention away from business concerns and focus on personal matters and interests).⁵⁰ The epilogue to the *Handbook of Research on Family Business* by Zahra, Klein and Astrachan, ‘argue for uniting of the individual, the firm and the context in a coherent fashion’,⁵¹ and it is with particular reference to this approach that the Rushworth research will be conducted. Also, applicable to the activities of the Rushworth family would be the concept of philanthropy, charity and altruism. Much recent scholarship has focused on the notion of family firm philanthropy and the ability to immerse themselves in the community culture of their locality, thus playing an integral role in the development of the cultural economy (and general economic regional development).

This theme is discussed in an article titled ‘Social Issues in Family Enterprise’ which considers the extent to which family owned enterprises ‘are more attuned and attentive to social issues and stakeholders than non-family business’.⁵² The paper highlights how noneconomic motivations such as reputation, socioemotional wealth and stewardship are increasingly important to family firms, who tend to have a vested interest in their locality and community

⁵⁰ Wiener, M., 2004. *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850-1980*. (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge). especially ch.7

⁵¹ Colli, A., Howorth, C., and Rose, M., eds., 2013. ‘Long Term Perspectives on Family Business’. Special Issue of *Business History*, 55 (4). p.846

⁵² Van Gils, A., Dibrell, C., Neubaum, D, O., and Craig, J, B., 2014. ‘Social Issues in Family Enterprise’. In, *Family Business Review*, 27 (3). pp. 193-205

culture. This editorial to a special issue of *Family Business Review* explains the growing scholarship in the field of ‘Corporate Social Responsibility’ (CSR) which is defined as ‘the firm’s considerations of, and response to, issues beyond the narrow economic, technical and legal requirements of the firm to accomplish social benefits along with traditional and economic gains which the firm seeks’.⁵³ The paper continues by highlighting recent research in CSR has increased with 588 articles and 102 books written and researched on the topic. Included in the author’s description of what CSR actually entails are a list including activities such as ‘proactive environmental strategies, philanthropy, ethics, engagement in community activities, and employment strategies for minority or disabled persons’. Important is the assertion that whilst the focus of social issues and CSR have been research in management literature, little has been conducted in the context of family enterprise and this is where the Rushworth thesis will fill a gap in the existing family business literature. An interesting point raised in this paper is the breakdown of CSR as an ‘all-encompassing term for the prosocial behaviour of businesses’ which includes business ethics, which are defined as ‘moral rules, standards, codes, or principles which provide guidelines for right and truthful behaviour in specific situations’, whilst the concept of family business philanthropy can be defined as ‘the unconditional transfer of cash or other asset to an entity or a settlement or cancellation of its liabilities in a voluntary or nonreciprocal transfer by another entity acting other than as an owner’. The paper discusses how the current literature on business ethics and philanthropy focusses on two key areas. Firstly, it discusses the motivation for advancing these styles of company initiatives such as, ‘generating goodwill or positive publicity, boosting employee morale, or identifying individual moral drivers’. Secondly, it highlights the effects of this type of company philosophy such as ‘outcomes on financial performance and shareholder value’ as well as discussing the impact on issues such as reputation, goodwill and ‘choices made by

⁵³ Ibid., p.194

customers'.⁵⁴ The authors assert that recent scholarship which focuses on the difference in motivation for family and non-family firms to redirect resources towards a policy of CSR is based on family business being more concerned with 'image and reputation and a desire to protect family assets' whereas non-family enterprise are more concerned with economic incentives, profits and shareholder responsibility. They provide an example of recent research into the motivators behind engaging in responsible corporate practices, highlighting how the study of Berrone et al., found that 'family firms had significantly better environmental performance than their non-family competitors. The impetus for these family firm to engage in pollution reduction strategies beyond regulatory requirements was a result of their desire to maintain socioeconomic wealth, whereas non-family firms were motivated by the incentives to maximise economic wealth'.⁵⁵ Socioemotional wealth in this context can be defined as 'the stock or affect-related value that the family has invested in the firm'.⁵⁶ An important resource provided by this paper is 'Table 1' which provides an 'overview of articles addressing Social Issues in Family Enterprises'.⁵⁷ This illustrates several key points: firstly, that the topic of social issues is a thriving area of academic research (this table provides examples of at least 35 papers published between 1996 and 2014 on this particular theme, whilst the bibliography provides many more); secondly, that the concept of family firm and social issues is inherently inter-disciplinary and can be viewed from a multitude of different perspectives (for example, business ethics, CSR, stakeholder responsibility, proactive stakeholder engagement, resource management, company benevolence, philanthropy, social performance etc.); thirdly, that the recent literature in the field considers this area from an international viewpoint (with studies

⁵⁴ Ibid., p.195

⁵⁵ Berrone, P., Cruz, C., Gomez-Mejia, L., and Larraza-Kintana, M., 2010. 'Socioemotional Wealth and Corporate Responses to Institutional Pressure: Do family-controlled firms pollute less?' In, *Administrative Sciences Quarterly*, 55. pp. 82-113

⁵⁶ Van Gils, A., Dibrell, C., Neubaum, D, O., and Craig, J, B., 2014. 'Social Issues in Family Enterprise'. In, *Family Business Review*, 27 (3). p.195

⁵⁷ Ibid. pp.197-200

focused on the US, Italy, Spain, Slovenia, China, Japan, Australia and Sri Lanka – although none from the UK) and from both family and non-family business perspectives.

A recent paper provides a detailed overview of the research related to family firms and philanthropy.⁵⁸ The authors examine how the topic of philanthropy in relation to family enterprise has been analysed in 55 publications between 1988 and 2014. They focus on assessing how four main research questions have been addressed in the literature: 1) How is philanthropy conceptualized? 2) What are the motivations for philanthropy? 3) How is philanthropy practiced? 4) What are the outcomes associated with philanthropy?⁵⁹ The aim of the paper is to provide a review of knowledge obtained from the relevant literature to help examine these four questions. An interesting point raised in this article is how the definition of philanthropy has evolved overtime. In the nineteenth century context the word philanthropy was interchangeable with charity and focused on providing aid to the poor and those less fortunate in the form of basic requirements such as food, clothing and shelter. However, in the early twentieth century the concept of philanthropy witnessed a shift as,

wealthy entrepreneurs in the United States started donating to a variety of causes that went beyond welfare and relief of the poor [this included] a wider spectrum of causes such as health, care, environment, education and the arts ... there was a change in the motives that guided philanthropy. Early in the 1900s, publicists like Ivy Lee advised customers to engage in action that the public would perceive as good and beneficial for society so they would be seen in a positive light. This shifted the motives of philanthropy from purely altruistic to a desire for 'return on investment' in the form of public approval from philanthropic sections of in changes in society.⁶⁰

The authors continue by creating a typology which helps categorise how a company defines their approach to philanthropy,

⁵⁸ Feliu, N., and Botero, I., 2016. 'Philanthropy in Family Enterprises: A Review of Literature'. *Family Business Review*, 29(1). pp.121-141

⁵⁹ Ibid., p.122

⁶⁰ Ibid., p.123

The 'commitment to common good' approach which views philanthropy as a voluntary and selfless act of the organisation. The 'community investment' approach encompasses some form of long-term benefit for the firm. finally, the 'marketing' approach views philanthropy as a commercial tool for the organisation.⁶¹

The authors conclude this section with the statement that,

we define philanthropy as *the voluntary donation of resources (i.e., time, money, effort, or knowledge) to support causes that are primarily intended to promote the betterment of society with no direct expectation of economic returns*. Thus, we believe that the main goal of philanthropy is to serve society. We also acknowledge that individuals and organizations can have secondary goals when engaging in philanthropic efforts.⁶²

This area of analysis is crucial in the context of the Rushworth thesis for several reasons; firstly, the Rushworth commitment to public service and philanthropy began in the first decade of the twentieth century. Secondly, the managing director at this point, William Rushworth of the third generation, who had been on several trips to America, adopted American style advertising and marketing (for example, in window displays), imported and introduced American-invented instruments (such as American Organs and Player-pianos) and was a product and resident of what has been referred to as the 'most American of British cities', Liverpool, appears to have also adopted American approaches to philanthropy. There is little doubt that under his stewardship the Rushworth company reached its zenith in terms of profitability, profile, reputation, scale and scope and this thesis will examine the extent to which this was a result of the William's proactive, American-influenced, approach to charity, philanthropy and public service. This will help add to this area of debate a case study in the outcomes, strategy and approaches of family firms to philanthropy from a UK perspective. The Rushworth thesis will add to the debate surrounding the extent to which the strategy adopted by family firms in terms of philanthropy are driven by a selfless and altruistic desire to help other, whether they were designed with an intention to benefit the business, or whether, in the case of the Rushworth

⁶¹ Ibid., p.124. Here the authors indicate that this approach was designed in the following article: Gautier, A., and Pache, A. C., 2015. 'Research on Corporate Philanthropy: An Assessment'. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 126. pp.343-369

⁶² Ibid., p.125

company's approach to philanthropy, it was somewhere in between. Feliu and Botero divide the motives for family firms to engage in philanthropic activities into three areas: 'family-oriented motives' which benefits the family identity, legacy and has wealth benefits; business-oriented motives' which has strategic, political and expectational benefits; and 'dual motives' which includes reputational, moral and educational benefits.⁶³ This approach to understanding the motives for family firm philanthropy will help to provide a basis for analysis of the Rushworth business' approach to cultural contribution.

Cultural Economy

There is a body of literature which focusses on the concept of the cultural economy. The relevant focus in this area will be on the functioning and development of the cultural economy and the role of local business in this. Interestingly, despite the ubiquity of the term 'cultural economy' and the publication of the *Journal of Cultural Economy*, little research has been conducted on the role family businesses have on the working and expansion of the cultural economy. The seminal (and only) book published solely on this topic, *Cultural Economy*, outlines some key cultural aspects of the cultural economics – highlighting the increasing 'culturalisation' in the field and the need to disentangle the economy from the cultural economy. This is summarised as follows,

The objects of economics are made up by ignoring and forgetting their cultural and social constitution. Doing economics means acting on the assumption of a determinate nature waiting to be described and calculated about by a neutral observation language: doing 'cultural economy' means acting on the assumption that economics are performed and enabled by the very discourses of which they are supposedly the cause.⁶⁴

This suggests that in respect of the economic forces which have received scholarly attention, it is impossible to separate the cultural influence. As will be demonstrated in this thesis, the

⁶³ Ibid., p.125

⁶⁴ Du Gay, P., and Pryke, M., (ed.) 2002. *Cultural Economy*. (Sage Publications: London). pp. 6-7

intersection of culture and economics is never more apparent than when business deals with cultural products and operates within the cultural industries – all of which criterion apply to the Rushworth family music business. This perspective on cultural economy is clearly explained in an article written by Bennett, McFall and Pryke who not only explain the definitional issues in the field (as the phrase cultural economy can be viewed and used in a variety of ways depending on the discipline, topic, subject or theme) but also its place as an emerging discipline. The authors explain that cultural economy as a topic has only recently emerged (with the dedicated journal's first issue in 2008) and that it was a result of, 'recent empirical and theoretical work ... together with a longer heritage of anthropological and historical work targeted at uncovering the conditions of emergence of distinct areas of economic life have progressively called into question the notion of a settled divide between 'culture' and 'economy' into question'.⁶⁵ In this way it is possible to examine the manner in which economics and culture are inextricably linked and how this interaction is displayed through the lens of a family music business. An interesting point raised in this paper is the mediation between economies, culture, and what the authors refer to as 'the social'. The authors state,

The social is always in play where questions concerning the relations between culture and economy are under discussion. This has been true of its position in the debates comprising the cultural turn where contentions concerning the constructed nature of the economy and the constructedness of the social have often formed the recto and verso of the same set of arguments. Similarly, the vocabularies that have disputed the organising polarities of the cultural turn, accounts of the role of specific forms of knowledge and expertise in producing the socio-technical ordering of markets, say, have been honed on much the same theoretical whetstones as those adumbrating the ways in which different knowledges programme the social to lay it open to certain kinds of action by varied agents.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Bennett, T., McFall, L., and Pryke, M., 2008. 'Editorial: Culture/Economy/Social'. *Journal of Cultural Economy*, 1 (1). pp.1-7

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p.2

In this the authors are making a case for the relative autonomy of differing social contexts and how these are understood in terms of how they are underpinned by a constructed textual reality and framework which is particular and distinct to each individual locality. What this infers is that cultural economy is not a ubiquitous term or process that can be defined or organised according to one all-encompassing grand-narrative. Each individual cultural economy is subject to its own personal and unique social context and as such will be limited or promoted by its own social context. In the case of the current study, as with family business histories generally, the Rushworth thesis will examine the Rushworth family business in its own unique social context, which was conditioned by events in their own local market, in their own particular industry, and played out by their own individual company leaders, and not in comparison to any pre-determined or constructed model.

An article by Scott provides insight into the cultural economy and its role in the development of cities.⁶⁷ In this paper Scott provides details of eleven core cultural occupations in the US and total of workers employed in these industries between 2000 and 2008. Most relevant is the inclusion of 'musicians, singers and related workers'. Nowhere is it detailed who are included as 'related workers' and of course, no place is reserved in the listings for musical instrument retailers or manufacturers. While Scott focusses on regional variations and clusters of those employed in related cultural industries, the current study deviates from this position by constructing a place in the spectrum of cultural industries (or creative industries). This is an issue explored by McGuigan in an article titled, 'Creative labour, cultural work and individualisation'.⁶⁸ In this article, the function of enterprises not primarily concerned with the artistic end-product (i.e. the record, the painting, the book) are analysed. This helps establish

⁶⁷ Scott, A., 2010. 'Cultural Economy and the Creative Field of the City'. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 92 (2). pp.115-130

⁶⁸ McGuigan, J., 2010. 'Creative Labour, Cultural Work and Individualisation'. *Journal of Cultural Policy*, 16 (3). pp.323-335

Rushworths place, role and function in the local cultural economy, as one who played a supportive background role in facilitating the creation of artistic outputs and products. So, for example, whereas the artist and painter will not be able to produce their artwork without a supportive industrial process which will manufacture necessary tools and equipment (such as oil paint, paint brushes and canvas), neither will the musician be able to produce musical performance or recordings without an industrial process creating, constructing and retailing musical instruments, or providing musical tuition, or recording equipment – and this is where the Rushworth business was situated.⁶⁹

Conclusion

The Rushworth family business research will be situated at the intersection of these various literatures; providing an insight into a family business situated at the nexus between manufacture and consumption, at the intersection of manufacturer and consumer. What is the function of the retailer dealing in cultural products and what is their role in the development of the cultural economy and the creative city? More importantly, from a historical perspective, it will be possible to demonstrate how, as the Rushworth company matured and diversified, the firm was able to move in to different realms of the cultural industries by establishing themselves as a musical authority, and by promoting and facilitating musical performance (through sponsorship and organisation music festivals and competitions) and musical education (via their association with the national musical exam boards and the Liverpool music teachers association) and by engaging in musical promotion and live professional performance (through the diversification in the field of concert agency) and finally, by their historic association with instrument manufacture (whether it was the historic association with pipe organ building or in the field of violin and cello manufacture). Rushworths were central figures in the Liverpool

⁶⁹ Ibid., p.327

cultural economy through their association with all things musical, and this will form a core and continuous theme throughout the thesis. An important aspect of this association and connection between the Rushworth business and the cultural economy will be the evolving nature of this relationship as technological changes in musical reception and performance forced the company to alter and shift its primary focus and style of retail, particularly in terms of identity, products and target markets.

Where the Rushworth thesis will sit in relation to the existing field is that it will consider a related theme of 'cultural contribution' which in this instance will refer to the strategy adopted by successive generations of the family firm in facilitating, financing and orchestrating the development of the local cultural economy, particularly in relation to music and the arts. This will add to the existing literature on family business and social responsibility and look at both the motivation and impact of CSR initiatives whilst also considering the impact from both a company and community perspective. It will provide a single company case study, from a UK perspective, which again, is an area which has received little attention. Importantly, as the Rushworth company existed for more than 160 years we will be able to consider the development of this business approach and strategy from a historical point of view and see how this policy of social and cultural engagement developed increased and fluctuated overtime, and how the policy was influenced by endogenous factors such as profits, culture, family relations and succession and also the impact of exogenous factors such as the local economic conditions, rise of competitors and technology.

Chapter One

The Rushworth Family Business Overview, 1800-1896

Introduction

This chapter is focussed on the Rushworth family, the geographic mobility of the family, its religious affiliation and the growth, development and diversification of the firm. It will reconstruct the earliest history of the Rushworth family, from the early nineteenth century up to the establishment of the partnership between the second and third generations of the Rushworth family enterprise in 1897. Initially, it will chart the family's movements across the northern industrial provinces of England prior to their arrival in the thriving commercial entrepot of Liverpool in the early 1840s.

It will set out the family's background and discuss the manner in which religious observances shaped and influenced the Rushworth's mobility and business practices, and improved the capacity for the family to engage with the Liverpool pipe organ industry. This is followed by an analysis of the growth, diversification, division and subsequent reorganisation of the Rushworth enterprise as two separate businesses, divided between the two eldest sons of the founder, William: Walter focussing primarily on the organ building arm of the business; Edwin expanding the retail arm, and opening several retail outlets across Liverpool city centre. The reconstruction of the early history of the family business will be central to understanding how it was established, the structure adopted by the company in later generations, and how the foundational principles of the business were established and observed.

Using the Rushworth Business Ledger 1864-75, an analysis will be conducted of the firm's profits and how they were divided between the partners during a critical period of development for the business. This will also help to account for the diversification and growth

of the business, as well as the services and departments constituting the business. This chapter will also provide an overview of the difficulties, challenges and legal disputes encountered by the Rushworth family during the formative years of development. In addition to this, the partnerships, media coverage and increasing gentrification of the family will be discussed. Much of Rushworth's early history has been passed down through word of mouth, storytelling and 'folklore' – this chapter will attempt to identify the facts behind some of the early Rushworth history and disentangle the reality from the mythology. Perhaps most important is the fact that the passing of family story's and oral histories down through the generations reflects the sense of importance attached to the early history and growth of the Rushworth business.

This section is based on a wide range of sources, including: Census data; trade directories; baptism, christening, death and marriage indexes; newspaper reports; private family histories and memoirs; an early company accounts ledger for the business detailing the period 1864-1875 covering the first partnership between William and his three sons, Walter, Edwin and Alfred; and a family tree made up by R. C. Redwood on behalf of James Rushworth in 1962.⁷⁰

As this chapter relies heavily on trade directories it is important to summarise what they are, why they have been used and to highlight any potential benefits or limitations of using them as a resource. The University of Leicester have digitised and made publicly available large selections of trade directories from nineteenth and twentieth centuries. According to their website, a trade directory contains,

General information about towns and villages that would be useful or interesting to a visitor, accompanied by a list of some residents, with their occupations. Their main market was commercial travellers, so the

⁷⁰ A Family Tree which traces all the members of the Rushworth family who were involved with the company is included in Appendix I, p. 330

residents listed were mostly traders and the wealthier families who might wish to purchase the traveller's wares. They are both a primary and a secondary source of information, containing a contemporary list of inhabitants (primary source) and a potted history of a place (secondary source). Other content needs to be treated more carefully, as much of the historic information will have been provided from the memory of a local informant, and may not be accurate. Directories were regularly reissued, so changes can be tracked over time, although information can also be carried over from one issue to the next without the details being checked and updated.⁷¹

So whilst being a useful resource in accounting for the movement and development of the Rushworth Company in Liverpool, it is important to be aware of inconsistency and inaccuracies in the listings of the directories. However, of immense benefit is the information provided by the directories in accounting for the changing name and description of the business and the increasing size of the site which the company occupied, as well as the proximity of the Rushworths' private residence to the workplace. The directories have aided the construction of the company history from the nineteenth century were available resources were limited.

William Rushworth – Background, 1807-1840

William Rushworth was born on 4th July 1807, and baptised on 23rd October that same year at the Methodist Church, High Street, Huddersfield, in Yorkshire⁷². His father, also named, William, was a joiner, as was his eldest brother, John. From baptism records we know that William was affiliated with the Methodist New Connexion religious movement, a new branch of Methodism. It represented a branch of Protestant non-conformism which was spawned from traditional Methodism in 1797, following secession by led by Alexander Kilham. Methodism was popularised by the efforts of John and George Wesley and George Whitefield. The emphasis of the Methodist doctrine focusses on helping the poor, charity work and the efforts

⁷¹ <http://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/history/outreach/besh/documents/Trade%20directories.pdf>

⁷² Ancestry.com. *England, Select Births and Christenings, 1538-1975* [database on-line]. FHL Film Number: 993685. Details provided indicate that William was baptized on 23 October 1807 at the High Street Chapel, Methodist New Connexion, Huddersfield, Yorkshire, England.

of missionaries. Thompson explains that Kilham ‘led the first important Wesleyan secession, the New Methodist Connexion [...] the greatest strength of the Connexion were in manufacturing centres, and (it is probable) among the artisans and weavers tinged with Jacobinism.’⁷³ Thompson continues by explaining that support for Kilham was particularly strong in several northern industrial towns, but, most relevantly, in Huddersfield, Manchester and Liverpool, ‘In Huddersfield the members of the New Connexion were known as ‘Tom Paine’s Methodists’⁷⁴, and so Methodism was northern – ‘the real religion of Yorkshire’.⁷⁵ It is noticeable that the Rushworths path from Yorkshire, through Lancashire, and then onto Merseyside covered areas that were supportive of his faith. This could indicate that William Rushworth was aware of shifting religious positions and attracted by the prospect of residing in towns which observed, accommodated and supported his Methodist faith.

Much research has been conducted on the connection between business and religion, with seminal works written by Thompson in *The Rise of Respectable Society*⁷⁶ and Robert Lee in *Commerce and Culture*.⁷⁷ Thompson outlines how ‘religion was at the centre of middle class lifestyles’.⁷⁸ The belief systems and observations of evangelicalism infiltrated all spheres of middle-class life. As Thompson explains, ‘Evangelicalism was a call to public and political action in almost every sphere, from bible teaching to church building, prison reform to the abolition of slavery, from the prevention of cruelty to animals (and, perhaps, children) to the suppression of lewd and licentious entertainments, from the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts to the curtailment of drinking at home’.⁷⁹ This suggests that religious doctrine

⁷³ Thompson, E. P., 1991. *The Making of the English Working Class*. (Penguin books: London.) p. 48

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 49

⁷⁵ Harvie, C., and Matthew, H. G. C., 2000. *Nineteenth Century Britain: a very short introduction*. (Oxford University Press: Oxford) p. 20

⁷⁶ Thompson, F, M, L., 1988. *The Rise of Respectable Society: A Social History of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900*. (Fontana Press: London).

⁷⁷ Lee, R., (ed.), 2011. *Commerce and Culture: Nineteenth Century Business Elites*. (Ashgate: Surrey).

⁷⁸ Thompson, F, M, L., 1988. *The Rise of Respectable Society: A Social History of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900*. (Fontana Press: London). p. 251

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p.250-251

informed many aspects of moral identity amongst important segments of nineteenth-century English society. It has been argued that these religious teaching also informed and influenced business practices, behaviours and outlooks. Andrew Popp, in a study of *Entrepreneurial Families*, provides first-hand examples of how the business practices of the book's main protagonists, the Shaw family, were bound and shaped by religious attitudes: '[t]hese were then the classic bourgeois and Christian verities of thrift, application, struggle and self-determination and self-improvement'.⁸⁰ Popp continues to clarify this position by conducting an analysis of the letters exchanged between John Shaw and his mother, Elizabeth: 'In all your time whether in business or otherwise engag'd remember the Eye of God is upon you, and that your most secret thoughts lie open to Him, you will then never dare to do amiss'⁸¹. In the case of the Shaw business enterprise, religion certainly informed business practices, decision making and the ethical attitudes to commerce adopted by the Shaw family. Lee, in the 'Introduction' to his edited collection, provides an insight into the diversity of Liverpool's religious observances and the important role they played in 'underpinning commercial operations'.⁸² Lee explains how confessional affiliation in the first half of the nineteenth century played a divisive role in Liverpool's merchant community: 'Up to the 1840s Congregational churches were supported by 'moderately wealthy congregations', as well as a number of families from Liverpool's social elite; the Methodist congregation which attended the Brunswick Chapel⁸³ was 'uniformly prosperous' and was regarded by outsiders as both 'exclusive' and 'isolated''.⁸⁴ Interestingly, in Lee's opinion, by 1860, the religious landscape in Liverpool had shifted with 'the development of a 'common religious sub-culture' which

⁸⁰ Popp, A., 2012. *Entrepreneurial Families*. (Pickering and Chatto Ltd: London). p. 26-27.

⁸¹ Wilkinson and Shaw Ms 29, Elizabeth Shaw (mother) to John Shaw, 10 September 1801. Quoted in, Popp, A., 2012. *Entrepreneurial Families*. (Pickering and Chatto Ltd: London). p. 27

⁸² Lee, R., (ed.), 2011. *Commerce and Culture: Nineteenth Century Business Elites*. (Ashgate: Surrey). p. 13

⁸³ It is worth noting that William Rushworth's first Liverpool residence was at 23 Birket Street, off St Anne Street, which was little over 0.5 miles from both Brunswick and Great Homer street Methodist Chapels.

⁸⁴ Lee, R., (ed.), 2011. *Commerce and Culture: Nineteenth Century Business Elites*. (Ashgate: Surrey). p. 14

blurred the distinctiveness of denominational identities, while the development of associational culture in nineteenth century Liverpool, with extensive merchant involvement in cultural societies and sporting clubs, helped to establish significant cross-sectional connections within the business community as a whole'.⁸⁵ Perhaps, in the case of the Rushworths, particularly as they were dealing and trading with religious institutions and their related cultural products, namely church and cathedral pipe organs, they were more observant, committed and bound by their religious principles and to a greater extent such beliefs and principles informed their business practices and operations. Although it must be noted that the Rushworth family could not be too demonstrative or strident in their faith or they could risk alienating other denominations who might order organs from them. The nature of their business interest meant that they needed to appeal across denominations. The increasing importance of music in religious services was advocated and promoted by the Wesleyan Methodists, who wanted the congregations to contribute to and participate in the ceremonies. This shifting practice brought about the installation of the pipe organ in churches in an attempt to provide a musical accompaniment to the sound of the choir and congregations. This change in religious observances helped create the mantle of the pipe organ as 'king of instruments'.⁸⁶ Religion was (and remains) an important facet of Rushworth family life, with several members of the family, over many generations, holding prominent positions in their local church in a variety of roles ranging from sides men to churchwardens, and from organist to Canon. Much research has been conducted on the connections between business, religion and wealth. David Jeremy's edited volume presents a thorough examination of the relationship between business and religion, reinforcing some key facts about the nature of this connection. Jeremy begins his introduction with the observation of Jesus that, 'it is easier for a camel to go through a needles

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 17

⁸⁶ For more detailed description of the role of the pipe organ in church services, see, <http://www.churchmusic.ca/ORG3.html>

eye, than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God'.⁸⁷ This sentiment was echoed by Scottish industrialist and philanthropist Andrew Carnegie, who made the famous statement, 'the man who dies thus rich, dies disgraced'.⁸⁸ These statements bring forth the Christian notion of thrift, charity, philanthropy and giving to the poor. The idea that religious denominations and collectives, such as Jews, Quakers or Methodists developed close-knit business networks is advanced by Jeremy and supports the notion that the Rushworth family would have been welcomed into their new social environments by the Methodist churches of Manchester and Liverpool. Jeremy, in his single author work, addresses key questions which help provide context to the actions and behaviours of Britain's emergent capitalist class during the nineteenth century. His study on *Capitalists and Christians* focusses on several key questions such as, how did the church shape the thinking of future business leaders? What impact did Christianity have on big business? And how has the participation of business people in religious life affected the major Protestant denominations? All these questions help to demonstrate and provide context to the mesh of religious observances and business practice employed by the Rushworth family. In their capacity as pipe organ builders, their commercial enterprise was intimately bound up with religious practice and in this way they provide a case-study in the areas outlined by the work of Jeremy.⁸⁹

William married his wife, Sarah, in c.1825 (although it is not known where they married) and together they moved to Manchester in the late 1820s. Here they had four sons, the eldest, Walter born in 1831 (Baptised in Manchester Parish Church 31st July 1831)⁹⁰, Edwin in 1837 (baptised at Manchester Parish Church on March 15th 1837) and Alfred in 1838 (Baptised on Jan 2nd 1839 at Manchester Parish Church). Another son, Lewis born 1840,

⁸⁷ Jeremy, D., (ed.) 1998. *Religion, Business and Wealth in Modern Britain*. (Routledge: London). p.1

⁸⁸ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-22246173>

⁸⁹ Jeremy, D., 1990. *Capitalists and Christians: business leaders and the church, 1900-1960*. (Clarendon Press: Oxford).

⁹⁰ Ancestry.com. *Lancashire, England, Births and Baptisms, 1813-1911* [database on-line]

appears to have died in infancy, aged one. Also, amongst the family was Mary Bewley, and although it is difficult to confirm this conclusively, it is possible she was some sort of domestic help. If it is the case that the Rushworth had resident domestic help then this could infer that the family, at this point, was already climbing up the social class system. Throughout this thesis the emphasis of the family history will focus on family members with direct links to the family music business. It is important to note is that on all Parish Registers related to the baptism of the Rushworth family, William (the founder and father) has his occupation documented as ‘Cabinet Maker’.⁹¹ William was a joiner, a wood worker by trade, who specialised in cabinet making, and it is probable that he served his apprenticeship with his father (who was also a cabinet maker) in Huddersfield before moving on as an artisan/journeyman to Manchester in the mid-to-late 1820s. The definition of nineteenth century ‘journeyman’ suggests that he would have served his apprenticeship and then been able to operate on his own terms, at a daily rate.⁹²

William’s movement represents a standard pattern of urban migration which is consistent with the relocation of many artisans, craftsman and skilled labourers during the first phase of English industrialisation. William’s first (and only) personal residence in Manchester is registered in trade directories as 52 Clarendon Street,⁹³ in the industrial centre of Manchester.⁹⁴ Interestingly, he was situated within a 2-mile radius of the three leading Manchester Organ Works: Samuel Renn; John & George Walker; and Marsden’s. It is possible that William was fulfilling contracts and working with all of these organ builders simultaneously, in a freelance capacity, though this must remain a matter of speculation. What is certain is that the role of cabinet-maker and joiner, and the associated skills and expertise,

⁹¹ Ancestry.com. *Lancashire, England, Births and Baptisms, 1813-1911* [database on-line]

⁹² <http://www.census1891.com/occupations-j.htm> ‘Journeyman’ - “one who served his apprenticeship and mastered his craft - time served, and no longer had to work for someone else (though they often still did).”

⁹³ HO107/583/12 – Ancestry.com 1841 Census [database on-line]

⁹⁴ Pigot’s & Slater’s, *Directory of Manchester and Salford*, 1841, p. 219

were particularly useful to an organ builder. These included wood-working, carpentry, joinery, draughtsmanship, scale drawing and tool-handling. These were all required in this industry, particularly in realising the decorative case-work, coverings, benches and manuals.

Although not registered as an organ builder in any trade directories from this period, the census of 1841 provides evidence of his occupation as a ‘joiner’⁹⁵, while the baptism records of his sons record his occupation as shifting between that of joiner and cabinet maker. The trade directories do show, however, that William Rushworth was registered at two addresses simultaneously, and his alternative residence at 31 Regent Street, Salford, has been interpreted by the National Pipe Organ Register and British Institute of Organ Studies (NPOR/BIOS)⁹⁶ as the first workshop from which he plied his own organ building trade. If this is true, then it is probable that the Rushworth business, which had, until 1902, a date of establishment of c.1840, actually originated in Manchester, before the enterprise was relocated to Liverpool at some point between 1842 and 1844. What can be deduced from the period William spent in Manchester is that, by the time he left for Liverpool, he had already acquired much of the skill, experience and knowledge with which to establish his own pipe-organ building enterprise.⁹⁷

On the 19th April 1844, William’s wife, Sarah, died aged 40 of ‘Dropsy in the Abdomen’.⁹⁸ The death certificate outlines William’s occupation at the time of his wife’s death as a ‘joiner’. This indicates that upon arrival in Liverpool, William’s transition from joiner to organ builder was still not complete. William was left widower with his three sons, Walter,

⁹⁵ HO107/583/12 – Ancestry.com 1841 Census [database on-line]

⁹⁶ Available at: www.npor.org.uk and www.bios.org.uk

⁹⁷ It should also be noted that William Rushworth, joiner/cabinet maker, is also registered at two addresses other than his residential address (52 Clarendon Road) – one is 15 Bow Cross Street, Manchester; the other is 25 Nangreave Street, Manchester. The difficulty in using the nineteenth century trade directories as historical evidence is well-versed but for more information see,

<http://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/history/outreach/besh/documents/Trade%20directories.pdf>

⁹⁸ Rushworth, Sarah, 2014. Death Certificate, 19th April 1844, No. FE 367168

Edwin and Alfred, and one daughter, Sarah. At this point they were resident in Birket Place, Liverpool, within one mile of the Methodist Chapels of Great Homer Street and Brunswick Street. As noted above, the shifting locations of the Rushworth family appears always to have been associated with, orientated towards and situated within walking distance of a chapel observing their family denomination, New Connexion Methodism. This would suggest that the family were interested in observing the ceremony and rituals of their religion and assuring access whereby they could worship and form part of the wider Methodist congregation and community. Liverpool would have provided William, a joiner, with ample employment opportunities in its flourishing ship building yards, timber trade and urban construction, which not only built residential homes and commercial premises, but was also incorporating the construction of a wave of churches designed to accommodate the growing urban population and a multitude of religious denominations. The latter once again reflect the cosmopolitan complexion of Liverpool's port-city populace. The fact that Liverpool was an emergent, wealthy port-city would also have been an attraction to William – although it must be stated that the exact motivation for his relocation to Liverpool are unknown.

It is not known if William benefitted financially from the passing of his wife. However, her passing was immediately followed by William's first recognised and documented business partnership in Liverpool. At the age of 38, having recently lost a son in infancy and his wife at the young age of 40, William was about to establish a partnership with the 22 year-old Nicholas Van Gruisen, a young organ builder who was also trying to establish himself in Liverpool, England's 'second metropolis'.⁹⁹

Rushworth and Van Gruisen, c.1845-47

⁹⁹ Belchem, J., and Hardy, N., 1998. 'Second Metropolis: the middle class in early Victorian Liverpool'. In, Kidd, A., and Nicholls, D., (ed.), *The Making of the British Middle Class? Studies in Regional and Cultural Diversity since the Eighteenth Century*. (Sutton Publishing: Gloucestershire). p. 58

Gores Liverpool trade directory of 1847 provides the first evidence of William Rushworth operating in Liverpool. This entry provides confirmation of a partnership between William Rushworth, then aged 38, and Nicholas van Gruisen, then aged 22, under the auspices of ‘Rushworth and van Gruisen’. The trade directories document that during this partnership the business operated from workshop premises initially situated at 2 St Vincent Street, Liverpool. Little is known of Nicholas van Gruisen, at this point,¹⁰⁰ but the directories list this partnership under the section of ‘pipe organ builders’.¹⁰¹

It is somewhat surprising, on the surface, that William would one year be listed as a joiner (as on the death certificate of his wife, Sarah), and then the next year open up a partnership in the manufacture of pipe organs. It could be that when William joined forces with van Gruisen the latter focussed on the practical musical element of the enterprise, and William focused primarily on the decorative, case-work and wood-working elements and construction. This, of course, is conjecture and difficult to prove definitively. Possibly due to the fact that this partnership was short-lived, Rushworth and van Gruisen Organ Builders failed to register any pipe organs on the NPOR.

An unpublished article outlining the business history of the firm, written by Walter Maynard Rushworth¹⁰² in 1942, states that, ‘the first important contract carried out [by Rushworths] was the building and erection of the organ in the Catholic Apostolic Church, Canning Street’.¹⁰³ This is supported by a catalogue produced by W. Rushworth and Sons in c.1900, which provides details of the operations and departments of the firm, as well as the

¹⁰⁰ Van Gruisen would continue in the trade and build a musical instrument retail business that would continue long its existence in Liverpool long into the twentieth century.

¹⁰¹ *Gore’s Directory of Liverpool and its Environs, 1847*. p. 718

¹⁰² Walter Maynard Rushworth was a member of the third generation, son of Walter, and grandson of William, the founder

¹⁰³ Rushworth, W, M., 1942. ‘History and Development of the Firm of Rushworth & Dreaper’. Unpublished article [private collection]. This article was provided by the Rushworth family in support of the PhD research.

method employed by the manufactory in the construction, re-building and tuning of Rushworth Organs. This catalogue, distributed ‘with W. Rushworth & Sons compliments’, includes, with accompanying photographs, a selection of the completed organs, the workshop and staff, and, most importantly, a list of ‘Organs built by the Firm’, a further list of ‘Organs Re-built’, and a list of ‘Engines supplied’. Official business records and ledgers do not exist for the business from the early nineteenth century, but this catalogue provides evidence that up to 1900 it had completed the manufacture of at least 61 pipe organs across England (and South Africa) in locations as distant from Liverpool as Cambridge, Kent, Derbyshire, Worcestershire, London and Cape Town.¹⁰⁴ This confirms that the scope of the Rushworth business, had by 1900, already extended far beyond the boundaries of Liverpool and Merseyside and was national and even international in reach.

By 1848, Van Gruisen had already diversified his business interests and, although still listed as an organ builder, the *Liverpool Mercury* has a listing that confirms that van Gruisen was now occupying new premises at 7 Newington, Bold Street (Liverpool) and that the firm were concerned with ‘Organs, Pianofortes and Musical Instruments &c’.¹⁰⁵ The 1849 Trade directory lists William Rushworth as the sole occupier of 2 St Vincent Street and both he, and Van Gruisen, as operating as ‘Organ Builders’ in their own right and from separate premises.¹⁰⁶ The partnership was ultimately dissolved and short-lived, although during the nineteenth century this was often the case. It is impossible to speculate as to the reasons why the partnership was dissolved, but the fact that both continued to trade in organ building would suggest that business difficulties were probably not the cause. However, the following years

¹⁰⁴ W. Rushworth & Sons, c.1900. ‘Organs; Their Building, Re-Building and Tuning’. Private Collection. This was provided by the Rushworth family in support of the PhD research.

¹⁰⁵ *Liverpool Mercury*, Tuesday, October 24, 1848; issue 2033, p. 1

¹⁰⁶ *Gore’s Directory of Liverpool and its Environs*, 1849. p. 678

would see William establish the foundations upon which subsequent generations of Rushworth would build and expand.

Growth and Development, 1850-1857

Sources relating to the period between 1850 and 1864 are again somewhat scant. The Gore's directory of 1851 highlights one change for William Rushworth. He had now relocated his workshop to 4 Pudsey Street, London Road, little over 250 yards from the previous workshop at St Vincent Street. The reasons and motivation for the move of their enterprise is not known or documented. However, the new workshop was located near to the city centre and off the main thoroughfares of London Road, Islington and Lime Street, which would have helped with acquiring materials and attracting customers. The 1851 census has William listed as a 'widow' and his occupation is now an 'organ builder/journeyman'. He lives at 83 Birket Place with his four children: Walter, now aged 19, is also an 'organ builder' (having served his apprenticeship at one of the largest organ building firms in Liverpool at this time, Bewsher and Fleetwood)¹⁰⁷; Sarah, aged 18, no occupation; Edwin, aged 14, an 'apprentice organ builder'; and Alfred, aged 12, listed as a 'scholar'¹⁰⁸.

The earliest reference to Rushworths in the *Liverpool Mercury* is from June 1853. This article reveals some important information; that while still resident at 2 Pudsey Street, near London Road, and before he and his family moved to their Islington premises, William Rushworth was already establishing a name for himself as a skilled craftsman and musical instrument renovator, restorer and repairer. The article, titled 'an ingenious musical instrument', explains how William Rushworth, 'who has considerable experience in regard to

¹⁰⁷ *Musical Opinion and Music Trade Review*, September 1903, p. 941. 'Obituary: Mr Walter Rushworth' (Liverpool).

¹⁰⁸ HO107/2185/570 – Ancestry.com 1851 census [online database]

self-acting instruments’, reconstructed and fitted ‘an ingeniously constructed self-acting musical instrument called a pan-harmonicon’. According to the report, the instrument

was originally built in New York, and had been lying in Liverpool in a detached state for some time, several organ builders declining to undertake the fitting up in consequence of the varied and complex machinery connected with it ... [but Rushworth] undertook to arrange and combine the whole so as to develop all the varied and beautiful effects which the instrument was intended to produce. In this he appears to have been most successful, and the result is creditable to his mechanical skill and ingenuity. The pan harmonicon is the union of all the instruments to be found in a full military band, while it can also be regulated so as to combine the sweetness and delicacy of the Italian orchestra.¹⁰⁹

This report not only confirms Rushworth as a ‘master craftsman’ and musical instrument manufacturer, but also establishes his name and provides evidence for the quality of his work, his technical ability and his growing local reputation.

The references to Rushworth’s technical ability and workmanship are again evident in a newspaper report from the *Cheshire Observer and General Advertiser* in 1855 that provides a glowing reference as to the quality and workmanship of the Rushworth organ recently installed at Christ Church, Crewe:

“OPENING OF NEW ORGAN AT CHRIST CHURCH, CREWE”

the qualities of the organ were admirably developed by Mr Charles Wilberforce of Liverpool, in a selection of anthems and other sacred music. The attendance on both occasions was great, and the performance of the organ was only rivalled by the skill and ability of the orchestra. The instrument, which is very chaste and beautiful, was built by Mr William Rushworth of Liverpool, whose organs are to be found in many of the churches and other religious edifices, both in Liverpool and other places throughout the country. It is placed at the Gallery end of the church, and when viewed as an ornament, adds graceful appearance to the neat and elegant building. The

¹⁰⁹ *Liverpool Mercury*, Friday 3rd June, 1853, p. 1

capabilities of the organ, for its size, are unquestionable ... there is little doubt that this instrument will additional proof of the skill of this well-known builder.¹¹⁰

The *Liverpool Mercury* reported in March 1856 that the Organ of the soon-to-be-built Church of the Holy Apostles, Canning Street, Liverpool, would contain an organ built by ‘Mr Rushworth, and is expected to be a splendid instrument’.¹¹¹ What these two newspaper reports indicate is that, by 1856, not only had William Rushworth built up a credible and reputable organ building enterprise, but the firm’s scale and scope had extended far beyond the boundaries of Liverpool and Merseyside, and the quality of Rushworth organs was appreciated across the north-west of England.

The business was to remain at these premises (except for a brief move to 2 Pudsey Street in 1856) until December 1856, when it was reported in the *Liverpool Mercury* that the firm had relocated to 13 Islington:

WILLIAM RUSHWORTH

ORGAN BUILDER AND PIANOFORTE MANUFACTURER, 13 ISLINGTON, (late of Pudsey Street), returns his most grateful acknowledgements to the patronage hitherto bestowed on him, and begs to inform his friends that, having removed to larger premises, he has now the LARGEST ESTABLISHMENT in the town, and is prepared to build Organs of every description, from the Chamber Organ to the Cathedral Organ. The tone of the workmanship of his instruments he guarantees to be such as cannot be surpassed by any house in the kingdom.

Organs and Pianofortes Tuned by the year or otherwise.

The Trade supplied with Wood and Metal Pipes, Keys, &c.¹¹²

The 1857 edition of *Gore's Liverpool Directory* provides one of the earliest printed advertisements for William Rushworth’s musical business.¹¹³ The advertisement lists William

¹¹⁰ *Cheshire Observer and General Advertiser*: for Cheshire and North Wales (Chester, England), Saturday, June 02, 1855; pg. 6; Issue 56. 19th Century British Library Newspapers: Part II.

¹¹¹ *Liverpool Mercury*, Saturday March 15, 1856

¹¹² *Liverpool Mercury* (Liverpool, England), Saturday, December 13, 1856

¹¹³ *Gore's Directory for Liverpool and its Environs*, 1857, Advertisements, p. 98

Rushworth as ‘Church, Chamber and Self-Acting Organ and Pianoforte Manufacturer’, which provides evidence of the first phase of diversification undertaken by the firm. This is supported by the listings in *Liverpool Mercury*, June 1857, which, under ‘to be sold – miscellaneous’, provides examples of ‘two fine toned cottage pianofortes’ and ‘a fine toned ORGAN suitable for small place of worship’ to be sold at, the newly named, ‘W. Rushworth’s Musical Repository, 13 Islington’.¹¹⁴ What these listings reveal is that Rushworth had already begun to diversify his enterprise, such that, within a decade of its establishment in Liverpool, the firm now had a multifaceted range of business interests encompassing organ building and tuning, pianoforte manufacture and retail, and trading in new and second-hand instruments. The scale and scope of the business had extended beyond Liverpool across Northwest England and North Wales, and the Rushworth manufactures were of high quality and workmanship. The foundations had been laid upon which the Rushworth family could build their musical enterprise. However, the business would be affected by a number of significant set-backs in the next period.

Bankruptcy, Insolvency and Disputes, 1859-61

In 1859 Mr Edwin Rushworth is listed in Gore’s Liverpool Directory as ‘Organist at St Mary Magdalene’s Church, Finch Street’.¹¹⁵ A new advertisement appears in this year’s issue of Gore’s, which simply highlights W. Rushworth as ‘Organ Builder and Pianoforte Manufacturer’.¹¹⁶ However, the *London Gazette* of 11 February 1859, under ‘Court of Relief of Insolvent Debtors’, lists ‘William Rushworth, formerly of No. 13 Soho Street, and having a shop, No. 2 Pudsey street, London Road, and late of No. 13 Islington, all in Liverpool, in the county of Lancaster, Organ Builder and Pianoforte Manufacturer’.¹¹⁷ The clear conclusion is

¹¹⁴ *Liverpool Mercury* (Liverpool, England), Friday, June 12, 1857

¹¹⁵ *Gore’s Directory for Liverpool and its Environs*, 1859, p. 96

¹¹⁶ *Gore’s Directory for Liverpool and its Environs*, 1859, Advertisements, p. 24

¹¹⁷ *The London Gazette*, February 11, 1859, p. 609

that Rushworth's business had become insolvent, that he was unable to pay his creditors, and that he had been imprisoned awaiting trial. How had this apparently abrupt change in fortunes come about?

One noticeable change is highlighted in the *Liverpool Mercury*, 4th January 1859, relating to a dispute over the seizure of goods from Mr William Rushworth. Walter is trusted with issuing the suit and acts on behalf of his 'unwell' father – indicating that Walter had succeeded his father and was in at least temporary control of the business, or at the least the organ building aspect. What is relevant from this report is the fact that William Rushworth '*formerly* carried on this business from Islington' [my emphasis]. The use of past tense implies that William had now retired; an assertion which is supported later in the report when it refers to 'the plaintiff's father [William] who had been unwell for some time'.¹¹⁸ It may be deduced that, by this point in 1859, William, the founder and now aged 54, had already handed-over the family business to the next generation, his eldest son being Walter, organ builder, as a result of unspecified ill-health. This period would represent the first instance of intra-family succession and pass as it passed from father to son, William to Walter. The earliest company ledger confirms that already by 1864 the Rushworth business was operating as a partnership between William, the father and company founder, and his two eldest sons, Walter and Edwin. In line with succession planning literature, this transition and incorporation of the next generation would be 'a sibling partnership approach – one where roles are divided depending on the particular skills and talents of the family'.¹¹⁹ In the case of the Rushworth business, duties and emphasis were split between Walter, who controlled the organ building side of the business,

¹¹⁸ *Liverpool Mercury*, 4th January 1859, n.p.

¹¹⁹ Harvey, D., 2004. Keeping it in the Family. (ACCA: London). Quoted in, Deakins, D., and Freel, M., 2012. Entrepreneurship and Small Firms (Sixth Edition). (McGraw-Hill Education: Maidenhead). pp. 66-69. See Literature Review p.26

whilst Edwin focussed on developing a musical instrument retail arm of the business. This move into musical instrument retail also represented the first mode of company diversification.

Despite this apparent upheaval in the performance of the business, according to the 1860 edition of Gore's Liverpool Directory, it was 'business as usual'. William is listed as 'organ builder and pianoforte manufacturer' from 13 Islington, while his son, Edwin, is listed simply as 'Organist', again from 13 Islington.¹²⁰ The section which covers 'Churches, Clergy, Officers &c.' still lists Edwin as organist at St Mary Magdalene's Church, Finch Street¹²¹. The *London Gazette*, January 22nd 1861, highlights that a dividend was agreed with his creditors, in accordance with which he was to pay 'a dividend of one shilling and three pence in the pound to the creditors of William Rushworth, late of No, 13 Islington, Liverpool, Lancashire, Organ Builder and Pianoforte Manufacturer, No. 88,722C'.¹²² The business was able to negotiate an agreement with creditors allowing them to continue in business. The troubles appear likely to have been largely connected to William's illness.

The 1861 census lists the Rushworth family as residents at 13 Islington, with William Rushworth, listed as 'former joiner, organ builder, and assistant'; in respect of his sons Walter, 29, Edwin, 24 and Alfred, 22, the 'ditto' marks indicate they are all working in the field of 'organ builder'¹²³

What insight do the events of this period provide? They show that, in its earliest phase of transition, the Rushworth business was in a precarious state financially. This was, and remains, true of many small, relatively young firms. The issuing of insolvency orders and subsequent imprisonment for William suggest an imperfect balance between the quality of

¹²⁰ *Gore's Directory for Liverpool and its Environs*, 1860, p. 229

¹²¹ *Gore's Directory for Liverpool and its Environs*, 1860, p. 65*

¹²² *The London Gazette*, January 22, 1861, p. 276

¹²³ RG 9/2692/61, p. 3. Ancestry.com 1861 census [online database]

workmanship and organ manufacture and the need to ‘balance the books’ and to take care of the financial and business aspects of the enterprise. The fact that Walter deals with issues of dispute provides evidence that William had handed over effective control of the operation, possibly as a result of age, possibly as a result of ill-health, or possibly because Walter, after serving his apprenticeship at Bewsher and Fleetwood, now had skills and expertise which matched or even surpassed those of his father. Whatever the reasons for the accession of Walter, one thing that cannot be disputed is the fact that the business was about to enter a new phase of growth and development - as is highlighted in the Rushworth Business Ledger, 1864-1875.¹²⁴

Mythology, legend, story-telling and biographical Rushworth family histories

Much of Rushworths early history was passed down, rather like ‘folklore’, through word-of-mouth and family stories shared over time. Inevitably, one must take care in assessing the reliability of first and often second-hand accounts. Nevertheless, I was able to access several unpublished and unofficial (and in the most part uncorroborated) family histories, written by members (and branches) of the family from different generations over the lifespan of the business. The earliest Rushworth history was written by Walter Maynard Rushworth in 1942¹²⁵; the next was written by Helena ‘Tup’ Cunliffe in 1972¹²⁶; James Rushworth contributed significantly to the construction of a family history via his historical family research of 1954, his construction of a professional family tree in 1962¹²⁷, and his writing of a biography of his own achievements in ‘half a century in the music trade and pipe organ

¹²⁴ The ‘Rushworth Business Ledger, 1864-1875’, was provided by the Rushworth family in support of the research. It has no official reference code or numbers, so for the purposes of the research it well referred to as ‘RBL6475’.

¹²⁵ Onwards referred to as: WMR42

¹²⁶ Onwards referred to as: TCR72

¹²⁷ Onwards referred to as: Redwood. B, C., Family Tree 1962

building' in 1982¹²⁸; in addition to family history research, we also have the memoirs of Helen Dora Rushworth¹²⁹, which provide sporadic reference to the family business. The accumulation and dissemination of family stories demonstrates that the Rushworth family and business had a strong self-identity and self-conception and that it was largely during the formative years of development, the mid-nineteenth century, that it first began to be formed. What is most important here is not whether or not these stories are true but that Rushworth's told them, wrote them down, continue to tell them and perhaps still believe them. Myths and storytelling have very important functions in society and family firms are no different.

One tale that is often repeated in and amongst the Rushworth family refers to the founder, William, and his three sons, playing music through open shop windows in an attempt to attract customers into the shop. Maynard explains that, 'in those days, the premises at Islington were the fronts of private houses, and here the citizens of a hundred years ago climbed Shaw's Brow, now William Brown Street, to hear the music of William and his three sons, who, between them played the piano, flute, violin and violoncello'.¹³⁰ Helen provides a similar story, 'there were sort of steps going down from Islington, down below to sort of, I suppose, the cellars and they had a piano there and my father [Harry Rushworth] used to play the violin apparently and his brother [Walter Maynard Rushworth] used to play cello. They all played together and it used to cause amazement really because people used to gather around the railings outside and listen to them playing.'¹³¹ Gore's Liverpool Directory and Census data confirm that during the period up to 1875, the Rushworth family lived at 13 Islington, presumably above (or possibly below) the shop. That family business combined workshops, retail sites and family homes from one location was not an unfamiliar concept. Indeed, piano

¹²⁸ Onwards referred to as: WJLR82

¹²⁹ Onwards referred to as: HDR memoirs

¹³⁰ WMR42, p. 1. Private collection.

¹³¹ HDR memoirs, p. 2. Private collection. I am grateful to Tricia and Alan Wilson for providing access to Helen (Dora's) memoirs.

manufacturers, Broadwood and Sons, combined workshop and family home from one site in their Soho premises during the nineteenth century. Tup's history explains that, 'in the beginning they [the Rushworth's] went round buying old pianos, and after doing them up, selling them at profit. The three brothers [Walter, Edwin and Alfred] were all keen musicians, and they had many pleasant musical evenings'.¹³² Although it is difficult to determine the veracity of these family stories, one thing that can be inferred is the musical ability and acumen of the family. The earliest family photograph, showing William, the founder and his three sons, has them all holding musical instruments – a classic piece of iconography and image building. This combined with Edwin's occupation as organist at local Liverpool churches and the handing down of family stories, presents a picture of a musically-engaged family. With regards to the family playing music through open windows in an attempt to attract customers – this could well be true. Interestingly, in 1860, there was a 'Victualler' located next door, at 15 Islington, while at 11 Islington there was a 'Temperance Hotel'¹³³, and so it is quite possible that customers of the hotel and victualler would be attracted by the music coming from the Rushworth shop; and, as we shall see in Chapter Two, the connection in Liverpool between music and alcoholic consumption in the mid-nineteenth century was often strong (although, of course, the Temperance Hotel would be strictly non-alcoholic).

Rushworth Business Growth, Structure and Development, 1864-1870

The business ledger details the period 1864-1870. It provides the first concrete quantitative evidence of the functioning and size of the departments within the firm. It provides a breakdown of profits, and annual balance sheets, as well as how these profits were divided between the Rushworth partners. Overall, despite the relatively short timeframe, the ledger

¹³² TCR72, p. 1. Private collection.

¹³³ *Gore's Directory for Liverpool and its Environs*, 1860, Numerical Directory ISL, n. p. Interestingly, before this, in 1859, No. 15 Islington was a 'Commercial Hotel and Boarding House' – see, *Gore's Directory for Liverpool and its Environs*, 1859, p. 49

provides detailed accounts of the scale, scope and division of the firm at an important time in its history.

The first thing to note is the division of the business between the three partners, William (the founder), Walter (the eldest son) and Edwin (the middle son). Gore's Liverpool Directory of 1865 outlines the initiation of this partnership by highlighting that the business had changed its name from William Rushworth to 'Rushworth and Sons' organ builders.¹³⁴ The initial capital input into the business at the outset, and the profits divided between the partners, are all in equal proportions. The first entry in the ledger (31st December 1864) highlights that the capital account balance, £697,¹³⁵ was divided equally, as per their individual contribution, in this case £232 each.¹³⁶ This would intimate that the partnership between William and his two eldest sons was established on equal terms. Similarly, annual profits were to be divided equally after what appears to have been a three-year period in which no profits were recorded. The ledger entries for December 1867 show £750 divided between the partners: 'For amount Profits divided over the undermentioned accounts being about two-thirds of 3 years' profits.... William Rushworth for his 1/3 proportion of £750... £250... Walter ditto, Edwin ditto'.¹³⁷ The profits registered amounted to £1002, which covers the period December 1864-1867. After the partners had taken their proportion of profits, they left £326 as floating capital in the business. On 3rd November 1869, Edwin's first son, William, was born. On 6th January, 1870, William was baptised at St Peter's Church, Liverpool, and Edwin's vocation is still listed as 'organ builder'¹³⁸, despite him dealing in musical instruments since 1857.

¹³⁴ Gore's *Directory of Liverpool and its Environs*, 1865, p. 318

¹³⁵ In modern terms this figure would equate to £79,097 -

<http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/education/Pages/resources/inflationtools/calculator/flash/default.aspx>

¹³⁶ RBL6475, p.1

¹³⁷ RBL6475, p. 10 and p. 56. See also, journal folios, 30, 37 and 44.

¹³⁸ LRO 283PET/8/3. Ancestry.com. *Liverpool, England, Baptisms, 1813-1906* [database on-line].

Another important aspect of this partnership is that William's youngest son, Alfred, is not included as a partner in the business. This could be due to several reasons. There may not have been adequate space in the business to accommodate three sons; he may not have had the initial capital to invest in the formation of the business; he may have had other interests; he may have wanted to work independently, rather than form a partnership with his father and brothers; being born in 1838, he would have been 26 when the firm was set up. The Census of 1861 lists Alfred, now aged 23, as a 'scholar' (not an organ builder or apprentice like his brothers in earlier census returns), which could indicate that he had taken a different musical route, more interested in practical musicianship than the business aspect.¹³⁹ Despite Alfred not being involved in the initial formation of the business, he nonetheless was employed by the firm in 1869 for a short period between 13th November and 31st December, '7 weeks [with an allowance of] £2 per week – total £14'.¹⁴⁰ It is likely that he was covering the busy Christmas period. From this period onwards we see increasing engagement between Alfred and the family firm. Table 1.1 shows the amount of cash drawn down by Alfred, which in this context is the same as wages earned. Between 1870 and 1874 the amount of wage received by Alfred fluctuated but it appears that he became a member of staff. The reasons why Alfred was not incorporated in the family business partnership, although it is possible to speculate as to the reasons why. He may have lacked the skills and expertise, or he may have lacked interest. It is possible that as youngest of three sons he may have lacked the necessary capital to invest in formation of the new partnership, or he may never have been invited to join the partnership as the firm was, at this point, a small enterprise and William may have identified that there was not sufficient profitability to support a four-person partnership.

¹³⁹ RG 9/2692/61, p. 3. Ancestry.com 1861 census [online database]

¹⁴⁰ RBL6475, p. 12

Table 1.1 shows Alfred's wage received

1870	£88.12
1871	£153.8
1872	£110.14
1873	£105
1874	£103.12

In 1875 the Rushworth business had not yet made a full transition from organ builder to piano retailer. The firm provided a mixed musical service that encompassed many aspects of the music retail and manufacture trade. However, what can be determined from the 1864-75 ledger is that some profitable trade had been conducted in the purchase, and subsequent resale, of musical instruments. The ledger highlights an account held with Collard and Collard, piano manufacturers, opened in February 1867, with a value of £67.12.6.¹⁴¹ Moreover, the ledger provides a detailed breakdown of instruments bought and sold between 1865 and 1867. What this section reveals is the profit margins made on instrument sales during the formative years of Rushworths development. In 1865 the firm invested £456 in the purchase of musical instruments. This included the purchase of Concertinas (for example, one bought on 20th November 1865 for 13 shillings), Harmoniums (for example, one purchased for £20.0.0 from H. Solomon on 1st September 1865), and several Pianos (for example, a J. Brinsmead piano bought on 10th November 1865 for £27.11.0). The sale of musical instruments in 1865 totalled £679, which minus the total expenditure on instrument purchases, £456, generated a profit of £223.¹⁴² In 1866 the amount invested in instrument purchases increased markedly, amounting to £1143. This brought sales of £872, registering a loss of £271. In 1867 the figures are £347 on instruments purchased and sales totalling £415, leading to a small profit of £68. Over the three years between 1865 and 1867 the profitability of the ventures in instruments bought and re-sold fluctuated markedly. The ledger reveals the multifarious range of services and departments encompassed by this early incarnation of the Rushworth business. In many ways

¹⁴¹ RBL6475, p. 95

¹⁴² RBL6475, p. 81-88

this would provide the template around which future generations would structure the business. The Ledger 1864-75 shows that, already at this point, the Rushworth Music Repository (as it was called in Gores) was concerned not only with the manufacture of pipe organs and the renovations and repair of pianos¹⁴³, but also with tuning of pianos and organs¹⁴⁴, the hire of instruments¹⁴⁵ and the retail, purchase and exchange of musical instruments¹⁴⁶. It also reveals a ‘loan account’, which indicates that, even at this early stage of development, the Rushworth business was providing instruments on credit, instalment payment plans schemes. The Rushworths were building an end-to-end musical service which encompassed all aspects of musical instrument retail, albeit with a specialist interest in pipe organ manufacture and piano repair and renovation. This was not a unique approach to take for Rushworths, in fact many of London’s great department stores which were emerging in the late nineteenth century were offering similar services and payment plans in an effort to promote consumerism and entice customers to the stores.¹⁴⁷

How profitable was the business during the period outlined in the Ledger? The balance sheets and profit and loss account¹⁴⁸ provide a clear picture of how the business was performing.

Table 1.2: Profits of Rushworth business, 1865-69

Date	Profits posted
30 th December 1865	£121
31 st December 1866	£591
31 st December 1867	£1002
31 st December 1868	£266 ¹⁴⁹
31 st December 1869	£219

¹⁴³ RBL6475, p. 85

¹⁴⁴ RBL6475, p. 65

¹⁴⁵ RBL6475, p. 75

¹⁴⁶ RBL6475, p. 81-87

¹⁴⁷ For examples of department stores strategy and development in the nineteenth century see: Mitchell, I., 2015. ‘The Victorian provincial department store: a category too many? *History of Retailing and Consumption*, 1 (2). pp. 149-163; Carlson, E., 2012. ‘Dazzling and Deceiving: Reflections in the nineteenth-century department store’. *Visual Resources*, 28 (2). pp. 117-137

¹⁴⁸ RBL6475, pp. 55 and 155

¹⁴⁹ after £750 had been deducted and divided equally between William, Walter and Edwin, £250 each

Table 1.2 provides a clear indication of the growth and performance of the business during the latter half of the 1860s. The business had extended far beyond its initial function as pipe organ manufacturer; and the division of the business between pipe organ manufacture, and tuning and repairs, under the guidance of Walter, operated in tandem with the purchase, sale, exchange and hire of musical instruments, under the guidance of Edwin. The profits posted are impressive for a small family firm still operating from a single unit, with living space and family home above the shop, while the stockroom and workshop were on the ground floor and in the cellar. In modern terms, the figures posted would equate to substantial profits; the profits from 1867, £1002, would equate to £98,867.34 in 2013.¹⁵⁰

William had endured many highs and lows, but in the main his tale is one of growth and success, despite personal difficulties (such as bankruptcy and ill-health) and tragedies (the death of his infant son, Lewis, and death of his wife, Sarah). His movement from Huddersfield to Liverpool had seen him marry and raise a family of five children, move to and from Manchester, and make the transition from joiner and cabinet maker to organ builder. By 1870 he had lost a son, Lewis, in infancy, and lost his wife, Sarah, in her mid-40s, been imprisoned for bankruptcy, and endured a short-lived partnership with the young Nicholas van Gruisen. Towards the end of his life, William, the founder, had formed a successful and profitable partnership with his sons, Walter and Edwin, and set the foundations in place upon which his sons, and future generations could build and expand the company. This process required the necessary entrepreneurial skills to develop; and it was Edwin and Walter who took the business to a different level. In 1874, William died. On 30th June 1875 the partnership between William, Edwin and Walter was dissolved¹⁵¹, with the two sons deciding to split and to open new businesses on their own. Walter took over the organ building arm of the business, while Edwin

¹⁵⁰ <http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/education/Pages/resources/inflationtools/calculator/flash/default.aspx>

¹⁵¹ *The London Gazette*, 17th August 1875, p. 4163

focussed on the piano and musical instrument retail aspect. The final entry in the folio of the business ledger explains that on 30th June 1875, £2662 was divided between the three partners, £887 given to William, Walter and Edwin for their ‘one-third proportion – being the profits on the business from 1st July 1870 to date a period of 5½ years’.¹⁵² This would equate in modern terms to an amount of £89,306.41 per partner in the business and reflects the growing maturity, profitability and scale of the business.¹⁵³ It is likely that the division of profits would have provided the capital required to finance the next phase of Rushworths growth.

Dissolution, Division, Growth and Expansion, 1875-1897

The death of the company founder, William in 1874, led to the dissolution of the initial Rushworth partnership, W. Rushworth & Sons, on 30th June 1875. It was announced in the *London Gazette* on 17th August 1875, that the partnership had been dissolved by ‘mutual consent’.¹⁵⁴ The firm was now formally separated for the first time, with the organ building arm of the business under the control of Walter, William’s eldest son, while the retail arm was expanded by Edwin. The first documented expansion of the business occurred in 1874 and the firm now occupied adjoining premises at 11-13 Islington.¹⁵⁵ The Directory listings have the organ building arm of the business based at 13 Islington. It is very probable that the new premises, 11 Islington, were devoted to the retail of musical instruments. This approach to housing all manufacture and retail under one roof is reminiscent of Broadwood and Sons, who, from the 1850s manufactured all parts of the pianos under one roof, although this was an unusual approach at this time.¹⁵⁶ Alfred, William’s third son, is listed as an organ builder, but, it seems, operating from 36 Belgrave Street and in his own right. He was not incorporated into

¹⁵² RBL6475, p. 22

¹⁵³ <http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/education/Pages/resources/inflationtools/calculator/flash/default.aspx>

¹⁵⁴ *The London Gazette*, 17th August 1875, p. 4163

¹⁵⁵ *Gore’s Directory of Liverpool and its Environs*, 1874, p. 699

¹⁵⁶ Carnevali, F., and Newton, L., 2013. ‘Pianos for the People. From Producer to Consumer in Britain, 1851-1914’. In, *Enterprise and Society*, Vol. 14, Issue, 1, p. 46

either side of the newly formed Rushworth businesses.¹⁵⁷ Alfred died in 1877, aged 38. The *Liverpool Mercury* advertises in 1875 that ‘Messrs Rushworth and Sons were responsible for the restoration of the organs at St Mary’s Church, Hardman Street; Holy Trinity Church, Walton Breck; Christ Church, Everton; Unitarian Church, Birkenhead; Independent Church, Rhos, Wales; Also, new organ building for St James-the-Less, Liverpool’.¹⁵⁸ The reputation and brand of the Rushworth enterprise was clearly increasing and generating much work, including contracts across many districts of Liverpool, Wirral and north Wales.

The period was characterised by restructuring, reorganisation and diversification. The quality of the craftsmanship at the Rushworth organ manufactory is well-documented. The Organ built for St Mark’s Church, Scarisbrick, received the following commendation when it was opened in 1877:

It [the organ] has been built to order by Messrs Rushworth and Sons, organ builders, Islington, Liverpool; and they must be congratulated upon the nice arrangement of the stops, as well as upon the rich tone of the pipes; the full power of the instrument is sufficient to fill the building. The exterior has a very neat appearance, and is in character with the other part of the chancel furniture.¹⁵⁹

The glowing reports on the quality of the Rushworth organs are evident in several articles published in the *Liverpool Mercury*¹⁶⁰. It is clear that the standard of workmanship and tonal qualities did not diminish under the stewardship of Walter. In fact, the business appeared to consolidate its reputation.

As noted already, the retail arm of the business, managed and controlled by Edwin, was focussed on the sale of keyboard instruments such as pianos, harmoniums, American organs and other types of musical instruments. It was registered at 11 Islington and, according to

¹⁵⁷ *Gore’s Directory of Liverpool and its Environs*, 1874, p. 601

¹⁵⁸ *Liverpool Mercury*, Monday, July 19, 1875, p. 1

¹⁵⁹ *Liverpool Mercury*, Saturday, June 2 1877, n. p.

¹⁶⁰ For examples, see; *Liverpool Mercury*: 3 April 1880; 30 August 1880; 13 September 1880;

Gore's directory, was described as 'organ builder and pianoforte manufacturer'¹⁶¹. The *Liverpool Mercury* shows Edwin having 11 separate advertisements devoted to his retail enterprise, highlighting the diversity of his products. He has for sale: one American organ (priced at £10, 10 shillings); five pianos (including a Collard & Collard, prices ranging from £12 to £17); four harmoniums (prices range from £2 to £21, including one at 26 guineas); and one Bord pianette (priced at £18).¹⁶² One year later, the listings in *Liverpool Mercury* indicate an increase in stock and produce. The listings include 21 separate advertisements: 10 pianos (prices ranging from £10.10s to £25, including one by Collard & Collard); six American organs (price range from £10 to £36); four harmoniums (prices range from £3, 3s to £18); and one pianette (priced at 17s).¹⁶³ The listings one year later appear to change in tone and format. For example, they are now listed as 'E. Rushworth' and include small sales pitches and phrases designed to attract customers to the shop: 'for touch, tone and durability cannot be excelled', 'a very fine instrument, a bargain at £25', 'German model, finest import', 'will retain its quality of tone, a perfect gem, at an unequalled price', 'a chance seldom met with'¹⁶⁴. This suggests a clear sales and marketing strategy. The advertisements are designed not only to provide details of stock and prices, but also to attest to the quality and competitive pricing of the products. The language, tone and quantity of advertising reflect the value that Edwin placed upon the need to invest in publicity, marketing and advertising. This was an innovative strategy of retail advertising from Edwin as, at this early stage, adverts generally were merely designed to convey information, rather than actively trying to promote sales.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶¹ Gores *Liverpool Directory*, 1877, p. 494

¹⁶² *Liverpool Mercury*, 6 January 1877, p. 3

¹⁶³ *Liverpool Mercury*, 1 January 1878, p. 1

¹⁶⁴ *Liverpool Mercury*, 1 January 1879, p. 1

¹⁶⁵ Some interesting analysis of piano marketing approaches and strategies is included in: ¹⁶⁵ Carnevali, F., and Newton, L., 2013. 'Pianos for the People. From Producer to Consumer in Britain, 1851-1914'. In, *Enterprise and Society*, Vol. 14, Issue, 1, p. 50-59

The retail business continued to operate on a fairly small and independent scale. The census of 1881 highlights that Edwin, now listed as a ‘Musical Instrument Dealer’, employs ‘2 men and 1 apprentice’¹⁶⁶ (the 1871 census has Edwin’s occupation as simply ‘Organ builder’).¹⁶⁷ Meanwhile, the Organ Works, under the guidance of Walter, was, in 1881, employing ‘7 men and 4 boys’.¹⁶⁸ Gore’s Directory from 1881 provides evidence that the organ works had relocated to 22 Mill Lane, which was a short distance from the original site at Islington.¹⁶⁹ The site at Mill Lane would be the residence of Rushworth’s organ manufactory until 1908, when they relocated to larger premises at Great George Street. The period between 1881 and 1890 sees Edwin’s listings in Gore’s shifting yearly between 11 and 13 Islington, with different businesses and trades operating from the premises next door. For example, in 1882, 11 Islington is listed as a temperance hotel, with Edwin listed at 13 Islington; in 1887, Edwin is listed as operating from 11 Islington; in 1888, Edwin is back at 13 Islington, with Grimshaw’s perambulator manufacturers occupying 9 and 11 Islington, while Thomas Westworth, a licensed victualler, is occupying 15 and 17 Islington. Having a victualler operating from the premises next door would have been positive for Edwin’s business and may add some veracity to the tales of Rushworth’s playing music through open shop windows in an attempt to attract customers to the shop. In Liverpool, particularly, there was a strong correlation between music and alcoholic drinks and their consumption. In 1890, Edwin’s listings in Gore’s are now in bold typescript, which represents a change in marketing. This is followed in 1891 by the first addition in the Liverpool Directories for William Rushworth, eldest son of Edwin, and grandson of the founder and thus the third generation of the family to enter the trade who is operating a pianoforte dealership from 21 Islington Place. William, born in 1869, would have been 22 years of age when he started his own enterprise. He would, in

¹⁶⁶ RG11/3630/4/4 – Ancestry.com Census 1881 [database online]

¹⁶⁷ RG10/3852/12/24 – Ancestry.com Census 1871 [database on-line]

¹⁶⁸ RG11/3704/37/4 - Ancestry.com Census 1881 [database on-line]

¹⁶⁹ *Gores Liverpool Directory*, 1881, p. 566

time, become the leader and focal point for the business and oversee growth and diversification and also change the cultural identity of business such that it would become, under his stewardship, the ‘mecca of Liverpool music’. He would eventually be referred to as ‘the father of Liverpool music’. The Census of 1891 has William listed as ‘music sellers assistant’.¹⁷⁰ Also, confirmed in the directories is an indication of the size of the Liverpool musical market as evidenced by the volume of ‘organ builders’ and ‘musical instrument sellers and makers’. The 1881 edition of Gores Liverpool Directory confirms that in the industry of ‘organ building’ Rushworths had only seven competitors locally¹⁷¹, however, under ‘musical instrument sellers and makers’ Rushworths were in competition with at least thirty-six different competitors.¹⁷²

In 1894, Walter’s son, Walter Maynard Rushworth, is listed as ‘Professor of Music’.¹⁷³ During 1895, Edwin has also moved house, and his private residence is now West Haven, Seabank, Liscard.¹⁷⁴ The process of gentrification and upward social mobility was now well underway. This was built and based on the profitability of the business, which had now reached a point where Edwin could retreat to the rural countryside of Wirral. The period from 1896 sees the growth and development of the Rushworth family business. For the first time, Rushworth’s now includes a telephone number in the Directory (Tel. No. 6283).¹⁷⁵ Edwin’s business premises now include 66 Falkland Road, Egremont, which is close to his new home in Liscard, Wirral.¹⁷⁶ Walter’s son, Walter Maynard, Professor of Music, is listed as an organ builder and is also listed as organist and choirmaster as Holy Innocent’s Church, Myrtle Street. Perhaps the biggest development is the opening of a new branch at 91b Bold Street.

¹⁷⁰ RG12/2919/64/28 – Ancestry.com Census 1891 [database on-line]

¹⁷¹ Gores Directory of Liverpool and its Environs, 1881, p. 1216

¹⁷² Gores Directory of Liverpool and its Environs, 1881, p. 1214

¹⁷³ Gore’s has Walter’s name as ‘William’, this is an obvious mistake, and is rectified in the 1895 edition.

¹⁷⁴ *Gore’s Directory of Liverpool and its Environs*, 1895, p. 737

¹⁷⁵ *Gore’s Directory of Liverpool and its Environs*, 1896, p. 759. Graeme Milne has conducted research on early telephone users and how this technological advancement in communications impacted upon owners, managers and employees in business offices. See, Milne, G., 2007. ‘British Business and the Telephone, 1878-1911’. In, *British Business History*, 49 (2), p.163-185

¹⁷⁶ *Gore’s Directory of Liverpool and its Environs*, 1896, p. 759

Interestingly, the musical instrument retail firm of W, H, and G, H, Dreaper, 'Patent Piano Manufacturers', is located at 96 Bold Street. This could be the precursor to the amalgamation of the two firms in 1902. By 1897, Edwin has his private residence listed as 91 Bold Street; and the shop at 91b is a retail outlet which William is now managing.¹⁷⁷ The same year saw Rushworths opening another site in Liverpool City Centre, at 31 Basnett Street, listed as a 'Musical Instrument Warehouse'.¹⁷⁸

Conclusion

The themes of industrialisation, urbanisation, religious association/denomination, family firm structures, services provided, diversification, and finally the profitability and division of profits have all been covered in relation to the early phases of the Rushworth family movement and the growth of their business. As the business expanded, the need for bigger premises was evidenced by the move from the outskirts of the city centre to a location situated in an area of affluence and education, which included St George's Hall (1856), a monument to Liverpool's culture and affluence. This was located in what would soon become Liverpool's first cultural quarter, especially after the construction of the World Museum and Library (1860), with the Picton Reading Room, added in 1879, and the Walker Art Gallery (1877). The premises at Islington, 'the largest establishment in town', would soon develop into the 'mecca of Liverpool music'.

The period 1875-1897 saw the Rushworth business grow and diversify, which, on the back of the division of the company in 1875, saw the business make the full transfer from first to second generation. By the end of this period we can see the incorporation of the third generation, represented by the eldest sons of Edwin: William, Edwin and Andrew Lidgate on

¹⁷⁷ *Gore's Directory of Liverpool and its Environs*, 1897, p. 786

¹⁷⁸ *Gore's Directory of Liverpool and its Environs*, 1898, p. 777

the retail side; while, on the organ building side, Walter's sons, Walter Maynard and Harry were gaining the skills, experience and craftsmanship to continue the tradition of the original Rushworth family business, organ building. The business was now operating from multiple sites, the original premises at 11-13 Islington remaining the primary retail site, but with new shops opened at Falkland Road (Liscard), Bold Street (Liverpool) and Basnett Street (Liverpool). Edwin and Walter were able to afford and subsequently assure that their sons, William and Walter Maynard received the best local education, both attending Liverpool College.¹⁷⁹ As well as an academic education, William was entrusted with managing Edwin's retail sites and his success had positioned him to continue as general manager of the retail arm of the business once his father relinquished responsibility.

The organ works had been removed to new premises at Mill Lane, a short distance from the Islington site. A newspaper obituary of Walter Rushworth from 1903 highlights that, 'He [Walter] has since been assisted by his two sons, one of whom [Walter Maynard] has given much time to the study of music and organ playing, whilst the other [Harry] has devoted all his energy to the construction and improvement of the 'king of instruments'. It is this combination of the theoretical with the practical which has largely brought about those recognised artistic and durable qualities for which Messrs. W. Rushworth and Sons instruments are famous'¹⁸⁰. Walter Maynard also attended Liverpool College. From this perspective, the third generation of Rushworth organ builders were well-placed to continue the family tradition in pipe-organ building. The fact that both William and Walter, cousins born in the same year, attended Liverpool College, whose motto is 'not only intellect but character', provides some insight into

¹⁷⁹ It is not documented whether William's and Walter Maynard's siblings also attended Liverpool College

¹⁸⁰ Unsourced newspaper article, titled 'Death of Mr Walter Rushworth: a well-known organ builder'. Taken from private family papers.

the establishment of the Rushworth family and its business values, ethics and morals, as well as the new opportunities for networking, gentrification and upward social mobility.

In 1897 a new partnership agreement was drawn up between Edwin, his son William and his two younger siblings, Edwin the Younger and Andrew Lidgate. This contract was to form the basis of the business structure for the retail side of the business. This would inform and direct the expansion of the business well into the twentieth century and serve to establish William as the general manager of the retail enterprise. The late Victorian period provided Rushworths with the socio-economic and cultural pre-conditions in which the business could flourish, expand, diversify, and establish a profitability that would enable them to accommodate and cater for the 'high-brow', gentrified and affluent members of Liverpool society. The next chapter will assess the socio-economic and cultural conditions in Liverpool at this time and provide some further context and background to the growth of the Rushworth business. It will analyse how the increasing social status of music, combined with the importance of the social function of music as recreation and a leisure activity, and a symbol of 'cultural-capital', manners and intellect, to provide further outlets for the expansion of the Rushworth business.

Chapter Two

Liverpool's Commercial, Cultural and Musical Development, 1800-1900

Introduction

Much of the research on the development of Liverpool's rich and multifaceted cultural history has focussed on the efforts of William Roscoe and his associated group of Liverpool merchant-scholars, who were central to Liverpool's attempt to reconstruct its cultural identity and present itself as the 'Florence of the North' during the long nineteenth century.¹⁸¹ This line of investigation has been complimented by research focussing on the development of Liverpool's middle class¹⁸² and the general commercial and socio-economic development of the port city.¹⁸³ Contemporary histories written by Liverpool scholars such as Touzeau, Baines, Picton and Muir have provided perspectives on those elements of the Liverpool socio-economic and cultural history which provided the foundation upon which Rushworths could build their musical enterprise.¹⁸⁴ In addition, a spate of research on Liverpool's diverse and cosmopolitan port-city dynamic has emerged since the city's successful bid to achieve the status of 'Capital of Culture' in 2008, which closely followed the celebrations in 2007 marking the 800th anniversary of the city's charter. The historiography of the city has been revised in recent years, with several substantial collections of essays surveying the relationship between commerce and

¹⁸¹ Wilson, A., 2008. *William Roscoe: Commerce and Culture*. (Liverpool University Press: Liverpool); Wilson, A., 1997. *Commerce and Culture: Liverpool's Merchant Elite, c.1790-1850*. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Liverpool.

¹⁸² Belchem, J., and Hardy, N., 1998. "Second Metropolis: The Middle Class in early Victorian Liverpool". In Kidd, A., and Nicholls, D., (Ed.). *The Making of the British Middle Class? Studies of regional and cultural diversity since the eighteenth century*. (Sutton Publishing: Gloucestershire).

¹⁸³ Marriner, S., 1982. *The Social and Economic Development of Merseyside*. (Croom Helm: London); Hyde, F., 1971. *Liverpool and the Mersey: An Economic History of a Port, 1700-1970*. (David & Charles: Newton Abbot).

¹⁸⁴ Touzeau, J., 1910. *The Rise and Progress of Liverpool from 1551 to 1835*. (Liverpool Booksellers: Liverpool); Baines, E., 1824. *History of Liverpool*. (Wales Printers: Liverpool); Picton, J., 1875. *Memorials of Liverpool, historical and topographical: including a history of the Dock Estate*. (Longmans, Green & Co: London); Muir, R., 1907. *History of Liverpool*. (Liverpool University Press: Liverpool); Chandler, G., 1957. *Liverpool*. (B. T. Batsford: London).

culture.¹⁸⁵ With reference to Liverpool's musical heritage, much has been written on the meteoric rise of Liverpool's popular music culture in the 1950s and 1960s, which culminated in the commercialisation of the Liverpool sound and Merseybeat¹⁸⁶, with the Beatles¹⁸⁷ acting as international figureheads for the English Cultural Revolution.¹⁸⁸ Interestingly, the emergence of Liverpool as the epicentre of England's post-war pop revolution has overshadowed the long-standing, traditional musical history of the city. It might appear from the existing literature that Liverpool had little in terms of musical cultural heritage prior to the emergence of the Beatles and Merseybeat in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Two texts have recounted Liverpool's musical history during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries¹⁸⁹ but there is still much to be addressed in terms of assessing Liverpool's classical cultural heritage. This thesis will redress the gap in Liverpool's musical and cultural historiography, surveying some of Liverpool's early musical institutions and organisations. The aim is to assess the Rushworth family's role in the creation and administration of some of Liverpool's primary musical and cultural institutions. It will examine the role the business and family played in the proliferation of musical instruments and music tuition, while also looking at the efforts made to encourage the participation, interaction and appreciation of music across Merseyside, among all sections of the populace. This will add to the existing literature on the relationship between commerce and culture in Liverpool, albeit with an obvious emphasis on the role of the Rushworth family business in the construction of Liverpool's cultural identity.

¹⁸⁵ Belchem, J., (ed.) 2006. *Liverpool 800: Culture, Character and History*. (Liverpool University Press: Liverpool); Davies, S., and Benbough-Jackson, M., (ed.) 2011. *Merseyside: Culture and Place*. (Cambridge Scholars Publishing: Newcastle); Lee, R., (ed.) 2011. *Commerce and Culture: Nineteenth Century Business Elites*. (Ashgate: Surrey)

¹⁸⁶ Leonard, M., and Strachan, R., (ed.) 2010. *The Beat Goes On: Liverpool, Popular Music and the Changing City*. (Liverpool University Press: Liverpool).

¹⁸⁷ Leigh, S., 2004. *Twist and Shout: Merseybeat, Hamburg, the Cavern and the Beatles*. (Nirvana Books: Liverpool).

¹⁸⁸ Marwick, A., 1980. *Class: Image and Reality in Britain, France and the USA since 1930*. (Collins: London).

¹⁸⁹ De Boufflers-Taylor, S., 1974. *Two Centuries of Music in Liverpool*. (Rockcliff Brothers: Liverpool); Henley, D., and McKernan, V., 2009. *The Original Liverpool Sound: The Royal Liverpool Philharmonic story*. (Liverpool University Press: Liverpool).

The emphasis in much of the existing scholarship has focussed primarily on the early nineteenth century ‘cultural awakening’ of Liverpool, as championed by William Roscoe. However, the research will take this concept forward into the twentieth century and analyse the attempts of the next generation of commercial elites to build on the cultural heritage already established in Liverpool. In this way, Rushworths can provide a case-study of the relationship between the emergent middle classes and the success of Liverpool’s cultural, charitable and educational institutions. This will establish how, in combination with local commercial elites, their efforts at promoting and advocating the consumption of cultural products, education, events, and in particular, engendering an atmosphere of musical appreciation, interaction and participation were met with success. It will also add to the existing scholarship on the relationship between business and community culture and how the success of both aspects can be mutually beneficial to the city, its economy, and the local populace.

Economic Background

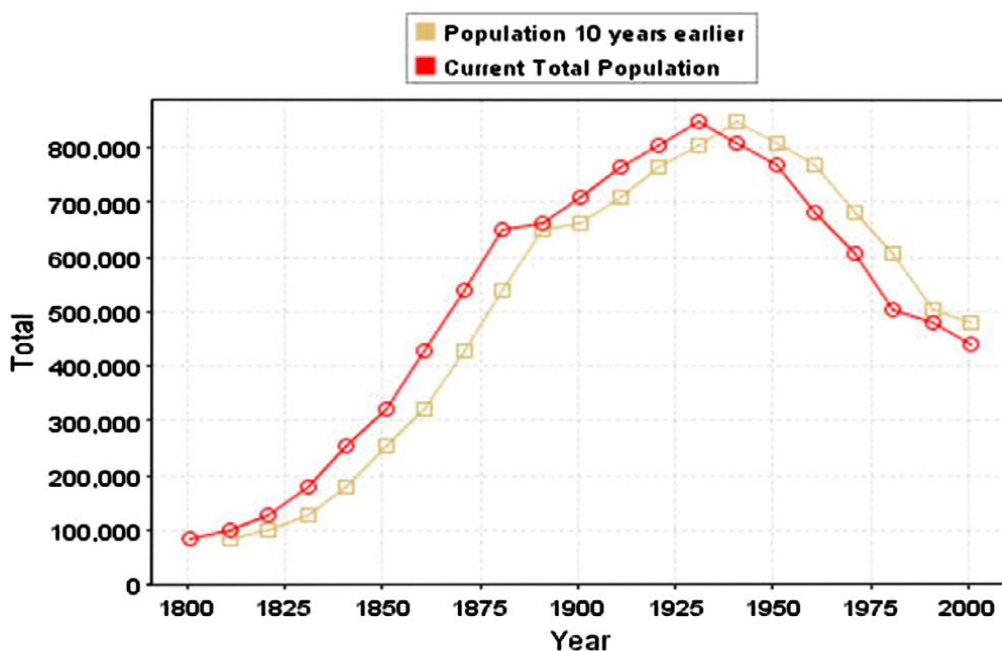
The commercial difficulties encountered as result of the Napoleonic wars (1793-1815), such as continental blockades, which stifled England’s export trade,¹⁹⁰ were compounded by the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, which dislocated the flow of some of Liverpool’s staple trades (sugar and slaves), and the American war (1812-14),¹⁹¹ which served to inhibit trade across the Atlantic with one of its most profitable international partners. Despite these external factors influencing the trading pattern of Liverpool commercial elites, the local economy recovered, such that, by 1845 (shortly after Rushworths relocation to Liverpool from

¹⁹⁰ For more detailed insight into the impact of the Napoleonic Wars on trading patterns, see: Rose, J. H., 1893. ‘Napoleon and English Commerce’. *The English Historical Review*, 8 (23). p.708; Chandler, G., 1957. Liverpool. (B. T. Batsford: London). p.204; Checkland, S., 1958. ‘American versus West Indian Traders in Liverpool, 1793-1815’. In, *Journal of Economic History*, 18 (2), pp.141-160

¹⁹¹ Tolley, B. H., 1969. “The Liverpool Campaign against Orders in Council and the War of 1812”. In, (ed.), Harris, J. R., *Liverpool and Merseyside: Essays in the Economic and Social History of the Port and its Hinterland*. (Frank Cass & Co Ltd: London). p.98

Manchester), customs revenues collected at the port amounted to £4.5 million per annum, while the dock revenues were running at around £250,000. By the end of the decade Liverpool was clearing more than twice the export business of London, shipping out nearly £35 million worth of goods per year, while imports were valued at £37.5 million (5 million less than London).¹⁹² By 1850, Liverpool handled some 85% of Britain’s total annual import of 1.75 million cotton bales. The flow of inward migration highlights the economic strength of Liverpool as the population rose from 78,000 in 1801 to reach 376,000 in 1851. This would rise to 685,000 in 1901, before reaching a peak of 870,000 during the 1930s.¹⁹³

Figure 2.1: Liverpool population growth and decline in the 18th and 20th centuries. Source: Peter Brown, University of Liverpool, Department of Civic Design.¹⁹⁴



The rate at which Liverpool’s population was increasing was accentuated by the Irish famine of the mid-1840s, during which period around 2 million Irish passed through Liverpool, either

¹⁹² Belchem, J., and Hardy, N., 1998. “Second Metropolis: The Middle Class in early Victorian Liverpool”. In Kidd, A., and Nicholls, D., (Ed.). *The Making of the British Middle Class? Studies of regional and cultural diversity since the eighteenth century*. (Sutton Publishing: Gloucestershire). p. 60

¹⁹³ Sykes, O., et al., 2012. “A City Profile of Liverpool.” *Cities*, 35, pp. 300-302

¹⁹⁴ Population Graph taken from: Sykes, O., et al., 2012. “A City Profile of Liverpool.” *Cities*, 35, pp. 299-318

en route to America or Australia, or remaining permanently within the city. This was to have a profound social impact on the cultural geography of Liverpool, since sectarianism increased, working patterns and rates of pay were impacted, language was re-identified, and culture and customs were re-imagined. Similarly, the resident Welsh population, which increased from 40,000 in 1860 to 80,000 in 1900 also had cultural consequences, such as the Welsh Eisteddfodau being held on Merseyside five times during the nineteenth century.¹⁹⁵ This aspect of Liverpool's population growth and inward migration was to have a particularly positive impact on Rushworths business enterprise. The fact that the firm obtained many contracts and orders from north Wales during the nineteenth century also suggests that the resident Welsh population aided the proliferation of Rushworth pipe organs across the border, not only in terms of providing a workforce but also a market. Similarly, the Irish and Celtic preoccupation with music and live entertainment gave Rushworths another market in which to operate.

The construction of Liverpool's port city economy and the nature of local trade meant that the region had a peculiar complexion. Liverpool's wealth and prosperity was not related to the success of industrialisation or the manufacture of industrial products. At the centre of Liverpool's wealth was the success of the port.¹⁹⁶ Liverpool benefitted from natural and geographic advantages that enabled the city to become the main point of import and export trade for the sugar of the West Indies and the cotton of America,¹⁹⁷ which complimented the existing trade in livestock with Ireland, salt cod with Canada, and timber with the Baltic

¹⁹⁵ Sykes, O., et al., 2012. "A City Profile of Liverpool." *Cities*, 35, pp. 303

¹⁹⁶ Lane, T., 2007. *Liverpool: City of the Sea*. (Liverpool University Press: Liverpool)

¹⁹⁷ Hall, N., 2006. 'The Liverpool Cotton Market and Cotton re-exports, c.1815-1914'. In, *Northern History*, 43 (2), pp.257-273; Hyde, F., Parkinson, B., and Marriner, S., 1955. 'The Cotton Broker and the Rise of the Liverpool Cotton Market'. In, *Economic History Review*, 8 (1), pp.75-83

region.¹⁹⁸ The local specialist timber merchants would have been particularly useful for Rushworth's pipe organ manufactures.¹⁹⁹

The economic success of the port brought wealth to many related trades and industries such as ship building, rope and sail manufacture, iron-mongering, sugar refining and the construction of houses and dwellings to accommodate the burgeoning working classes. The make-up of Liverpool's labour force was diverse and multifaceted. The trade in invisibles such as banking, finance and insurance services was reinforced by institutions such as the Cotton Exchange (1906)²⁰⁰, the Chamber of Commerce (1774), and American Chamber of Commerce (1801), which were all located in Liverpool's vibrant business district. There was much scope, and desire, for upward social mobility and, as the nineteenth century progressed, the avenues and pathways to an enlightened, refined, educated and distinguished bourgeois middle class lifestyle were open and accessible to a wide stratum of Liverpool's upper-working and lower-middle class population.

As noted, the growth of cultural appreciation in Liverpool had been an on-going process since the efforts of Roscoe and associates who, during the early and mid-nineteenth century, were championing the ideals of Lorenzo de Medici of Florence and hopeful of creating in Liverpool a 'Florence of the North'. As Wilson notes, 'Roscoe is claimed to personify, more than any other, the union of commerce and culture in Liverpool: the lawyer, banker and businessman who is credited with laying the foundations for his city's artistic, literary and social evolution'.²⁰¹ As Graham Murphy explains, de Medici 'the magnificent' was the ruler of

¹⁹⁸ Longmore, J., 2006. 'Civic Liverpool, 1600-1800'. In, Belchem, J., (ed.) *Liverpool 800: Culture, Character and History*. (Liverpool University Press: Liverpool). p. 113-170

¹⁹⁹ Williams, D. M., 1966. 'Merchanting in the first half of the nineteenth century: the Liverpool timber trade'. In, *Business History*, Volume 8, pp.103-21

²⁰⁰ The purpose-built Cotton Exchange building was opened in 1906, however, an original Exchange Building was opened in Liverpool in 1808. For more details see:

<http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/maritime/exhibitions/cotton/traders/liverpool.aspx>

²⁰¹ Wilson, A., 2008. *William Roscoe: Commerce and Culture*. (Liverpool University Press: Liverpool). p. 1

Florence during the late fifteenth century and ‘proved to be such a generous and discriminating patron of art and literature that most of his fortune was spent in the cultural adornment of his city to the admiration of the world. During his reign it is said that the distinction between private wealth and public funds could hardly be seen’²⁰². The fact that Liverpool failed to live up to the idealised vision of Roscoe was due to the differing socio-economic conditions between Florence and Liverpool: ‘whereas the population of Florence was virtually the same in 1841 as it had been in 1481, about 10,000, the number of people in Liverpool had increased almost tenfold, from 20,000 to 195,000, and went on increasing. Liverpool did not have the stable conditions under which idealised city-states of old Europe were created.’²⁰³ However, the difficulty of accommodating the sprawling population did not slow down or halt the efforts to adorn the city with parks, boulevards, art galleries, libraries, statues and architecture befitting England’s ‘second metropolis’.²⁰⁴ Subscription societies were established which promoted the virtues and advantages of an appreciation for culture, arts and literature; and these were supplemented by a number of voluntary associations which were designed to educate and provide leisure and recreation for the emerging group of young clerks, merchants and professionals, ‘Liverpool gentleman – not ‘Manchester men’ – in the making’.²⁰⁵ The idiom of ‘Liverpool Gentlemen and Manchester Men’ dates back to the early nineteenth century when it was said that Liverpool gentlemen imported the cotton and Manchester men made it into cloth. Manchester developed as an industrial city with a large workforce in its factories and mills, Liverpool by contrast while employing thousands on the docks, was a city with a

²⁰² Murphy, G., 1981. William Roscoe: His early ideals and influence. (Liverpool). p. 29

²⁰³ Ibid. p. 30.

²⁰⁴ Belchem, J., and Hardy, N., 1998. “Second Metropolis: The Middle Class in early Victorian Liverpool”. In Kidd, A., and Nicholls, D., (ed.). *The Making of the British Middle Class? Studies of regional and cultural diversity since the eighteenth century*. (Sutton Publishing: Gloucestershire). pp. 58-71.

²⁰⁵ Ibid. p. 59.

significant white-collar workforce, the clerks, insurance agents and administrators all involved in the running of a large port.²⁰⁶

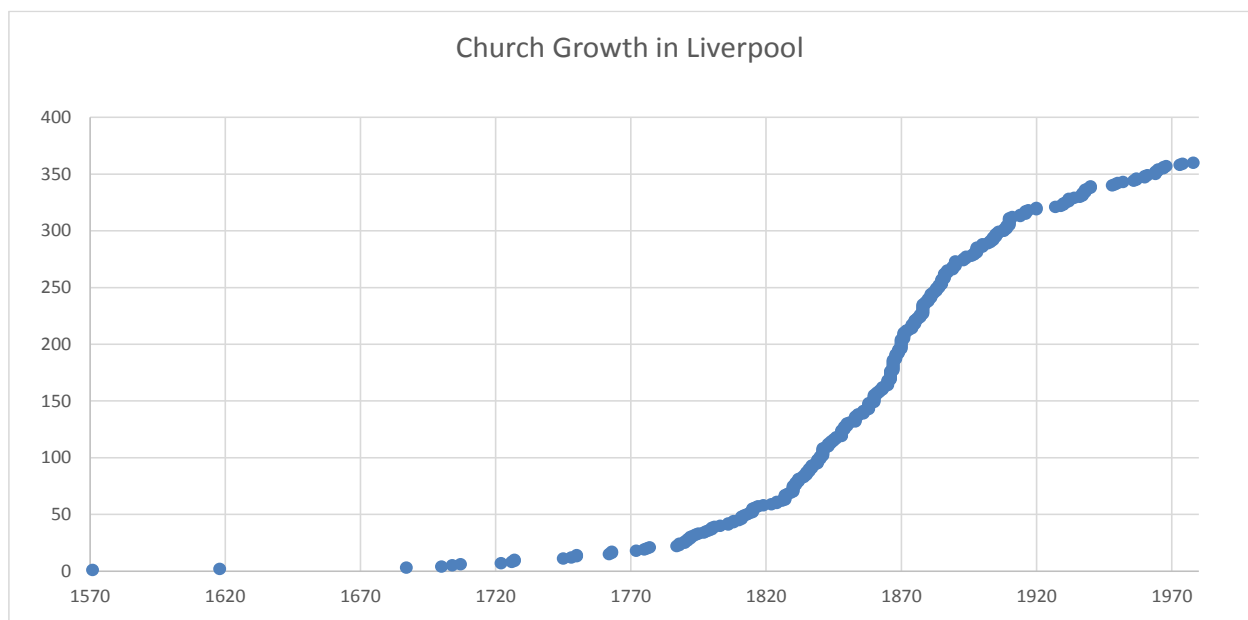
It is clear that Liverpool had favourable socio-economic and cultural conditions in which to accommodate and encourage the emergence of a wealthy bourgeois middle class who aspired to the cultural capital associated with fine arts, dining, fashion and, in particular, classical music. They were able to flourish and take advantage of their wealth and disposable income to embrace the growing consumer opportunities, leisure facilities, recreation spaces and entertainment venues which the vibrant urbanity of Liverpool could provide. Liverpool benefitted from the Victorian ethos of philanthropy and civic responsibility. The emphasis on education and a vision of enlightened society was epitomised by the patrician attitude of wealthy men ‘doing good’, out of a sense of civic responsibility. This led to the emergence of many institutions and societies aimed at providing opportunities for learning (not least, the University of Liverpool).

During this period the rate of church construction increased markedly to accommodate the burgeoning population. Church construction rates, together with the diversity of religious denominations present in the city, created a healthy and expanding market for church pipe organs in hundreds of churches, of all faiths, across the region. Liverpool saw the construction of many churches across the city, which provided a ready-made local market for the supply of Rushworths pipe organs. An aggregation of the number of churches constructed during the period 1820-1920 provides an insight in the scale and rapidity of church construction programmes. One of the motivations behind Rushworths relocation from Manchester to Liverpool in the 1840s can be attributed to the notable rise in church construction in the period immediately prior to the move. Figure 2.2 (below) confirms that in 1819 Liverpool had

²⁰⁶ http://news.bbc.co.uk/local/liverpool/hi/people_and_places/history/newsid_8677000/8677547.stm

approximately 58 churches; however, by 1845 this had grown to approximately 116.²⁰⁷ Church numbers would continue to increase, such that by 1931 Liverpool would have approximately 440 churches.²⁰⁸ This information can be combined with the fact that, in *Gore's 1845 Liverpool directory*, only 8 'Organ Builders' are listed.²⁰⁹ These figures illustrate that the Rushworths arrived in Liverpool at the point in history when church construction, church growth and the general observance of religious ceremony was increasing at its most rapid rate. This would have been major motivation for the relocation from Manchester to Liverpool.

Figure 2.2: Church Growth in Liverpool 1570-1970



Liverpool's Cultural Identity – The Growth and Accommodation of Liverpool Middle Classes

²⁰⁷ The figures have been aggregated using several sources: Lewis, D., 2001. *The Churches of Liverpool*. (Bluecoat Press: Liverpool); Farrer, W., and Brownbill, J., *A History of the County of Lancaster: Volume 4*; 191. Available at: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=41374#n168>

²⁰⁸ Caradog Jones, D., 1934. *The Social Survey of Merseyside*. (University of Liverpool Press: Liverpool). p.323

²⁰⁹ *Gore's Directory of Liverpool and its Environs*, 1845, p. 631 – although it must be noted that by 1900 Liverpool only had 9 'Organ Builders' listed in Gore's Directory, and two of them were Edwin and Walter Rushworth who had separate listings.

Wilson provides a clear explanation of the transformation of Liverpool society during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century and examines the cultural advancements and how these changes were viewed by contemporary commentators. For example, she refers to Wallace, with the following quote from 1797:

Arts and sciences are inimical to the spot, absorbed in the nautical vortex, the only pursuit of the inhabitants is COMMERCE; ... Liverpool is the only town in England of any pre-eminency that has not one single erection or endowment, for the advancement of science, the cultivation of arts, or the promotion of useful knowledge [...] the liberal arts are a species of merchandise in which few of the inhabitants are desirous to deal, unless for exportation.²¹⁰

By 1851 this perspective on Liverpool's cultural enlightenment had undergone a dramatic and acknowledged U-turn:

There is no town in the kingdom in which there are so many temples dedicated to the improvement of mankind as in Liverpool, nor can any city provide equal evidence of the zeal of its Merchant Princes in raising mansions for the advancement of civilisation.²¹¹

These quotes provide a good example of the efforts that Liverpool's merchant elites made to foster a greater sense of cultural awareness. They reveal both how the external perception of Liverpool changed and also the success of the plans to garner an increasing sense of cultural and intellectual identity. The Wilson thesis will help provide context and background to the environment into which the Rushworth family brought their pipe organ building business. It is clear that the commercial and civic elites were focussed on developing and increasing Liverpool's cultural standing and on providing leisure, societies, buildings and architecture which not only reflected the wealth and success of their commercial enterprise but also the cultural and intellectual identity of the city's inhabitants. It is likely that the values, morals and ethics of the Roscoe-led generation of the local plutocracy were passed onto the later

²¹⁰ Wallace., 1797, quoted in, Wilson, A., 2008. *William Roscoe: Commerce and Culture*. (Liverpool University Press: Liverpool). p.39

²¹¹ Hudson, J, W., 1851, quoted in, Wilson, A., 2008. *William Roscoe: Commerce and Culture*. (Liverpool University Press: Liverpool). p.39

generations; and it may have provided a starting point and motivation for the Rushworth family to continue the proud tradition of Liverpool cultural education and philanthropy. The local wealth and prosperity provided a ready market for Rushworth to service.

In nineteenth century Liverpool, the notion of the middle class (or more appropriately, middle-classes) and their associated cultural identity was reinforced by rhetoric, vocabulary, mannerisms, behaviours, fashion, musical tastes, education, publicity, ceremonial, appearance, wealth, newspapers, civic processions and celebrations. However, the perception of the middle classes as a homogenous group who shared similar moral, values and behaviours has been challenged by Kidd and Nicholls who present a perspective which suggests the more appropriate 'collective term', 'middle-classes', which indicates a greater diversity and separation between the 'middling sorts'.²¹² Carnevali and Newton demonstrate how the middle classes were stratified in sub-categories each distinguished by variable identifiers such as occupation, wealth and respectability. The 'lower middle classes' were represented by those employed in white collar occupations such as clerks, schoolteachers, shopkeepers and technicians. Another middle class signifier was the reception of salaries, rather than wages, 'it was this group who looked to emulate the 'established' wealthy in society, as they benefitted from greater disposable incomes and more leisure time'.²¹³

R J Morris, in his article on 'Clubs, Societies and Associations', highlights how the number of voluntary organisations and associations increased in 'number, variety and public importance, especially in the period after 1780. This increase was to continue for many decades. The basis of that growth was in the male adult urban middle classes, but this adaptable

²¹² Kidd, A., and Nicholls, D., 1998. *The Making of the British Middle Class? Studies of regional and cultural diversity since the eighteenth century.* (Sutton Publishing: Gloucestershire).

²¹³ Carnevali, F., and Newton, L., 2013. 'Pianos for the People. From Producer to Consumer in Britain, 1851-1914'. In, *Enterprise and Society*, Vol. 14, Issue, 1, p. 40-41

and flexible form of social institution could never and was never limited to this group'. He continues by explaining how, during the course of the early nineteenth century,

[a] whole new set of words came into common use in the English language, often changing or adding to their meaning – the association, the society, the chairman, the agenda, the membership, the rules and constitution and the annual report [...] The number of social roles which each individual fulfilled in variety and number [...] the creation of voluntary associations was one major social response to the problems posed by change and complexity. Many informal groupings took on rules and titles. They emerged from the public house and the coffee house into purpose-built Halls, Institutes and Assembly Rooms.²¹⁴

This was never more apparent than in Liverpool, where the merchant elites were acquiring and developing a sense of shared objectives that was aimed at the betterment of local society and the advancement of the arts, music and culture. Roscoe had the vision of enlightening Liverpool's populace through the advancement of art, and the investment in places of cultural production (museums, theatres, music halls, art galleries, parks, boulevards and public spaces), while also focussing on sewerage, sanitation and hygiene, which would reflect Liverpool's position as the 'Second City of Empire'. One important aspect of Roscoe's perceived social and cultural transformation was the creation of societies, associations and learned societies that would direct, manage, pontificate on, and oversee the necessary changes and improvements across the region. As suggested by Jane Longmore, there had been a considerable overlap between the commercial and merchant elites of Liverpool and the Council and Corporation representatives who were charged with the responsibility of transforming Liverpool's infrastructure, communications and general welfare, and its hygiene and cultural economy: 'the domination of local government by a cohesive mercantile group was therefore inevitable and was to run in tandem with the interests of the port'²¹⁵.

²¹⁴ Morris, R, J., 1990. 'Clubs, Societies and Associations'. In Thompson, F, M, L., (ed.) *Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750-1950*, volume 3. p. 395.

²¹⁵ Longmore, J., 2006. "Civic Liverpool: 1680-1800". In, Belchem, J., (Ed.), *Liverpool 800*. (Liverpool University Press: Liverpool). p. 119

This gave rise to numerous voluntary organisations, as evidenced in the *Roscoe Magazine* of March 1849. The organisations and associations listed in this article include: The Athenaeum, The Royal Institution, The Mechanics and Apprentices Library, The Brougham and the Mechanics Institutes, The Northern Mechanics Institution, The Roscoe Club and The Early Closing Association.²¹⁶ Although not intended to provide a comprehensive listing of every club, association and organisation in Liverpool, what is notable in this cross-section is the increasing importance attached to practical, technical, mechanical and scientific institutions and education. Interestingly, excluded from the list is the Liverpool Philharmonic Society (LPS), which was established in 1840 and constructed its own purpose-built concert hall in 1849. The LPS had in its constitution an emphasis on the importance of the ‘science of music’. In fact, it could be inferred that the creative arts (painting, drawing, architecture and music) were overlooked in the Liverpool hierarchy of cultural and educational pursuits during the early nineteenth century. Simon Gunn highlights how, by 1870, there had been a sea-change in the prevalence and importance of musical education and performance in the construction of middle class cultural identity.²¹⁷ He explains how musical appreciation and participation was considered the highest form of social and cultural capital. Gunn argues that ‘music became central to the construction of high culture after 1870 that was recognisably bourgeois in form and character.’²¹⁸

However, this does not mean that, in earlier periods, there had been no participation in, promotion of, interaction with, or appreciation of music (or the ‘science of music’ – as the Philharmonic referred to it). Stainton de Boufflers-Taylor’s book on *Two Centuries of Music in Liverpool* highlights a notable demand for music in Liverpool from as early as the eighteenth

²¹⁶ *Roscoe Magazine*, March 1849. pp. 2-4. This article gives a summary of the focus of these clubs and associations in Liverpool.

²¹⁷ Gunn, S., 2000. *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class*. (Manchester University Press: Manchester).

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.135

century. It provides numerous examples of Liverpool's constant engagement with music, with reference to the local financing and arrangements of music festivals (in 1775, 1827 and 1836), visits and performances by international high profile composers, musicians and conductors - such as Felix Mendelsohn (1829), Nicolo Paganini (1832 and 1834), Johann Strauss (1838) and Franz Liszt (1840), - the construction of music and concert halls (Bold Street Music Hall opened in 1853), and the establishment of the Liverpool Philharmonic Society (1840). Boufflers-Taylor also provides details of Rushworths contribution to, and influence over, Liverpool's cultural and musical infrastructure.²¹⁹ What this helps to establish is that Liverpool had a musical economy, appreciation and culture which pre-dates the establishment of the Philharmonic. However, the intellectualisation and social cache of music, as well as the construction of music as the 'constitution of high culture'²²⁰ was only developed, formalised and accentuated after the 'English musical renaissance of 1860-1940'.²²¹

The research of Simon Gunn provides insight into the construction of middle class identity in England, c.1790-1950.²²² He quotes R J Morris who made the observation that British cities were 'substantially the creation of the middle class, and in turn provided the theatre within which that middle class sought, extended, expressed and defended its power'.²²³ This viewpoint concurs with a statement made by Arthur Spencer Boland, ex-professional secretary of the Music Retailers Association, who stated that, 'from the nineteenth century until the end of World War Two, the retailers, businessmen and merchants ran the towns and cities in England'.²²⁴ What these statements imply is that Liverpool could be considered a case-study

²¹⁹ Boufflers-Taylor, S., 1974. *Two Centuries of Music in Liverpool*. (Rockliff Brothers LTD: Liverpool).

²²⁰ Gunn, S., 2000. *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class*. (Manchester University Press: Manchester). pp. 134-156

²²¹ Stradling, R., and Hughes, M., 1993. *The English Musical Renaissance, 1860-1940*. (Routledge: London).

²²² Gunn, S., 2004. 'Class, identity and the urban: the middle class in England, c. 1790-1950'. *Urban History*, 31, pp 29-47.

²²³ Ibid., p 29

²²⁴ Arthur Spencer-Boland, ex-professional secretary of the Music Retailers Association, unrecorded interview, January 2014

in the emergence of collective middle class identity and society, within which all the trappings, customs, values and outlets of middle class cultural identity were prominent, available and accessible. Gunn refers to Jenkins in supporting the point that ‘one little noticed effect of this challenge has been to displace the notion of class by that of ‘identity’, defined as the ‘systematic establishment and signification [...] between individuals and collectivities of relationships of similarity and difference’.²²⁵ In terms of Liverpool’s social framework, the construction of the middle class was reinforced by key signifiers such as wealth, mannerisms, club membership, civic responsibility, presence on the boards of important socio-economic, cultural, educational and industrial committees, associations and societies, as well as philanthropic and charitable contributions. Interestingly, Gunn provides an assessment of the shift in the concept of middle-class identity during the period 1790-1950. Liverpool, in particular, was a port-city which epitomised the notion of ‘the urban’ through ‘civility and civilization’, represented by the ‘multiplicity of institutions and associations’.²²⁶ The early success of the Rushworth businesses placed them in a strong position to take advantage of the prevalent cultural attitudes and immerse themselves in the middle class social environment of Liverpool.

Gunn highlights how the features of middle class society ‘were seen as contributing to a culture or ‘civilization’ that distinguished the urban space and its middle class, and set them in opposition to the culture and social relations surrounding the countryside’.²²⁷ When considering this notion in terms of class relation and the status-quo of port-cities, it could be claimed that the distinguishing features of the middle class were designed to demarcate the lines between the middle and working classes, while acting as a vehicle of upward social

²²⁵ Gunn, S., 2004. ‘Class, identity and the urban: the middle class in England, c. 1790-1950’. *Urban History*, 31, p. 30

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 33

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 33

mobility, and so acceptance into the spheres of the aristocracy, elites and upper classes, by providing criteria of behaviours and identity to which all could aspire.

Gunn also emphasises the importance of prevalent class systems and class relations in various industrial provinces of Victorian England. His focus on Birmingham, Manchester and Leeds provides a framework with which we can analyse and compare the activities of the middle classes in Liverpool. He outlines the creation and construction of urban high culture, which included the re-assigning of central city spaces²²⁸, and the creation of imposing and expensive town halls and grand architecture (churches), concert halls, museums, art galleries – which, in Liverpool, reflected the wealth, confidence and identity of the local merchant/commercial elites and the corporations. This took the form of St George’s Hall, the Walker Art Gallery, the rebuilding of the Town Hall, the construction of the Playhouse, and the expansion, and grandeur, of Rushworth Music House. As or more important than any other aspect was the creation of the local ‘clubland’, which enveloped the local propensity for the establishment of societies, associations and committees designed to foster and promote the virtues and benefits of an educated, articulate and cultured society. Gunn also highlights their exclusivity, which was reinforced by membership fees and dress codes out of reach of Liverpool’s voluminous working classes.²²⁹

During the period 1790-1840 the phrase ‘middle-class’ had a vagueness which made it increasingly difficult to define. As Gunn explains:

It could denote variously major manufacturing and mercantile interests to the bulk of small independent tradesmen, shopkeepers and clerks; it might include or exclude professionals and

²²⁸ See, Stobart, J., 2002. ‘Culture versus commerce: societies and spaces for elites in eighteenth century Liverpool’. In, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 28 (4), pp.471-485, for analysis of Liverpool’s social spaces. See also, Pooley, C., 1984. ‘Residential Differentiation in Victorian Cities: A Reassessment’. In, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 9 (2), pp. 131-144. Also, Pooley, C., 2006. ‘Living in Liverpool: the Modern City’. In, Belchem, J., (ed.) *Liverpool 800: Culture, Character & History*. (Liverpool University Press: Liverpool). pp. 171-256

²²⁹ Gunn, S., 2000. *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class*. (Manchester University Press: Manchester).

the military. Part of the strength of the term resided precisely in its chameleon quality, the capacity of 'middle class' to represent different social entities according to context and need.²³⁰

What is noticeable about the Rushworth business is that it displayed all the characteristics of the above middle class criteria, descriptors and social groupings, as outlined by Gunn. The Rushworths were both manufacturing and independent tradesmen, while they could also be considered shopkeepers. They could be considered professionals, artisans and skilled workers, but at the same time concerned with industrial construction and manufacture. Their business interest required a significant volume of clerical and administrative work, as well as planning, design and construction. While these social categories were not segregated by wealth, during the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Rushworth family had the disposable income to attend the best local school (Liverpool College), frequent the correct establishments (e.g. the Philharmonic or the Athenaeum), and contribute to the administration of the foremost institutions (e.g. the Bluecoat Arts Society), which served to reinforce the family's cultural standing, while simultaneously adding credibility, trustworthiness and reputation to the Rushworth brand name. They were not simply a retail outlet; they were also concerned with contributing to Liverpool's musical and cultural environment. Another interesting aside is that, while Rushworths catered for and provided music and instruments for all of the middle-class social categories, they also serviced, accommodated and facilitated the spread and proliferation of music among the lower strata of the local class system, by providing discounts, sales, second-hand and refurbished instruments, hire-purchase payment plans, and finance and credit arrangements. Rushworths music house was one of Liverpool's unique centres of cultural exchange and a site where the working classes would mix with the merchants, commercial elites and tradesmen and would 'rub shoulders' with doctors, lawyers and judges. Rushworths served the whole community and their business strategy encompassed all sectors of the local

²³⁰ Gunn, S., 2004. 'Class, identity and the urban: the middle class in England, c. 1790-1950'. *Urban History*, 31, p. 34

class system. It is interesting to note that whilst the second generation of the Rushworth family in Liverpool were trying to establish themselves amongst the ranks of the middle classes, their business strategy appears to have been orientated towards targeting and catering towards the demands of the working class market.

Liverpool working class musical interaction

It could be argued that during the first 50 years of existence, the period of the first and second generations, Rushworths retail enterprise and target market was predominately the working classes. This is evidenced by the nature of public advertisements, which, for the most part, advertise inexpensive, reconditioned and refurbished second-hand pianos. An early Rushworth advertisement in the *Liverpool Mercury*, dated 14th October 1853 and advertises:

Pianoforte for Sale - To be sold, a first rate 6½ octave pianoforte, nearly new – apply to W. Rushworth, organ builder, 2 Pudsey Street, London Road. ²³¹

The strategy of targeting the large sectors of the working class, and catering for the musical requirements of this sector of the local population, was particularly sensible from a business perspective, since these sectors represented the most voluminous part of local society, and as such could represent a large sector of the local consumer market. However, it must be noted that the working class sectors often had the lowest levels of disposable income and the profit margins on cheaper goods are often smaller. The port-city dynamic, which was reflected in the casual, seasonal and infrequent nature of dockland employment (infrequent wages and work, seasonal highs and low) encouraged a propensity to ‘live for the day’, to enjoy a drink, and to be out and about in the local pubs, taverns, inns, dancing saloons, and free concert halls. It has been estimated that Liverpool had two thousand pubs in the late nineteenth century – and from

²³¹ *Liverpool Mercury*, 14th October 1853, p. 4. It is interesting to note that next advertisement in the listings is also from Rushworth, advertising a ‘Self-acting Organ for Sale’. It could be assumed that if the primary business concern was organ building then the first advert to appear in the paper would be for ‘organ building’ rather than the sale of ‘second hand pianos’.

an examination of the local newspapers, journalism, the work of Hugh Shimmin, and Hull's study of 'the social significance of the public house in Liverpool's economic system, 1840-1900', we can see that almost all forms of entertainment involved music. They set out the characteristics of the Liverpool working class's social activities and behaviours, and acknowledge that recreation, entertainment and leisure were focussed, and centred, on the practice of and engagement with music. The first two articles on drink and entertainment in the edited collection by Walton and Wilcox provide detailed descriptions of the prevalence and importance of musical interaction and analyse the leisure activities and pastimes of Liverpool's working classes. They provide some context to the business strategy, target market, diversification and development of the Rushworth business as it sought to capitalise on, and take advantage of, the importance of music among all sectors of Liverpool's populace.²³²

Shimmin provides a unique insight into the leisure activities with which the working classes engaged, highlighting how, within these social circles, entertainment was often found in an 'underworld of vice, crime, blood sports, gambling, drink and squalor'.²³³ Perhaps most relevant is the participation in, enjoyment of, and interaction with musical activity within these social circles. In his first chapter, Shimmin explains how the poorest sections of Liverpool's society were abound with '[...] street musicians [...] ready to entertain a group with song [...] for a drink'²³⁴, while, in the local 'Vault'²³⁵, it was heartily recommended that, 'to hear a good song, we must hear her husband who is now at the *Goose Club*, where there is a 'free and easy''.²³⁶ His second chapter is focussed purely on 'The Free and Easy', which was 'a place of popular and fashionable resort [...] whose supporters consisted of labouring men or mechanics

²³² Walton, J. K., and Wilcox, A., 1991. *Low Life and Moral Improvement in Mid-Victorian England: Liverpool through the Journalism of Hugh Shimmin*. (Leicester University Press: Leicester).

²³³ *Ibid.*, p.2

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.44

²³⁵ This would be a public house or tavern.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.43

addicted to ballad singing and drinking beer'.²³⁷ Included within this establishment was a 'free concert room'²³⁸. Again, Shimmin explains that 'there was an organ in the room'²³⁹, which further illustrates the scale of the local musical market and the local opportunities for organ sales, and refurbishment and renovation work at this end of the market. Chapter 3, 'The Free Concert Room', again provides further insight into the ubiquitous nature of musical appreciation and participation. This chapter provides instances of there being a piano in the room, 'presided by a little hunchback [...] seated next to him is a gentleman who plays the violin – when and how he likes'.²⁴⁰ What is clear from these observations is that Liverpool had a vibrant relationship with music, instrumental performance, and singing; and was home to a plethora of venues, hall, rooms and singing saloon's, which facilitated the local preoccupation with musical engagement, enjoyment and participation – this would prove to be a vital factor in the growth and diversification of the Rushworth business during the mid-late nineteenth century.

The social significance and economic importance of the public house in Liverpool is a subject that has received little academic research. Alastair Mutch stated that in nineteenth century Liverpool there were 2000 pubs.²⁴¹ This is supported by the research of Theresa Hull, who provides a detailed commentary on the role and function of the public house in Liverpool society and among the working classes generally.²⁴² She establishes a 'separate spheres' model, which positions the public house as a working class sanctuary, away from the difficulties, irregularity and manual and physical nature of work – it provided an alternative to work and domestic life. The public house was at the core of the social, recreational and leisure time of

²³⁷ Ibid., p.45

²³⁸ Ibid., p.45

²³⁹ Ibid., p.47

²⁴⁰ Ibid., p.52

²⁴¹ Mutch, A., 2008. 'The design of Liverpool pubs in the nineteenth century'. In, *Brewery History*, 127, p. 22

²⁴² Hull, T., 1976. *The Social Significance of the Public House in the Liverpool Economic System, c. 1840-1900*. MA Dissertation, University of Lancaster.

the working classes. Hull quotes Stedman Jones, who claimed that ‘the pub remained a focal point of local working class life, but its role had changed. It had been shorn of many of its former economic functions and was now more narrowly associated with leisure and relaxation’.²⁴³ What is most relevant about this shift in the social function of the public house is the interaction and participation in music, performance and singing. This element of working class leisure and recreation, in most instances, required and accommodated the inclusion of, and interaction with, musical instruments and performance. Hull refers to Leon Faucher, who observed the transformation of the provincial public house in 1844:

by degrees, the dim lights have been replaced by the dazzling gas; the doors have been enlarged; the pot-house has become a gin-shop; and the gin-shop a species of palace. The games hitherto carried on in these places not being sufficient, the proprietors have added music, dancing and exhibitions, as additional attractions to a dissolute people. Formerly, concerts were held in these places only in winter, but now they extend throughout the year; and, as in Liverpool, so here [Manchester], the swelling of the organ, and the sounds of the violin and the piano, resound in their large saloons.²⁴⁴

It is clear from the work of Shimmin, Mutch and Hull that, in Liverpool, the public house, beer house, free and easy, free concert hall and music halls provided the central hub for working-class leisure and recreation; and that one of the most important aspects of the entertainment and performance was the playing of instruments and the musical accompaniment of theatrical performances, and vocal and orchestral performances, whether a small chamber or quartet, a soloist, or a full orchestra. Liverpool was a musical city, and it was this appreciation and interaction with music which provided the springboard for Rushworths to diversify their trade into the field of piano sales, sheet-music retail, and instrument manufacture during the late

²⁴³ Stedman Jones, G., ‘Working Class Culture and working class politics in London, 1870-1900: Notes on re-making of a working class.’ In, *Journal of Social History*, 1974, pp. 460-508. Quoted in, Hull, T., 1976. *The Social Significance of the Public House in the Liverpool Economic System, c. 1840-1900*. MA Dissertation, University of Lancaster, p. 3.

²⁴⁴ Faucher, L., 1844. *Manchester in 1844: Its Present Condition and Future Prospects*, p. 49. Quoted in, Hull, T., 1976. *The Social Significance of the Public House in the Liverpool Economic System, c. 1840-1900*. MA Dissertation, University of Lancaster, p. 21

nineteenth century – this retail service was soon to be complimented by a team of dedicated and skilled piano tuners, polishers and renovators, which meant that they could provide a further service to musical community. This also created a further avenue of profitability while reinforcing the connection between Rushworths, as a music shop, and the working class public. This focus on the working class sectors of Liverpool during the formative years of Rushworths development was borne more out of necessity as design. The Rushworth business during the period 1850-1880 did not have the space, or the capital, to retain a large standing stock of elite, brand new, grand pianos – they were dealing primarily in second-hand and refurbished upright instruments, which were improved, refurbished and renovated in their workshop. The cost of maintaining sole agency agreements with the major piano manufacturer was out-of-reach during this period. The fact that they were advertising 'cheap' instruments and payment by instalments²⁴⁵ further establishes their target market as the working class members of the musical public.²⁴⁶

The strategy of targeting the working class musical market, the most voluminous sector of the local populace, is reflected in their marketing and advertising, which was restricted to the pages of Liverpool's press devoted to retail advertisements, such as the *Liverpool Mercury*. In a style typical of the period, advertisements are basic – detailing only the instrument, the price, the condition, and the contact details - this is true of the overwhelming majority of advertising in this period, which tended to be extremely factual and made no attempt to sell or persuade. The accounts breakdown from the organ works and small goods from 1864-71 show no budget set aside for marketing, advertisements or publicity. It also details the amounts of stock purchase and sales receipts, the latter reflecting Rushworths presence at the lower end of the price scale and musical instrument market. As noted, this is partly due to the capital required

²⁴⁵ As evidenced by the Rushworth & Son Accounts Ledger, 1864-1875 (RBL6475)

²⁴⁶ See advertisements in *Liverpool Mercury*, December 30, 1857, p.1; *Liverpool Mercury*, October 15, 1859, p.1;

to retain a standing in-house stock of high-end, top quality pianos. Also, it may have been the case that during the formative years of the Rushworth business development, the demand for pianos in Liverpool would not have been as widespread. The main point being that simple supply and demand logic would mean that the socio-economic environment and the construction and arrangement of Liverpool's class system would have contributed to Rushworths selling and accommodating instrument sales at the lower end of the market. In this way, Rushworths were a product of their environment and catered for the demands and the needs of the local populace. Also, during the middle of the nineteenth century - while Rushworths were still establishing themselves as master organ builders and developing their brand name and reputation as musical instruments manufacturers, retailers and repairers – they would not have had the necessary social and cultural capital, goodwill, reputation, clientele or loyalty of Liverpool's musical public (nor the major piano manufacturers), who would have been more familiar with Liverpool's other musical instruments retailers and establishments, such as Dreaper's, Wards, Cranes and Van Gruisen, who had been established for longer and had better stock and instruments on show. Cyril Ehrlich make some important observations regarding the price differential of pianos during the late nineteenth century, highlighting that a 'Broadwood could cost between sixty and seventy guineas [in 1851]' and by 1900, 'the price, say £25, though much cheaper instruments were available, was now roughly equivalent to three months income of a clerk or school teacher, and ownership was by no means limited to white collar workers'.²⁴⁷ In 1866, the Rushworth were selling pianos at prices ranging from £1.10 shilling up to £31 which provides evidence of the fact that they were targeting a broad market designed to cater for all sectors of Liverpool's class system.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁷ Ehrlich, C., 1976. *The Piano: A History*. (Aldine Press: London). p.2

²⁴⁸ RBL6475, p.83. these examples provided show that on 28th October 1866 the company sold a piano to a 'Mr Lloyd' for £31; on 9th December 1866 a piano was sold to a 'Mr Moulton' for £1.10 shilling

Conclusion

This chapter has provided an outline of three key factors that contributed to the Rushworths relocation, diversification, and commercial growth and success: a wealthy local economy, a cultured and musically-engaged musical populace, and edifices designed for musical participation and interaction. In addition, religion provided a backdrop to musical appreciation, which was complimented by institutions such as the philharmonic societies. The growth in church numbers and the increasing importance of music in religious services cast the pipe organ as the 'king of instruments'. These were constructed around a developing social nexus in Liverpool, which saw the expansion of the middle classes combine with the Victorian ethos of the advancement of cultural and social capital. The increasing importance and social function of music created an environment in which a growing proportion of the populace was eager to consume, interact with, and understand the cultural and intellectual properties of musical education and performance.

The appreciation of, and interaction with, music was prevalent across all sectors of Liverpool's class system. The working classes placed equal importance on the value of music in the matrix of entertainment, leisure and recreation. The street musicians, saloons, pubs, music halls and free concert halls afforded the working classes ample opportunity to engage with music. This combined with the port city dynamic, and the nature and unpredictability of life at sea and the casual and seasonal nature of work on the docks, a desire for the enjoyment of drink, song and music.

This chapter has outlined the manner in which Rushworths profited from the socio-economic, cultural and musical environment of Liverpool. The growth of the local economy, the growth of the population, and the betterment of social and sanitary conditions, resulted in Liverpool becoming a location for migration, not only for the working classes, but also for the

commercial elites and entrepreneurs. The function of the port brought immense wealth to the city, and this resulted in the emergence of a large middle class population. As Gunn, Wilson, Belchem and Hardy have outlined, this sector of the local populace was concerned with the culture, education and social capital connected with an appreciation, understanding and ability to participate in musical entertainment. The proliferation of music was widespread and infiltrated all aspects of local life. Music, during the nineteenth century, was performed by musicians. If one wanted to listen to music it required live performance, either at home in the parlours of middle class home, or at the professional music societies, such as the Liverpool Philharmonic Society, or in the public house, the separate sphere of the working class. There was no recorded music at this point, no juke boxes, sound movies, gramophones, or recordings. This provided a profitable market for Rushworths as music retailers, organ builders, and piano and organ tuners and performers. As Shimmin, Mutch and Hull have explained, music was consumed equally by the working classes, whether on the street, in the pubs and taverns, or in the free concert hall; and, again, this presented a market in which Rushworths could operate and profit. What is clear is that, in Liverpool, the Rushworth family had the requisite societal infrastructure in which they could acquire the social and cultural capital which would enable them move up the levels of social stratification and simultaneously increase the profile, reputation and goodwill towards the family business. However, perhaps more importantly, the increased profitability of the company aligned with the increasing accumulation of social and cultural capital so that, at the turn of the twentieth century, the Rushworth family were establishing a profile that enabled them to contribute and participate in the creation and administration of Liverpool's primary cultural institutions.

William Rushworth, the managing director of the third generation, assumed control of the business upon his father Edwin's death in 1911. He was the recipient of a musical enterprise which had been built up with considerable expertise and entrepreneurship by the preceding

generations. During his stewardship the business would not only grow in physical size but also in reputation and importance to the local community. The foundations had been established, but William would create the institution. This is an exception rather than the rule, as other musical instrument manufacturing and retailing firms, such as Broadwood and Sons, declined during the third and fourth generations as a result of their lack of entrepreneurial zeal.

Chapter Three will focus on the reign of William (third generation) who was made a partner in 1897 and remained in control until 1944. During his period in control the firm would become more than a simple retail outlet providing for Liverpool's consumer market, and instead become central to Liverpool's cultural environment and artistic community. The next chapter will therefore focus on Rushworths place in Liverpool's vibrant cultural economy, the growth of services provided by the Rushworths, and the growth in reputation of the firm and the associated benefits that stemmed from this increase in profile and respectability.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁹ Such as international trade in pipe organs, national and international sole-agency contracts with manufacturers and suppliers, and prominent positions on the board of local and national musical committees, societies and associations.

Chapter Three

Development, Growth and Expansion, 1896-1911

Introduction

This chapter will provide an account of the second period of the Rushworth company growth, development and diversification. It will outline the increasing size and complexity of the business, emphasising key strategies, such as the emerging focus on the piano market and the imitation of American commercial strategies. It will also examine the increasing profitability of the firm during the period 1896-1909 and the partnership agreement of 1897. This will help establish the sound economic foundations upon which William, head of the firm during the third generation, built his growing public profile and social status, and from which he and the firm could contribute to the cultural, musical and artistic life of Liverpool. It will also outline William's cultural entrepreneurship and how the increasing profitability of the business, in turn, helped improve the reputation, goodwill and branding of the Rushworth enterprise. Charles Fombrun provides a critical perspective on the development and function of company reputation. Reputation can be considered one of, if not the, most valuable intangible asset which a company owns and in some part, governs. Fombrun explains that 'reputational capital' is an intangible form of wealth that 'accountants call goodwill and marketers call brand equity'. Company reputation is a valuable asset and one that was at the core of the Rushworth enterprise – they developed and used their reputation to represent and reinforce their values, identity, branding, pricing and marketing. According to Fombrun, a company's reputation can provide a competitive edge in the marketplace, enabling them to 'charge premium prices for products, to achieve lower marketing costs, and greater freedom in decision making'. Fombrun highlights several characteristics which companies with strong reputations will have, including, 'an environment which promotes trust; a willingness to empower employees; the ability to inspire

pride; the capacity to generate strong earnings, maintain stability and show good prospects for growth; the ability to champion quality and put the customer first; and a desire to serve the community, particularly relating to environmental concerns'.²⁵⁰ It is interesting to note how Rushworths encompassed all of the above criterion. This thesis will analyse the development of the Rushworth company reputation and examine how it developed and was maintained during the lifespan of the business. This will help to establish the extent to which Rushworths were both a product of their environment and, conversely, how they created and facilitated the growth of the cultural economy in which the business flourished – demonstrating how the concepts of commerce and culture are inextricably linked and work in tandem to the benefit of the individual, economy and society. Without the success and profitability of the business, William would not have had the material means, nor the social and cultural capital, to realise his vision of a cultured, musical and artistic Liverpool which would, in reciprocal form, manifest itself in increasing profits for the business.

The chapter also sets the growth of the business in its context. The growth and development of Liverpool's economy, which generated considerable wealth across Merseyside, resulted in an increase in disposable incomes amongst the populace during the latter part of the nineteenth century. This led to the development of a 'consumer society' as characterised by Benson.²⁵¹ As Chapter Two outlined, the concentration of wealth and abundance of employment opportunities across Merseyside sparked the emergence of a large strata of middle and upper working classes with more money to invest and save, and, more importantly, to spend on consumer items, cultural products, education, subscriptions to societies, clubs and associations, and recreation and leisure. As Benson explains, the social-cultural definition of a consumer society is one characterised as, '[...] societies in which

²⁵⁰ Fombrun, C., 1996. *Reputation: Realising Value from the Corporate Image*. (Harvard Business Press: Boston)

²⁵¹ Benson, J., 1994. *The Rise of Consumer Society in Britain, 1800-1980*. (Longman: London). pp. 1-6.

choice and credit are readily available, in which social value is defined in terms of purchasing power and material possessions, and in which there is a desire, above all, for that which is new, modern, exciting and fashionable'.²⁵² Alexander and Akehurst highlight how this provoked an explosion in the retail sector during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.²⁵³ The increasing prevalence of retailing activity was a national phenomenon in which Liverpool actively participated.

This was particularly reflected in and beneficial to Rushworth's diversification from organ building to musical instrument retail, and in particular, the retailing of the piano. The musical instrument market (and interest in music generally) in Liverpool was large, as evidenced by the increasing number of musical instrument retail outlets in the city. In 1845 (the year in which Rushworth's first arrived in Liverpool) there were 8 registered 'Organ Builders' and 23 registered as 'Musical instrument Makers and Sellers'²⁵⁴, by 1900 the number of 'musical instrument dealers' registered in the Gores Directory had increased to 57²⁵⁵ (whilst the number of 'organ builders' listed had only increased to 9²⁵⁶ – Edwin Rushworth is still listed in this category despite no longer dealing in pipe organs). The cultural capital associated with the knowledge, understanding and ability to play and perform music helped fuel a vibrant, multifarious and wide-ranging local market that, while segmented, crossed all class boundaries and distinctions. The wealth generated both locally and nationally also contributed to the increasing numbers of churches being built to accommodate the swelling numbers of workers in the burgeoning industrial towns and commercial centres. This led to the increasing

²⁵² Ibid., p. 4

²⁵³ Alexander, N., and Akehurst, G., 1998. "The Emergence of Modern Retailing, 1750-1950". In *Business History*, vol. 40, issue 4, pp. 1-15.

²⁵⁴ *Gore's Directory of Liverpool and its Environs*, 1845, pp. 630-631

²⁵⁵ *Gores Directory of Liverpool and its Environs*, 1900, pp. 1785 – interestingly, in 1900 there are separate listings for 'musical instrument dealers', 'musical instrument manufacturers' and 'music sellers', although several firms are listed under all categories.

²⁵⁶ *Gores Directory of Liverpool and its Environs*, 1900, pp. 1794

prominence of pipe organ building as an industry and organs were commissioned by local benefactors, philanthropists, commercial elites and corporations to adorn the newly built churches across the Britain.²⁵⁷ This significantly bolstered the profitability of the Rushworth enterprise as they were concerned with all facets of organ manufacture, including renovations, repairing, tuning and refurbishment.

Furthermore, Liverpool had a cultured and wealthy local musical market and there was much demand for music consumption, musical tuition and musical instruments. The piano had taken centre stage as the luxury furniture item and entertainment centrepiece of the Victorian household²⁵⁸ and Rushworths were well placed to supply this consumer product to the public at a time when musical performance, musical knowledge, education and appreciation conferred an elevated social status and reinforced middle class identity across the nation. Thus, the progressive religious, musical, cultural and economic conditions in Liverpool provided a profitable market in which both arms of Rushworths enterprise, organ building and instrument retail, could expand and diversify.

Rushworth's growth and diversification is exemplified by their focus on, and specialism in the piano, including its retailing, tuning, manufacture, polishing, installing, renovating and repairing. Cyril Ehrlich provides the seminal research regarding the increasing popularity, availability and social status associated with the piano.²⁵⁹ The research has been updated more recently by Carnevali and Newton who have used the development and proliferation of the piano as a case study in the rise of a consumer society in Britain.²⁶⁰ In their opinion, of all the

²⁵⁷ Thistlethwaite, N., 2002. *The Making of the Victorian Organ*. (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge). pp. 50; Sayer, M., 1974. *Samuel Renn: English Organ Builder*. (Phillimore & Co. LTD: London). pp. in-lay sleeve and 1; Elvin, L., 1986. *Family Enterprise: The Story of some North Country Organ builder*. (Laurence Elvin: Lincoln). p. 12.

²⁵⁸ Nicholson, S., 1988. *A Victorian Household*. (Barrie & Jenkins Ltd: London). pp. 60-62;

²⁵⁹ Ehrlich, C., 1976. *The Piano: A Short History*. (J. M. Dents & Sons Ltd: London)

²⁶⁰ Carnevali, F., and Newton, L., 2013. 'Pianos for the People. From Producer to Consumer in Britain, 1851-1914'. In, *Enterprise and Society*, Vol. 14, Issue, 1, p. 37-70

consumer items that cluttered the middle class Victorian home, the most culturally symbolic was the piano. They illustrate that rising incomes and increasing disposable sparked a spate of consumerism for the middle-classes as a result of rising incomes in real terms. They highlight how the sector of middle class society earning 'intermediate incomes' of around £160 to £200 per annum rose from 11.5 per cent in 1880 to 17.5 in 1913. They continue by confirming how 'the growth of working and middle class incomes was great enough to establish a market for goods which had previously been so limited as to make them rare luxuries [such as] bicycles, sewing machines, newspapers, clocks and watches, wallpaper, pianos and window glass'.²⁶¹

Thus, Liverpool in the late nineteenth century was a thriving, wealthy port city with an emergent and confident middle class. By 1914, William Rushworth (Managing Director of the third generation) could be considered the embodiment and representative of the bourgeois middle classes in Liverpool. He had achieved the necessary upward social mobility and acquired the requisite cultural capital to promote, with confidence, the excellence and professionalism of his firm's piano expertise. He had moved his private residence out of the city centre and relocated to West Kirby, on the Wirral peninsula; he had expanded his commercial enterprise so that by the turn of the twentieth century Rushworths was considered, with some distinction, as the primary musical instrument retailer in Liverpool. William was also very active and prominent in the national musical establishment, as founder of the Federation of British Music Industries and Liverpool representative of the British Music Society; locally, he was establishing links with the primary cultural institutions such as Liverpool Rotary, the Bluecoat Arts Society, the Liverpool Playhouse Theatre, and the Rodewald Concert Society. How then did this increasing and conjoined social commercial profile come about? What factors contributed to the rise?

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 41

In Liverpool, as we have already argued, the emergence of the strata of middle classes paved the way for the emergence of a profitable local consumer economy. The growth of the middle classes was characterised by increasing disposable income which, in Victorian terms, was available for households to spend on consumer products, household goods and furniture items such as, carpets, rugs, linoleum, furniture made of wood and papier-mâché, drapes, beds, toys, toilets and baths, tiles, brass ornaments in all shapes and sizes, cutlery, glasses for drinking and stained glass windows, china and pottery, wallpaper, oilcloth, light fittings, stuffed animals and most importantly, the piano. As Carnevali and Newton explain, ‘despite the changes that fashion dictated to interior decoration during this period, of the items that provided the bed-rock of drawing room furnishings none could surpass the piano’.²⁶²

Britain, and Liverpool, was strongly stratified in class terms and so the process of industrialisation and urbanisation, combined with the growth of mercantile commercial enterprise and thriving export and import trade of the ports, conspired to create in Liverpool a very large layer of clerks, administrators and office-based labour who were employed to complement the work in the port and dockland network in Liverpool. They were concentrated in the fields of banking, finance and insurance (particularly, marine insurance) which was a by-product of the focus on commerce (over industry) which was prevalent in Liverpool, particularly with the increasing importance of commercial centres such as the American Chamber of Commerce, the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, the Cotton Exchange and the Merseyside Docks and Harbour Board. The Liverpool economy, strongly oriented toward the service sector, generated a very large staff of clerical officers to manage, administer and document the dealings, profits and accounts of local big businesses. The increasing numbers of clerks in Liverpool are reflected in the membership numbers of the

²⁶² Carnevali, F., and Newton, L., 2013. ‘Pianos for the People. From Producer to Consumer in Britain, 1851-1914’. In, *Enterprise and Society*, Vol. 14, Issue, 1, p. 37

Liverpool Clerks Association (established in 1861) which saw memberships increase from 403 members in 1861 to 5,174 in 1914 (obviously membership numbers were accentuated during periods of economic uncertainty).²⁶³ The clerical labour market represented the lower middle class section of Liverpool society and it was perhaps this sector that had the greatest desire move up the social scale. Status symbols, particularly the home and its fittings and possessions, were very important to them.²⁶⁴

The avenues of upward social mobility were made easier by the shifting economic prosperity enjoyed in England characterised by ‘higher incomes per capita (per year), lower prices and growth in the British economy, resulting in more employment and more disposable income for the middle and working classes [...] Prices fell and per capita real income grew by about 2.1% from 1860 to 1895 and 0.5% from 1895 to 1913 [...] Real wages also increased significantly, although not at the same rate for middle and working class families, thanks to the combined effects of rising money and falling wages.’²⁶⁵ As food prices fell, the cost of renting a house declined as the building boom made more accommodation available and salaries increased, the consumer market emerged to cater and provide an outlet for the household’s disposable income. In Liverpool, as the research of Rubinstein has established, more millionaires resided on Merseyside than in any other region of England outside London, with Merseyside the place of residence of at least 10 millionaires in the period 1880-1914.²⁶⁶ As a result much investment was made in transport, communications and infrastructure that provided consumers with regular public transport in and out of the city centre, enabling an increased propensity for leisure, recreation and shopping. This was complemented by the rise

²⁶³ Liverpool Clerks Association, Annual Reports, 1861-1914. Quoted in, Anderson, G., 1976. *Victorian Clerks*. (Manchester University Press: Manchester).

²⁶⁴ Cohen, D. 2009. *Household Gods: the British and their Possessions* (Yale University Press: New Haven).

²⁶⁵ For detailed analysis of ‘changes in demand’ see: Benson, J., 1994. *The Rise of Consumer Society in Britain, 1800-1980*. (Longman: London). pp. 11-15

²⁶⁶ Rubinstein, W., D., 1977. ‘The Victorian Middle Class: Wealth, Occupation and Geography’. In, *Economic History Review*, 30 (4). p. 609

of a local consumer society which was facilitated by the emergence of big departments stores such as Lewis's, Coopers, Owen and Owens, Mark's and Spencer's, Blackler's, Cripps and TJ Hughes – all emulating the 'Americanised' London department store power houses of Selfridges and Harrods.

Liverpool had a wealthy local economy, which created a section of middle classes with the necessary disposable income, in turn enabling the establishment of a local consumer base which could support and finance the establishment of major department stores which could then advertise and market themselves to this sector of the local market. This was further complemented by an increasing population with low levels of unemployment and abundant options for work in and around the city centre, port and docklands (though there was a significant underclass of casualised and poorly paid marginal labour).

William Rushworth was quick to recognise the new possibilities for his business which this increase in local wealth, disposable income and employment and shifted the focus and identity of his business to accommodate this directly – this is where Rushworths connection with the piano really begins to advance. UK piano manufacture increased dramatically in the period from 23,000 in 1850 up to 75,000 in 1910.²⁶⁷ These figures were no doubt boosted by the increasing numbers of full time musicians across England, which, in Liverpool rose from 425 in 1861 up to 1,160 in 1891 (musicians and music teachers) – second only to London. Similarly, we can see that the ratio of musicians and music teachers in Liverpool increased from 1:1,045 in 1861 up to 1:447 in 1891.²⁶⁸ This is important as it demonstrates that Liverpool's growth was vital in providing commercial opportunities for the Rushworth music business.

²⁶⁷ Ehrlich, C., 1976. *The Piano: A Short History*. (J. M. Dents & Sons Ltd: London). Appendix II. P. 221

²⁶⁸ Russell, D., 2000. 'Musicians in the English Provincial City: Manchester, c.1860-1914'. In, Bashford, C., and Langley, L., (ed.), *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914*, pp. 235-236

Rushworth Business Development, 1896-1909

The period between 1896 and 1909 witnessed substantial expansion and growth of the Rushworth retail business. During this period the scale and scope of the business moved into new territory, with the incorporation of new products, new and expanded premises, additional staff, new facilities and the establishment of new relationships of a commercial and cultural nature, such as sole agency agreements with major piano manufacturers (such as, in 1908, Erard, Chappell, Lipp & Sohn and Dreaper²⁶⁹) and the creation, administration and sponsoring of numerous festivals, competitions and concerts across Merseyside. The establishment of sole agency (or exclusive agency) agreements with piano manufactures marked a significant progression in the perception of Rushworths as the primary piano retailing organisation in Liverpool (and across Merseyside, or a geographic area as designated in the sole agency contract). In this context a sole agency agreement refers to a trading arrangement organised between the manufacturer and the dealer which stipulates certain arrangements and conditions and parameters through the two companies would establish their commercial collaboration. The stipulations and restrictions would cover issues such as: the sales area; length of agreement; no supply to other dealers; stipulations regarding price, frequency, volume and payment; advertisement; stock levels etc. The sole agency agreements were established to protect both manufacturer and retailer from making similar deals with any of their regional competitors. It was on the back of these expansions that the efforts to influence and contribute to the cultural life of the city really began to materialise. In September 1903, Walter Rushworth (of the second generation) died, leaving his two sons, Walter Maynard and Harry Rushworth, as the third generation of Rushworth organ builders – they would manage and direct the organ works until 1911. Upon the death of Edwin (second generation), William, after succeeding to

²⁶⁹ The R&D Concert and Entertainment Calendar and Music Teachers Directory, 1908-09, p. 37

the role of Managing Director of the retail side, commenced with the amalgamation of the organ works and retail arms of the firm under one branch of the family by taking over the organ works from Walter Maynard and Harry.²⁷⁰ This marked an interesting passage in the succession of the Rushworth Company. Walter Maynard and Harry succeeded their father, Walter, as leaders of the Organ works, representing, once again, a traditional sibling partnership. However, this partnership lasted only eight years before this partnership was dissolved and they were succeeded by their cousin, William, who was also head of the retail operation. It is not known why William took over the organ works from his cousins, however, it appears to be an amicable arrangement as both Walter Maynard and Harry continued to work for the Rushworth Company under the management of William.²⁷¹

Leadership succession is a critical issue for all family firms, and a major focus of the academic literature. Thus it is important to understand the structure of the firm and its relationship to the family. In 1897 Edwin Rushworth, piano manufacturer and musical instrument dealer, of the second generation, merged his business with that of his eldest son, William.²⁷² An assessment of the business ledgers provide evidence that until this point, William had been working independently as a piano retailer, but also specialising in small goods, which in this case covered products such as sheet musical, band instruments, and accessories such as strings, bows, and music stands. David Rushworth,²⁷³ in private correspondence, has confirmed that ‘small goods’ referred to anything that was not ‘a piano, in a literal sense, “small goods”’.²⁷⁴ William had been operating in musical instrument retail

²⁷⁰ Not much is documented about the amalgamation of the organ works and retail sides of the firm – some handwritten notes exist which confirm the date and process, but nothing of the negotiations and motivation. These will be discussed in later chapters.

²⁷¹ What is known of the union of retail and organ works is explored in more detail in Chapter Four, pp.118-120

²⁷² The partnership agreement is documented in its entirety in ‘Edwin’s Private Ledger and Journal, 1896-1909’. This journal also indicates the turnover, profits, departments, expenditure, income, products and services provided by the Rushworth enterprise at this point. This journal will be referenced as EPLJ9609.

²⁷³ David Rushworth was Managing Director of the retail side of the business, representing the fifth generation

²⁷⁴ David Rushworth to Nicholas Wong, private email correspondence, 6th January 2015.

since at least 1890 when, aged 22, he opened his first piano salesroom at 21 Islington Place.²⁷⁵ Unusually, his entry into business was then not through the family firm but the creation of an independent, if related, firm. Latterly, he had been renting from his father the premises of 91 Bold Street at a 'yearly rate' (the amount of rent is not specified) and 13 Islington, at the rate of £100 per year. He had also overseen the opening of two further Rushworth branches in Liverpool at Basnett Street and Bold Street. This represented the creation of a chain of stores at a variety of locations across Liverpool city centre in its earliest phase of development. This had put William in a position whereby he was able to contribute capital to the formation of the new partnership and as a result, draw a higher proportion of the profits than his two younger brothers, who also joined the newly formed partnership. Whether planned or not, William's route into the family business was highly effective in providing solid foundations upon which he could independently start in business, although this may have been a strategy devised by Edwin to widen and deepen the available pool of capital.

William was installed as the General Manager of the new 'sibling' partnership.²⁷⁶ The partnership, which continued under the trade and style of 'Edwin Rushworth', was formed with initial capital of £16,517; £4,103 of which was contributed by William, whilst the other £12,414²⁷⁷ was invested by Edwin. In modern terms this would equate to an initial investment of £1,873,255 in 2013²⁷⁸ which really provides some context of the scale of the business. Despite the formation of the new partnership, the buildings and premises remained the property of Edwin and were not incorporated in to the new partnership - the business would pay him an annual yearly rent of £350.²⁷⁹ There was then a careful separation of firm and family. The initial

²⁷⁵ *Gore's Directory of Liverpool and its Environs*, 1891, p. 700

²⁷⁶ See Literature Review, p.26

²⁷⁷ According to Bank of England inflation calculator the initial capital invested by Edwin and William, £16,517, would equate to £1,873,255. £1,407,918 from Edwin (for his £12414) and £465,336 from William (for his £4103 initial capital investment).

²⁷⁸ <http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/education/Pages/resources/inflationtools/calculator/flash/default.aspx>

²⁷⁹ EPJL9609, 'Articles of Partnership', Clause 3, p. 3

investment entitled William and Edwin, together, to a 60% share of the profits. The remaining brothers, Edwin the Younger and Andrew Lidgate, who are described as ‘Assistants to Edwin’ in the partnership agreement, were also part of the partnership but were only eligible for a smaller proportion of the profits - they were to receive a joint share of 40%. It was stipulated in the agreement that after five years ‘all profits and losses of the said business shall be divided between the partners in equal shares’.²⁸⁰

A review of the company accounts was compiled by Edwin and William at the close of 1896 which shows that the plans for the new partnership had already been considered, reinforcing the impression of at least some considered succession planning. The balance sheets of ‘E. Rushworth piano department’ show a figure of £17,060 which indicates that his part of the business was solvent. Similarly, the balance sheet of William’s small goods department, which covered all other instruments including woodwind, brass and strings, as well as accessories and sheet music, had a positive balance of £5,471. The new partnership arrangement amalgamated the businesses of Edwin and William, thus combining the Piano and the small goods departments. What these figures indicate is that Edwin and William were already involved in profitable music trade in advance of the creation of the new partnership and they had a firm footing upon which to build and expand their commercial interests. It is also interesting to note how the inclusion of the Edwin the Younger, aged 26, and Andrew Lidgate, aged 23, into the partnership was arranged. The 1891 census has their occupation registered as ‘music sellers assistant’²⁸¹, whilst the partnership agreement indicates that they had been employed ‘for some time’ as ‘Assistants to Edwin’²⁸². In other words, they had the ‘traditional’ shop-floor initiation into the family business. In 1897 when the new partnership was drawn up, Edwin was 63 years old at a time when life expectancy was only 47 – he may

²⁸⁰ EPJL9609, ‘Articles of Partnership’, Clause 6, p. 6

²⁸¹ 1891 Census RG12/2919/64/28 -available at ancestry.com

²⁸² EPJL9609, p. 1

have realised that his time was not finite.²⁸³ Also, Edwin stipulates specifically in the terms of the agreement that he will only work ‘as he shall see fit’,²⁸⁴ whereas William, Edwin the Younger and Andrew Lidgate were to be employed full-time with no other business concerns or ventures permitted. The transition was not also planned but phased.

Under the stewardship of William, the business, the profitability and the services provided by the firm expanded. In 1900, Gore’s Directory has Rushworth’s retail arm as operating from 3 sites across Liverpool City centre, 13 Islington, 21 Basnett Street and 91 Bold Street, whilst the Organ Works was based in Mill Street²⁸⁵. By 1908 this premises at Islington had increased to incorporate number 11 and 13 Islington, whilst the Basnett street store is listed as the Concert Bureau. By 1918 the retail premises now occupied 11-17 Islington.²⁸⁶ From this point onwards, the business began to grow from strength to strength. As the premises grew, so did the on-site facilities. From being a simple musical instrument retail establishment, the premises would continue to grow so that by 1908 the firm referred to themselves as ‘Piano and Organ Manufacturers and Importers, Music Sellers and Publishers’.²⁸⁷ The strategy of Rushworths to establish a multiple shop enterprise was one familiar for this time period. The study of Jeffery’s provides details of the increase in multiple shop enterprises in the UK. In this he establishes that between 1895 and 1910 the number of firms with 10 or more branches increased from 201 to 395 and the number of branches increased from 7807 to 19852.²⁸⁸ Of course Rushworths only had four separate branches (Islington, the Organ Works, Basnett Street and Bold Street) but what is clear is that the company was adopting contemporary strategies of

²⁸³ According to <http://www.localhistories.org/life.html> - it should also be noted that the figures are skewed by the high levels of infant mortality.

²⁸⁴ EPJL9609, ‘Articles of Partnership’, Clause 11, p. 7

²⁸⁵ *Gores Directory of Liverpool and its Environs*, 1900. p. 1346

²⁸⁶ Confirmation of address changes confirm by the ‘Rushworth & Dreaper Concert and Entertainment Calendar’ 1908-09 and 1918-1919.

²⁸⁷ The R&D Concert and Entertainment Calendar and Music Teachers Directory, 1908-09, p.1

²⁸⁸ Jefferys, J., 1954. *Retail Trading in Britain, 1850-1950*. (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge). p. 22

expansion and multiple shop retailing in an attempt to increase the scale, scope and services of the firm and corner an increasingly large share of the local musical market. As the portfolio of Rushworth business interests increased so too did the roster of staff on the books, as shown in the Rushworth Staff Ledger.

The Rushworth Retail Staff Ledger, 1877-1911

As the scale, functioning, services and facilities of the Rushworth business increased, so too did the roster of staff. Examining staff records provides another lens on the growth and development of the business. According to the Staff Ledger, between 1877 and 1911 the retail arm of Rushworth's firm took on more than 251 new staff (although the frequency of staff leaving, being dismissed, and retiring meant that they were not all employed at the same time).²⁸⁹ The staff were employed in a variety of roles from porter to piano-tuner, sales staff and clerical staff, to music library specialist. The diversity and multifarious nature of the job roles and occupations within the business structure provide evidence of the size, scale and adaptability of the firm. The employees travelled to Rushworths from a wide region across Liverpool and across the Mersey on the Wirral. In fact, from 251 staff we can see that at least 38 were travelling to work at Rushworths from districts outside of Liverpool such as the Wirral, Runcorn, Widnes, Chester and Newton-le-Willows, which would have been quite an undertaking at the turn of the twentieth century and so indicates the allure and status attached to employment in firm. Also worth noting is the number of female staff. Of the 251 new staff appointments made by the firm and its various branches, at least 48 were female, with at least two women occupying managerial positions. For example, Selina Aldridge, from Kingsley

²⁸⁹ The staff ledger was provided by the Rushworth family in support of the PhD research. It begins with the employment of Thomas Winstanley in 1877 and continues up to 1911 with the employment of Marie Dobson in 1911. The information provided in this ledger is particularly thorough, providing details of names, addresses, previous employment, references, rate of pay, commission and bonuses, and reason for leaving. From now on it will be referenced as SL1900.

Road in Liverpool was employed between February 1897 and October 1900. She was moved between the various Rushworth city centre branches in Bold Street and Basnett Street and her job title is simply, ‘Manageress’²⁹⁰.

The Rushworths were very rigorous in their vetting and referencing of new staff. They would seek previous employer references and require details of their parents’ occupation, however, despite these measures and checks the turnover of staff was remained high. The diligent referencing process provides a clear indication that the firm had standards of behaviour that had to be adhered to, including devotion to providing high quality customer service. At least 70 employees were ‘dismissed’ or ‘discharged’ for a variety of reasons but mostly ‘incompetence’ and ‘unsuitability for the role’ – again, highlighting the company’s attention to detail and insistence on the highest standards of service and suitability. Many staff left of their ‘own accord’, reflecting that Rushworths were operating in a thriving city with many employment opportunities, whilst others left to move abroad to locations such as Australia, Boston and Shanghai, and some left to pursue a career in professional musicianship. The musical background and expertise of the staff employed by the firm demonstrates the value placed by the Rushworth on acquiring and hiring staff with specialist professional expertise. The rates of pay varied greatly depending on job role and experience. If we take ‘piano salesman’ as an example we can see that the wages range from £1 to £4 per week; for example, in 1901, Mr E. J. Wright was paid £4 per week (with half per cent commission on the piano departments turnover), however, he had previously served a 5 year apprenticeship at John Brinsmead (piano manufacturer) so his experience and expertise would be considered beneficial to the Rushworth business²⁹¹. Similarly, a piano tuner, Mr Johnson, who had previous been employed with Broadwood & Sons, was paid £2 and 5 shilling (with a wage rise

²⁹⁰ SL1900, p. 6

²⁹¹ SL1900, p. 27

of 5 shilling). Comparatively, according to Bowley, the average wage and earnings ‘for adult males [...] may be put at 23s. 6d. to 24s. in 1886 and at 28s. 6d. to 29s. 6d. in 1906. In 1914 the corresponding average is about 32s. and in 1924 about 60s.’²⁹² We can see by comparison that Rushworths wages were competitive in this regard and in most job roles within the firm they paid over the national average.

Most importantly, the information and evidence contained within the staff ledger provides a clear insight into the increasing size, scale and services offered the firm during the period of rapid expansion and growth. In 1871 the retail arm of the business employed a small staff of only ‘2 men and 1 apprentice’; however, under the guidance of William, by the turn of the twentieth century, the roster of staff increased to incorporate over 200. Equally impressive is the range of job roles, departments, services and branches which were created under William.

The increasing profitability of the Rushworth retail business, 1897-1909

But what did this mean in terms of growth of the business? The comparison of profits from 1897-1909 provide a clear indication of the impact of these developments. The piano departments’ turnover increased from a low of £9023 in 1898 to a high of £19151 in 1903 which represents an increase of over 100%. The turnover, overall for the whole period, is equally marked with the period beginning with £9174 in 1897 and ending with turnover of £18220 in 1909 – again, indicating a significant increase in piano sales. The net profits for the piano department present a similar picture with a low of £1677 in 1900 and a high of £4163 in 1908. The net profits overall for the period rise from £1926 in 1897 to £3296 in 1909.

The small goods department figures present a similar picture of growth and profitability. The turnover for the period increases from a low of £4645 in 1899 to a high of

²⁹² Bowley, A. L., 1937. *Wages and Income in the United Kingdom since 1860*. (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge). pp. 49-50

£7794 in 1909. Overall the turnover increases from £4750 in 1897 to £7794 in 1909. Similarly, the increase in the net profits fluctuates significantly from a low of £650 in 1902 to a high of £2389 in 1903. For the whole period the net profits rise from £1360 in 1897 to £1813 in 1909.

When combined, the group show a similar trend on increasing profitability, with the company profits increasing from a low of £1942 in 1900 to a high of £4252 in 1908. Similarly, the figures overall for complete period indicate a significant rise in profitability from £2452 in 1897 to £3344 in 1909²⁹³.

Figure 3.1: Comparison of profits and combined figures for Piano and Small Goods Departments, 1897-1909

Piano Department				Small Goods Department				Group Figures			
Year	Turnover	Net Profit	%	Year	Turnover	Net Profit	%	Year	Turnover	Net Profit	%
1897	9174	1926	21	1897	4750	526	11	1897	13924	2452	18
1898	9023	2178	24	1898	6039	321	5	1898	15062	2499	17
1899	9967	2058	21	1899	4645	136	3	1899	14612	2194	15
1900	10667	1677	16	1900	5484	265	5	1900	16151	1942	12
1901	15316	2555	17	1901	5255	230	4	1901	20571	2785	14
1902	18978	2740	14	1902	5350	169	3	1902	24328	2909	12
1903	19151	2970	16	1903	7489	659	9	1903	26640	3629	14
1904	17041	3028	18	1904	7555	818	11	1904	24596	3846	16
1905	16157	2989	18	1905	6485	334	5	1905	22642	3323	15
1906	17283	2924	17	1906	7045	177	3	1906	24328	3101	13
1907	17651	3401	19	1907	6968	243	3	1907	24619	3644	15
1908	18672	4163	22	1908	7360	89	1	1908	26032	4252	16
1909	18220	3296	18	1909	7794	48	1	1909	26014	3344	13

Profits were primarily re-invested in the business. There was a marked increase in the size of the premises. The Rushworth family opened up new sites at Basnett Street, which complemented the sites already established at Bold Street and Islington. The premises at Islington trebled in size and the facilities available were also increased, whilst the number of staff was also increased.

Rushworth's Adoption of American Marketing, Products and Innovations

²⁹³ These figures are taken from: 'Comparison of Balance Sheets, 1897-1909'. Documents provided by Rushworth family in support of PhD research.

This section will provide an account of how the Rushworth business benefitted from Liverpool's commercial and cultural links with America. Though driven by the retention and reinvestment of profits, the growth of the business took inspiration from outside sources, reflected in the Rushworths' approach to the innovative introduction of new products and technologies and the adaptation of an Americanised framework for advertising, decoration and products. The innovative approach of the company was facilitated by the increasing confidence, profitability and services provided by the business. The 'Musical Opinion and Music Trade Review' of July 1902 provides testament of the ingenuity, foresight and enterprise of the Rushworth family. Edwin the Younger had returned from an eighteen-month trip to the USA where he had been 'studying the phases of American trade and the construction of American-made instruments on the spot'. According to the article, William Rushworth and his colleagues had 'foreseen the coming of the 'players' and it was decided that Mr Edwin should go to America to learn something about them. The Messrs Rushworth were one of the first English firms to take up a player confidently, and to invite the public to come to their rooms to see and hear the instrument. They took up the Angelus, and also the Symphony self-playing organ, and in a short time familiarised the people of south-west Lancashire with the capabilities of these two instruments.²⁹⁴ John Mullen provides insight into the functioning and popularity of the player-piano, or 'Pianola', as it was also known. The Pianola could be attached to any piano and would play tunes from rolls of cards littered with punched holes. Mullen explains that, 'In 1900, one cost £65, perhaps three months' wages for a factory foreman. The Pianola became more and more sophisticated, and one could, later, buy piano rolls which would reproduce particular interpretations of classical piano pieces, by the most reputed pianists of the age'.²⁹⁵ In Rushworth's case, not only did they import and sell the player-pianos but they

²⁹⁴ Argus, July 1902. 'Music Trade in Northern England'. In, *Musical Opinion and Music Trade Review*, 25, 298. British Periodicals, pp. 779

²⁹⁵ Mullen, J., 2014. Experiencing music in the British home, 1900-1925: initial pointers for research. Contribution to Expert Workshop: *From Parlour sing-songs to lplayers: Experiencing culture in the 20th and 21st*

also had a music library, based at Basnett Street, where music rolls could be purchased and hired, thus creating a further avenue of income. The article concludes by referring to Mr Edwin's report which states that 'the trade in mechanical players in America is promising to rival the trade in American organs. He returned to England with knowledge of no fewer than forty-three players of the class'.²⁹⁶ Similarly, Andrew Lidgate Rushworth took a nine month tour of the Antipodes,

partly for pleasure, but more particularly to observe the moods, methods and prospects of the music trade in New Zealand, Australia and probably, India. Mr Frank Rushworth (brother to Mr William Rushworth, the courteous and able manager of the Liverpool piano and music business) is in London learning the practical work of piano making. If all English manufacturers and traders showed the same laudable desire to learn the commercial facts, and the methods of their trade in other parts of the world, which members of this family have shown, there would be less heard about the want of enterprise in England.²⁹⁷

Interestingly, in July 1904, William himself travelled across North America, visiting Detroit, Michigan en route to St Louis, Missouri. It is possible that this was another reconnaissance trip in order to assess US musical instrument trade.²⁹⁸ The commitment to broadening the firm's expertise, range of products and brand image was evidenced by their numerous overseas trips. The impact this had on the business was subtle but noticeable. Firstly, mirroring the US department store style of retailing the company began to dedicate departments and branches to specific areas of their enterprise – for example, the Basnett Street site became the outlet for the Concert and Entertainment Bureau, the ticket office and the music library, whilst the Islington site became the focal point of the retail arm of the business, concentrating on the selling of

century homes, University of Lincoln, 22-23rd May 2014. Available at:

https://www.academia.edu/7143472/ Full_text_PDF_Experiencing_music_in_the_British_home_1900-1925

²⁹⁶ Argus, July 1902. 'Music Trade in Northern England'. In, *Musical Opinion and Music Trade Review*, 25, 298. British Periodicals, pp. 779

²⁹⁷ Ibid., 779

²⁹⁸ National Archives and Records Administration; Washington, D.C.; *Manifests of Passengers Arriving at St. Albans, VT, District through Canadian Pacific and Atlantic Ports, 1895-1954*; National Archives Microfilm Publication: M1464; Record Group Title: *Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service*.

pianos, instruments and accessories. We can also notice a change in the exterior image of the business, which again became more ‘Americanised’ with large brands names, window displays and advertising.

This aligns with the Atlantic Highway theory which argues that Liverpool was the epicentre of US-UK cultural exchange. The concept of the socio-economic and cultural association between America and Liverpool has been well rehearsed in seminal texts covering the theme of Liverpool history and cultural development. Milne provides an examination of US-UK cultural exchange and assesses the validity of the concept of an ‘Atlantic Highway’. Most important is Liverpool’s role in this and the evidence of cultural links between the two nations. One particularly strong manifestation was seen in Liverpool’s cultural development and music identity. Milne explains the increasing American identity with which Liverpool associated itself, confirming that, ‘Liverpool’s business district was even more American’.²⁹⁹ Milne quotes Priestley, who proclaimed that, ‘Liverpool had had so many peeps at New York’s water-front that it felt it must do *something*’.³⁰⁰ Hence, the construction of Liverpool’s Manhattan style waterfront which added to the increasing sense of ‘Americanness’ within the city. It is worth noting that the construction of Liverpool’s iconic waterfront architecture, encompassing the ‘Three Graces’, were all built during the period 1903-1916³⁰¹, reflecting the wealth, affluence and confidence of the City and the modern outlook of its civic and commercial elites. As Milne highlights, ‘by the 1890s, to be American was to be modern, and Liverpool made much of its association: remodelling the business district that at that time was described as ‘a sort of Americanized boom in real estate and building trades’.³⁰² The

²⁹⁹ Milne, G., 2006. ‘Maritime Liverpool’. In, Belchem, J., (ed.) *Liverpool 800: Culture, Character and History*. (Liverpool University Press: Liverpool). p. 278

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

³⁰¹ The ‘Three Graces’ consist of: The Port of Liverpool Building which was built between 1903 and 1907; The Royal Liver Building, built between 1908 and 1911; and, the Cunard Building, built between 1914 and 1916.

³⁰² *Ibid.*, p.278

Rushworths American connection would be further reinforced during the twentieth century as exclusive agency agreements would be established with several of US musical instruments manufacturers such as Hammond Organs, Stroud and Steinway pianos and Gibson guitars³⁰³ – providing the opportunity for Rushworths to introduce many of these products to the UK market.

‘Rushworths as Pioneers’ - The Ardeton Piano

The Rushworth family’s trips to the US inspired a number of new business lines and activities. Immediately following the American reconnaissance trips, the Rushworth family, who were already involved with piano manufacture, had an international patent registered for ‘Improvements in Pianofortes for Normal and Practising Play, applicable also to other Practising Keyboard Devices’³⁰⁴. The patented product was branded as the ‘Ardeton Piano’ and according to the *Musical Times*,

The Ardeton Piano is a new invention that claims attention on part of those – and their number is many – who aim at the attainment of correct technique in playing the household instrument. The Ardeton Piano claims to be a combination, in ONE instrument, of a perfect Practice-Clavier and Pianoforte. As a Practice-Clavier it provides at will, ‘up’ and ‘down’ clicks and a touch graded from one to eight ounces, and - this is an important point – in either case with or without tone. These novel features are of such obvious advantage as to merit a career of usefulness to the Ardeton Piano. Messrs Rushworth & Dreaper, 13 Islington, Liverpool, are manufacturers and inventors of this new instrument.³⁰⁵

The Rushworth practice clavier combined the practical and technical tuition tools but also combined and incorporated a normal piano. The educational and technical innovation of the

³⁰³ James Rushworth, Managing Director of the fourth generation, famously had two Gibson acoustic guitars specially flown in from Chicago in 1962 in order to present them to John Lennon and George Harrison at the Whitechapel store. The guitar provided for John Lennon is to be sold at auction in the US later this year (November 2015) and is estimated to fetch around \$600,000 to \$800,000. For full press release visit: www.juliensauctions.com

³⁰⁴ Details of the patent and registration available at: http://worldwide.espacenet.com/publicationDetails/biblio?DB=EPODOC&II=0&ND=3&adjacent=true&locale=en_EP&FT=D&date=19040714&CC=GB&NR=190319629A&KC=A

³⁰⁵ *Musical Times*, April 1st 1904, p. 261

Rushworth practice-clavier Ardeton piano shows their interest in the practical elements of musicianship. This product would connect them more with the piano teachers who would have been interested in an instrument that honed their pupils' technique and skills and provided an outlet for them to practice and improve at home. The instrument was well-received by the British musical fraternity with recommendations, endorsements and commendations received from some notable musical authorities such as: Ebenezer Prout, ESQ., B.A., MUS. DOC.; Gordon Saunders, ESQ., MUS. DOC. OXON.; Francis Korbay, ESQ., Prof Royal Academy Of Music; Charles E. Jolley, ESQ., MUS. DOC., OXON., F.R.C.O. The advertisements in *Musical Times* provides a clear indication of the pride in the product and the support of the musical fraternity,

THE ARDETON PIANO

A new invention – provides AT WILL, in an Ordinary Piano, “up” and “down” Clicks and a touch Graded from one to eight ounces, WITH OR WITHOUT tones as desired.

It is the outcome of several years' patient study and experiment with the definite object of combining in ONE instrument – a practice-Clavier and piano.

Its distinctive features are Patented in all principal Countries.

INVENTORS – RUSHWORTH & DREAPER, LIVERPOOL.³⁰⁶

The invention and creation of a new form of practice instrument highlights Rushworth's devotion and commitment to contributing not only to the marketing and retail of keyboard instruments, but also their interest in practical musicianship and technical qualities of piano playing, an aspect of the music industry that would gain support and interest from the music teaching fraternity who would welcome the invention of any device that would increase the technical ability and discipline of the pupils. Chapter Four will examine how Rushworths developed their social and cultural capital by dedicating areas of their premises at Whitechapel to musical education, music teaching and providing headquarters to many of Liverpool's

³⁰⁶ *Musical Times*, March 1st 1904 , p. 147

primary musical institutions and national musical education authorities, such as Trinity College of Music, London, the Royal Academy of Music, London and the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music. It appears that from the early period of the twentieth century, Rushworth developed their business strategy to incorporate a dedicated focus on facilitating musical education and this would develop in tandem with the growth of their retail trade.

Conclusion

This chapter has been able to examine only a few key events and factors during a crucial period in the firm's history, a period that laid the foundations for what, it might be argued, was its heyday during the first half of the twentieth-century. Edwin Rushworth died in 1911 and on his death the firm passed into the sole control of William, his eldest son, who had provided the biggest amount of initial capital invested in the formation of the new company. Edwin played in a central role in the early division of the company which saw the organ works continue under the sole ownership of his brother, Walter, while he would continue to develop the musical instrument retail branch of the business. This division would prove crucial in determining the future direction, structure, organisation and succession of the business. Upon the death of his father in 1875, Edwin had inherited a share in a small scale operation that was a mix of musical business interest all working under one company (organ building and retail were connected in company ledgers until 1871). Upon the split of the business Edwin would oversee the growth of the retail arm of the business so that by the time of his death the company had expanded to occupy two premises on Islington, Liverpool (11&13), and have two branches in operation, at Bold Street and Basnett Street. He would also oversee the takeover of the Dreaper business and introduce new instruments, products and services to the Liverpool musical public. His eldest son, William, had received the highest level of public schooling at Liverpool College and during this latter part of Edwin's life he had relocated his private residence to West Kirby in the Wirral.

William, after spending over fifteen years working with, learning from, and latterly, in partnership, with his father, would develop into a pioneer of music retailing. He provided a classic example of the epitome of the relationship between commerce and culture. He strove to promote and engender an appreciation of music and culture across Liverpool and this was exemplified by the efforts made to place Rushworths right at the centre of the musical life of the city. He was a visionary who was aware that it was important to establish Rushworths as more than a simple retail outlet. He wanted to create a cradle to grave service which would attract and cross-section of society that catered for all age groups, all sectors of Liverpool's class system and all levels of performer from professional musicians to amateur. He established close links with the Liverpool Music Teachers Association and to support this facilitated the spread of music tuition by formulating 'Teachers Notes', a monthly pamphlet for all the music teachers in the region which could be distributed for free across Liverpool. Teachers Notes was designed to promote the advantages of musical tuition and provide some technical and contemporary advice on the breakthroughs and advancements in the mode of teaching music. To complement Teacher's Notes, Rushworths would provide teaching studios and practice facilities for use by teachers, as well as a free music library and sheet music for the perusal of the local teachers. Rushworths would continue this strategy by incorporating the Matthey School of Music into the repertoire and would establish links with the Northern College of Music as well as private piano schools such as the Billy Mayerl School of piano. The idea was to bring young customers to their premises were they would purchase their first instrument, take their first music lesson, visit their first musical instrument museum, and deliver their first public performance at the 'Rushworth Festival of Music and Verse', thus creating a bond between aspiring young musicians, their parents, and the music teachers that would, hopefully, last a lifetime. This was the essence of their cradle to grave strategy and can be considered as one of the primary contributors to the company's longevity.

Chapter Four

Transition, adaptation and adjustment – the development of the Rushworth business, departments and services

‘The soundest music business is that which has been built up little by little from modest beginnings, where the proprietor has early recognised the necessity of making his establishment the centre of every possible musical activity in his locality, by unstinted service to the community’ – William Rushworth, 1924.³⁰⁷

Introduction

The statement above, delivered by William Rushworth (of the third generation), represents the outlook with which he developed and expanded his commercial enterprise. Each of his innovations, developments and modes of diversification were designed to provide a service to the musical public whilst simultaneously generating greater profits for the firm, which in turn, could be re-invested in facilities and services which would further encourage and facilitate the growth of the local musical public. The first half of the twentieth century was characterised by increasing technological advancements which changed the cultural and musical landscape. William was forced to encounter new modes of musical reception, consumption and practice. His entrepreneurial ability to seek out new products and innovations and manage risk and investment in new stock, new equipment, new instruments and new musical technologies enabled him to build the business, expand the premises and be at the forefront of the latest musical inventions. The development of the recorded sound medium was announced by the invention of the phonograph by Thomas Edison (1877) and the gramophone by Emile Berliner (1888). These inventions complemented the invention of the player-piano in providing the public with access to the music without the necessity of practical, demonstrable musicianship.

³⁰⁷ Rushworth, W., ‘The Development of a Retail Music Business’. A Paper Delivered at the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the British Music Industries, Held at Folkestone, May 1924. p. 4

The disengagement between practical musicians and the consumer was further accentuated by the development of commercial radio, sound movies and the juke-box during the period 1900-1950. This continued with the development of the Disc Jockey, the nightclub scene and the Karaoke bar during the post-war period, which further served to dilute the opportunity for musicians to perform their music in the public realm. The musical status-quo had now changed markedly with musical recordings and reproduction-equipment replacing the necessity of live performance and practical musicianship and an audience actively engaged with the social processes of paying for and interacting with live musical performance. The recorded medium also signalled the death knell of musical evenings in the parlours of the urban middle classes.³⁰⁸ The need for live performance was diminished by the ubiquity and accessibility of gramophones and records (and later, radio) – this gave rise to the concept of ‘music without the musicians,’ which had the general effect of shrinking the market for musical instrument retailers, particularly for traditional classical instruments, although the market for electric guitars, band instruments and amplification equipment would see a marked increase in the late 1950s and 1960s. At all ends of the musical spectrum, whether in the pub or the parlour, the patterns of music consumption and interaction were shifting, and this was to the potential detriment of the musical instrument retailer. It could be detrimental to those traditional retailers who could not adapt to the new market.

The concept of ‘music without musicians’ and the impact of developing technologies has been analysed by David Suisman in a recent book titled, ‘Selling Sounds’. In the Prologue Suisman makes the following observation,

Before Edison and Berliner [and the invention of the Phonograph and Gramophone], every sonic phenomenon had possessed a unity of time and space; it occurred once, for a certain duration, in one place, and then it was gone forever. By embedding time in objects and making possible what

³⁰⁸ For a good description of a ‘Musical Evening’, see: Pearsall, R., 1975. *Edwardian Popular Music*. (David & Charles: Devon). Ch. 6.

Jacques Attali has called the stockpiling of sound, recording technology destroyed that uniqueness. But Berliner's design went further. It introduced a structural and social division between making a recording and listening to it. With Edison's design, access to one assumed access to the other as well; sound recording was something people could *do*. With Berliner's design a wedge was driven between production and consumption; sound recording was something that people could *listen to*.³⁰⁹

In Rushworth's case, the modernisation of musical reception and consumption did not necessarily impact too heavily on the functioning and profitability of the firm, at least initially. In fact, the new formats, technologies and devices connected with the recorded medium - the Pianola, radio, gramophones and LP's - were embraced and championed by the Rushworth business. Their position as respected musical instrument retailers enabled them to take advantage of the opportunities that technological advances were creating in music consumption and to be at the forefront of disseminating many of the new products and innovations. They became the central point of reference in Liverpool for new technologies, hiring and employing specialists in the field, as well as devoting show-room space and window displays to the advertisement and publicity of the latest devices. The Liverpool Gramophone Society found its headquarters appropriately located at Rushworth's premises at Islington, while close personal and commercial relationships were established with the dominant metropolitan manufacturers and suppliers of such products, for example: Micro Perophone & Chromogram Ltd, London; 'Soundwave', The Gramophone Journal, London; Columbia Graphophone Company Ltd., London; The Gramophone Dealers Association, Ltd., London; The Gramophone Company Ltd., London.³¹⁰ Rushworths, at least initially, were successful in adaptation to new

³⁰⁹ Suisman, D., 2009. *Selling Sounds*. (Harvard University Press: Massachusetts). pp. 5

³¹⁰ The links to these national organisations was evidenced by a scrap-book provided by the Rushworth family which detailed the outpouring of congratulations and acknowledgement for Mr William Rushworth's reception of the honour of MBE in 1931. The letters contained reflect not only the commercial but the personal nature of the relationship between William and his associates, who unanimously appreciate his efforts and dedication to causes both within the music industry and the sister arts, but also his charitable and philanthropic efforts across Merseyside and further afield, all in the name of 'public service'.

technologies and with the introduction of new modes of music reception and consumption to the Liverpool market.

William Rushworth displayed an extraordinary entrepreneurial ability to predict and forecast future trends in music consumption and reception. He had, at the turn of the twentieth century, predicted the growing popularity of the player-piano, whilst, in 1904, he had a patent granted for the construction of a new style of practice clavier piano, the Ardeton. As noted earlier, the next fashionable and contemporary musical development was the commercialisation of the recorded medium, the invention of the phonograph and gramophone, and the concept of ‘music without the musicians’. As a retailer of musical instruments, it might have been considered that a machine that recorded and replayed music, thus taking instruments out of the musician’s hands, would be seen as a direct threat to their primary business concern. However, as with many musical technological advances, Rushworths were at the forefront of the promotion of the new invention. The establishment of the headquarters of the Liverpool Gramophone Society at the Islington premises showed the positive reception of this new, modern technology by the firm. This was reinforced by a show room dedicated to the retail of gramophones and records. David Suisman explains the commercial advantages for retailers of the Gramophone, namely the ability to not only sell the player, but also the records. This was a particular aspect of the retailing of modern musical formats which Rushworth’s were quick to take advantage of. The site at Basnett Street included a music library, which was dedicated to the retail of sheet music, piano rolls, records and musical cylinders, as well as offering these items for short term hire. By 1928, the Rushworth Radio Department was offering ‘expert assistance when selecting a Radio Receiver or Radio-Gramophone,’ whilst they also highlight the fact that,

Rushworth & Dreaper’s Radio Department understand the peculiar features of every set on the market, and in a few minutes the enquirer can hear all the sets that are likely to appeal to him,

including His Master's Voice, Columbia, Marconiphone, Murphy, Pye, McMichael, Philips, Bush, Ferranti, Ecko, etc. This is done in an ingeniously arranged room where all the best models of the day are permanently wired to a special switchboard so that any receiver can be switched on. Radio engineers are also sent out to service radio apparatus at any reasonable distance, and there are also outdoor gramophone mechanics for similar work.³¹¹

Similarly, the Gramophone and Record Department were offering an 'unequalled selection of the finest Portable, Table Grand and Cabinet Gramophones by the best makers' whilst the company proclaims that 'The Record Department is probably the most comprehensive out of London'.³¹²

What this shows is that rather than be threatened by the prospect of changing channels of music consumption, Rushworths were at the very forefront of the marketing, publicity and retail of these new, music-reproducing devices designed to provide access to music without the necessity of practical tuition and musicianship. The fact that they offered products from the leading manufacturers, as well as dedicating space to the promotion, retail and trial of these new consumer products provides further evidence of the Rushworth's propensity to be at the forefront of the retail of new musical technological advancement and the foresight to embrace and specialise in the changing musical landscape.

The period between 1900 and 1914 was one of considerable personal and commercial growth for William and the Rushworth enterprise. The commercial opportunities which arose as a result of the shifting patterns of music consumption were quickly seized upon by William and provided the springboard for the company's success in the period until his death in 1944. In 1932, William's only son, William James Lyon Rushworth (known throughout the company, and in general, as 'Mr James') joined the family business, representing the fourth generation of continuous Rushworth involvement. For the next twelve years he would work for the

³¹¹ "One Hundred Years in Music", c. 1928. Rushworth & Dreaper LTD. Company Catalogue. p. 7

³¹² Ibid, p. 7

company, shadowing his father in his civic and societal duties, as well as gaining experience working in each of the different departments of the business. James travelled to meet manufacturers and suppliers across England, Europe, America and South Africa. The business had been transformed under the stewardship of William and the Rushworth family name was central to the commercial life of Liverpool, which, in 1932, remained the only English port to rival London in terms of tonnage of imports, exports and passenger travel.

This Chapter will first look at the economic condition of Liverpool during the first half of the twentieth century. Following this, it will then provide an exploration of the expansion of the business through the takeover of local musical retail competitors and offer an evaluation of the amalgamation of the organ works and the retail arms of the business under one Chairman/Managing Director, William. Analysis will follow on the impact that changing modern technologies and the shifting patterns and modes of music consumption were having on the musicians and the musical public and how this impacted upon the variety of products sold, modes of advertising and the amount of manual instruments sold and rates of musical tuition.

Twentieth Century Liverpool

A city profile detailing the economic fortunes of Liverpool's history highlights that 'the early twentieth century saw the peak of Liverpool's population and prosperity. In the years preceding World War One, Liverpool, especially if considered in combination with its industrial neighbour, Manchester, vied with London, hosting more embassies and consulates of foreign governments, and controlling comparable proportions of world trade, finance and shipping. The confidence which flowed from this position encouraged the city to pursue zealous works programmes for health, housing and transport.'³¹³ The first quarter of the century saw the

³¹³ Sykes, O., Brown, J., et al., 2013. 'City Profile: A City Profile of Liverpool'. *Cities*, 35, (2013), pp. 299-318

population steadily rise from approximately 700,000 in 1900 to around 870,000 in 1930, representing a high point in Liverpool's population. Adrian Jarvis provides a comprehensive account of the condition of 'life and work in Edwardian Liverpool'.³¹⁴ The principal economic indicators he describes in his account of Liverpool during the first decade of the twentieth century point to an increasingly multifaceted, skilled and affluent sector among the local populace. He outlines that whilst a high proportion of local wealth was generated through the function of the port, the associated trades and related industries were equally lucrative, for example,

the operators of horse drawn carts, wagons and delivery vans needed the skills of the shoeing smith regularly, as well as those of the saddler, the wheelwright, wagon builder, blacksmith, coach painter and sign writer from time to time [...] the underestimates of skills [in Liverpool] rests on a simple failure to understand that skills exist where there is money to pay for them and that in Liverpool there was plenty of money – as witnessed by the listing of over fifty coach and carriage builders in Gore's Directory for 1905.³¹⁵

Lamb and Smallpage highlight that at the turn of the twentieth century Liverpool's 'commerce was bounding forward – of the eight largest shipping companies in the world four have their offices in Liverpool'³¹⁶.

As was shown in chapter three, the Rushworth business was experiencing increasing profitability and growth during the first decade of the twentieth century. Edwin Rushworth, of the second generation (who was to die in 1911), had secured the future of the retail arm of the business and oversaw the succession of the firm to William, who had been 'employed in the business for some time'³¹⁷, and also his younger siblings, Edwin the Younger and Andrew Lidgate. William is generally credited as overseeing and directing the expansion of the

³¹⁴ Jarvis, A., 2003. 'In Troubled Times: The Port of Liverpool, 1905-1938'. *Research in Maritime History*, No. 26. pp. 14-22

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 20

³¹⁶ Lamb, C, L., and Smallpage, E., 1935. *The Story of Liverpool*. (Daily Post Printers: Liverpool). p. 73

³¹⁷ Articles of Partnership, 1897, EPLJ9709, p. 1

business, which, as explained, now operated from three separate city centre locations, whilst the headquarters at Islington was to expand its premises to occupy 11-17 Islington (rather than only 13 Islington). Perhaps the biggest development in the Rushworth business structure was the takeover of, and amalgamation with, two prominent Liverpool musical instrument retailers, W.H. and G. H. Dreaper in 1902 and E. J. Ward's in 1906. The restructuring of the Rushworth organisation, united for the first time the Retail arm of the company with the Organ Works under the sole control of William. It appears that the wave of Victorian prosperity had carried through into the Edwardian era – and William was well positioned to take advantage of the commercial opportunities that presented themselves in the form of takeovers, buyouts and amalgamations.

The Takeover of W. H and G. H. Dreaper

According to Edwin's private ledger, the first phase of the Dreaper takeover began as early as 1900, however it was not completed formally until 1902. The Dreaper business was also a family firm, which had passed from the hands of William Porter Dreaper onto his sons, William Henry and George Henry. They were a well-established piano manufactures and retailers who had been in operation in Liverpool since 1828. They had several patents registered for 'the improvement of the manufacture of pianofortes'³¹⁸ in 1854; 'improvements in pianofortes'³¹⁹ in 1861; and 'improvements in the construction of pianoforte hammers'³²⁰ in 1868. The Dreaper brothers died in advance of the takeover, William Henry in 1894 and George Henry in 1895.

³¹⁸ Patent No. 2671, 19th December 1854. W. P. Dreaper, "The improvement of the manufacture of pianofortes". Original duplicate specification provided by Rushworth family in support of research.

³¹⁹ Patent No. 1293, 21st May 1861. Wm. Porter Dreaper, "Improvements in pianofortes". Original duplicate specification provided by Rushworth family in support of research.

³²⁰ Patent No. 3563, 23rd November 1868. W. H. Dreaper, "Improvement in the construction of pianoforte hammers". Original duplicate specification provided by Rushworth family in support of research.

The amalgamation of the two firms resulted in the Rushworth Company being known henceforth as 'Rushworth and Dreaper'. This amalgamation enabled Rushworth's to change their established date to 1828, the date which signalled the establishment of the Dreaper family firm. Upon the purchase of the Dreaper business, the owners retired and none of the Dreaper's ever worked in the amalgamated business. The Rushworth Company would continue to use the Dreaper name until their closure in 2002. It is not known whether it was a condition of the amalgamation that Rushworth's would continue to use the Dreaper name, or whether, in order to use the earlier established date of 1828 (Rushworth's were in fact founded c.1840) they had to incorporate the Dreaper name in their title, or alternatively, that Rushworths wanted to profit from the goodwill and reputation of the Dreaper business. It may have been a commercial strategy as Rushworths continued to sell Dreaper pianos after the amalgamation of the businesses. Carnevali and Newton explain that,

Prestige and quality were concepts that manufacturers sought to convey, and established brand names became 'shorthand' for such attributes. This was especially important for a product with which the consumer was relatively unfamiliar, for brand name could simplify the consumer's judgement task when purchasing a piano. In 1911 Alfred Dolge wrote that 'one of the remarkable peculiarities of the piano industry is the great value of an established name'. He noted that the 'reputation of the instrument which a piano maker produces follows him beyond the grave, often for generations'.³²¹

Interestingly, from as early as 1899, twenty-two members of staff were transferred from Dreaper's to Rushworths. The phrase 'transferred' is actually used in the staff ledger, which indicates that this was a deliberate and planned procedure that was co-ordinated by the two firms. This could indicate that Dreaper business was experiencing financial difficulty and as a result had to lay-off numerous staff, or that succession of the company was unclear or difficult.³²² Rushworths was the obvious place in which they might retain employment within

³²¹ Carnevali, F., and Newton, L., 2013. 'Pianos for the People: From Producer to Consumer in Britain, 1851-1914. In, *Enterprise and Society*, 14 (1), p. 53

³²² It is not known who ran the Dreaper business between 1895, when the last Dreaper brother died, and 1902 when Rushworths finalised the takeover of the business. The suggestion that the Dreaper brothers 'retired' after the takeover is taken from James Rushworth business history.

the same industry. The fact that this number of staff was already based in Rushworths before the takeover would help ease the transition.

Dreaper's had long held the sole-agency for the sale of Broadwood pianos in Liverpool and the surrounding environs and had registered patents for the construction of the piano, which again, would have been advantageous to Rushworths in their capacity as Liverpool's primary piano retailer. Another benefit would have been the goodwill and respect for the Dreaper name, as was it felt locally, which would have proved beneficial to Rushworth's enterprise.³²³ The details regarding the amalgamation of the Rushworth and the Dreaper businesses are limited and it is difficult to clarify the exact nature of the transaction; whether it was planned and coordinated, or opportunistic or even hostile. From the sources we have available we can see two important facts. First, twenty-two members of staff were transferred ahead of the takeover to Rushworths, which would suggest the takeover was pre-empted and planned amicably. Second, the continuing use of the Dreaper name (which continued until the closure of the organ works in 2002) also suggests that this was a stipulation arranged during the arrangement of the transfer. Also, as shown in Rushworth piano catalogues from c.1928, the firm continued to stock and sell Dreaper pianos, which indicates that they were concerned with utilising the Dreaper brand name and continuing to retail their products. Another interesting aspect that this amalgamation highlights is that whilst Rushworth's were extending their products, service, employee numbers and branches, their competitors, such as Dreaper's, were contracting or closing. This also appears to be the case in the next case of a takeover, that of E. J. Ward's.

The Takeover of E. J. Ward's

³²³ Rushton, P., (ed.) 1994. *European Musical Instruments in Liverpool Museum*. (Alan Sutton Publishing Limited: Gloucestershire). pp. ix

Similar to the Dreaper business, Ward's enterprise pre-dates that of Rushworth, as they were operating in Liverpool from as early as 1803 and specialised in the manufacture and retail of military band instruments. Interestingly, Gore's Liverpool Directory for much of the latter part of the nineteenth century has Ward's entry in bold typescript with a detailed description of the services and interests of the firm, whilst a separate full-page advertisement is also included in the 1900 edition.³²⁴ At some point between 1901 and 1906 the Ward business was transferred to the next generation, E. J. Ward, and in November 1906 the Rushworth's purchased the business for a price of £230, which covered stock in hand (£180), tools (£30), fixtures (£10) and goodwill (£10).³²⁵ In modern context, £230 would equate to £24,978 in 2014.³²⁶ The value attached to goodwill is important. In this context goodwill refers to,

An intangible asset that arises as a result of the acquisition of one company by another for a premium value. The value of the company's brand name, solid customer base, good customer relations, good employee relations and any patents or proprietary technology represent goodwill. Goodwill is considered an intangible asset because it is not a physical asset like buildings or equipment. The goodwill account can be found in the asset portion of a company's balance sheet.³²⁷

Interestingly, this takeover signals a new aspect of the firm's diversification, since they were able to build on, and continue the goodwill and reputation of the Ward enterprise and use this to establish a new line of retail products: band and military instruments. This had the effect of removing one branch of competition, whilst opening up a new revenue stream via a new sector of the musical public and a new set of musical instruments, thus allowing the business to expand its scale and scope.

This arm of the retail enterprise would expand and 'supply national institutions such as H. M. Forces, Cadet Corps, Boy Scout Troops and Boys' and Church Lads' Brigades at home

³²⁴ *Gore's Directory of Liverpool and Birkenhead*, 1900, p. 1786 and 1787.

³²⁵ EPLJ9609, p. 24

³²⁶ <http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/education/Pages/resources/inflationtools/calculator/flash/default.aspx>

³²⁷ Definition from Investopedia.com

and abroad'³²⁸. It is interesting to note the establishment of a connection between Rushworth and various establishment institutions. This took the form of being 'contractors to his majesty's air ministry'³²⁹ and providing the pianos for the Cunard Ships: eight for the Queen Mary, twelve for the Queen Elizabeth and unknown number for the QE2. Rushworth company literature highlights that the supply of pianos for the Cunard ships was accompanied by a piano exhibition, which would show the pianos that were to be installed on the liners and were displayed at the Islington site. Ken Stabb³³⁰ explained that not only were the company responsible for installing the pianos on-board the ships, but they would also be requested to tune, renovate and service the pianos when the ships came back to Liverpool after their voyages around the world.

Rushworth Hall

William Rushworth's entrepreneurial ability was reflected in his decision to expand the Islington premises by constructing a 200 seat concert hall, the Rushworth Hall. This was not a particular new innovation as other retailers, such as Harrods, had engaged in the sponsorship of recitals and live performance in an attempt to attract customers to the retail outlet. Broadwood's had adopted a similar strategy in order to market and demonstrate the quality of their pianos. It was a common strategy for retailers to organise musical performance and demonstrations to help sell their products. Similar strategies were pioneered in the US as Steinway & Sons constructed a purpose built concert hall in 1866. Indeed, even within Liverpool, one of Rushworths main competitors, Cranes, had built the Crane Hall, shortly after

³²⁸ Rushworth & Dreaper LTD, Catalogue of Instruments for Drum & Bugle, Drum & Fife and Pipe Bands with Accessories (undated). Provided by Rushworth family in support of research.

³²⁹ As specified on letter head dated 24th June 1920, correspondence between Rushworth and RLPS

³³⁰ Ken Stabb was a Rushworth employee from 1944 until 1997 – he began as in the piano workshop and worked his way up through all piano departments including tuning, repairing, sales and eventually a departmental manager.

Rushworth in 1913.³³¹ Rushworth took this strategy one step further by developing a specialist department for concert agency and management which culminated in the creation of the Rushworth & Dreaper Concert and Entertainment Bureau.³³² The concert hall by providing on-site facilities and a ready-made venue for recitals, soloists, chamber music and vocalists. Despite the initial cost of construction, it would be expected that the outlay would be recouped by saving on the cost of hiring out other venues from third parties around the city. It would also provide the Concert Bureau with greater license to promote, advertise and manage the performances themselves. This illustrates again how a community provision (the concert hall) and commercial interest (the Concert Bureau) were working in tandem. Opened in 1910, Rushworth hall became an important venue for chamber music, recitals and festivals of all kinds. It had a 200 seat capacity and was opened by Richard Buhlig, who performed two pianoforte recitals. The *Musical Times* wrote of the opening of the new Hall,

The enterprising local concert agents, Messrs Rushworth & Dreaper, have recently completed a beautiful concert room, with seating accommodation for about 200, which will no doubt be largely made use for chamber concerts and musical recitals. Decorated in the Georgian style by Messrs Waring & Gillow³³³, this new and handsome addition to the none too numerous concert rooms in the city will be inaugurated by Mr Richard Buhlig, the first of which will be given on October 3rd.

The new Rushworth Hall will be the locale of three chamber concerts to be given by the Schiever Quartet which includes Messrs' Ernst Schiever, Alfred Ross, J. Rimmer and W. Hatton. Two concerts will also be given by a newly-formed small orchestra, the Victorian Court Orchestra, conducted by Mr Gordon E Stutely. The programmes are to be devoted to some of the lesser known classical works including Haydn's 'Military' and 'surprise' symphonies.³³⁴

³³¹ The Crane Hall was later renamed the Neptune Theatre. It is still open today and name the Epstein Theatre, after the famous manager of the Beatles, Brian Epstein.

³³² A full description and insight in to the purpose and function of the Rushworth Concert Bureau is provided later in Chapter Four, p. 12

³³³ Waring & Gillow were themselves an important, well-respected and, at least in part, Liverpool firm. The use of this firm signals both a certain taste and is an example of Rushworth's patronage of another firm in the city.

³³⁴ *The Musical Times*, October 1st 1910, p. 661

The formal opening of the Rushworth Hall was reviewed by the *Musical Times*,

The opening of the Rushworth Hall on October 3 was signalised by two pianoforte recitals given by Mr Richard Buhlig. The acoustic qualities of the room were favourably commented on, and fully tested in Mr Buhlig's admirable performances, although he is a player whose qualities are more fitly associated with a larger locale.³³⁵

Another aspect of William's entrepreneurial aptitude was outlined by David Rushworth, who, during a private interview, explained that, 'William positioned the Rushworth Hall off the back of the piano showroom. This meant that those who attended the performances had to walk twice past the pianos on display'.³³⁶ This is an example of a strategy used by William to maximise his business potential, whilst simultaneously contributing to the cultural life of the city – the perfect nexus of commerce and culture in action. It is possible that a musically engaged public, enthused and inspired by world-class performances, would be more likely examine the instruments on the way out as they walked past the 300 pianos that Rushworths had on permanent display. Although spur of the moment large purchases such as a piano were unlikely, the seed would have at least been planted. This could be combined with 'Gradual Payments to suit Purchasers' and 'Illustrated Catalogues [provided for] Free' and a standing on-site stock of pianos with prices ranging from £60 (for a Dreaper Grand) up to £250 (for an Erard Grand). In addition, Rushworths had an 'Exchange' policy with which 'a liberal allowance will be made for an old piano, Upright or Grand, in part payment for a new one'. Upright pianos were also stocked by major international manufacturers with prices ranging from £30 (for a Dreaper or Chappell Upright) up to £85 (for an Erard upright). It should also be noted that by 1909 Rushworth's had already established sole-agency agreement or were 'exclusive agents' for a

³³⁵ *The Musical Times*, November 1st 1910, p. 737

³³⁶ David Rushworth, Managing Director of the Fifth Generation (retail side), private interview (June 2012).

range of ‘world-famous manufacturers’ such as, ‘Erard, Chappell, Dreaper, Lipp & Sohn, Knabe (USA), Ronisch, Schiedmayer and Soehne’.³³⁷

In this instance we can see the commercial ‘domino-effect’ whereby one aspect of the Rushworth’s innovation and diversification, such as the creation of the Rushworth & Dreaper Concert Calendars³³⁸, would lead on to the creation of a Concert Bureau, which in turn would lead to the creation of the Rushworth Hall which, in turn, would then compliment and benefit the sales of pianos. The benefit to society would be encapsulated in the ability and opportunity to engage with world class performances and artists, whilst the benefit to the business would be to attract potential customers to the shop for purposes other than the primary function of selling/purchasing instruments. Liverpool’s musical public would frequent the Rushworth premises to take in a recital; meanwhile they would be surrounded by the promotion, advertisement and physical display of world-class instruments, complimented by a friendly, knowledgeable and professional sales and service staff. From this foundation the business would expand its facilities, services, attraction and departments to become not only the centre of Liverpool’s musical retail but the centre of musical performance and education.

The Development of the Organ Works

In August 1901 an agreement made between Walter Rushworth and his sons, Walter Maynard and Harry, transferred the business of ‘Walter Rushworth and Sons, Organ Builders’, over to them on his retirement. Walter Rushworth died in September 1903. A newspaper obituary reported on his death that ‘he had been in failing health for the past three years, never having properly recovered from the effects of a stroke, which had incapacitated him from taking an

³³⁷ For details of piano stock and prices see: The R&D Concert and Entertainment Calendar and Music Teachers Directory, 1908-09, p. 36-37

³³⁸ Details of the Rushworth Concert Calendars are included in Chapter Five

active part in the business'.³³⁹ Consequently the organ works passed into the hands of Walter's two sons, Harry and Walter Maynard Rushworth. In April 1908, an agreement between 'Harry and Walter Maynard Rushworth trading as Walter Rushworth & Sons in Mill Lane, Liverpool Organ Builders, and Edwin, William, Edwin the Younger, and Andrew Lidgate Rushworth, trading as Rushworth & Dreaper, 11-13 Islington, Liverpool Piano and Music Sellers', saw virtual³⁴⁰ control of the organ building arm of the firm passed over to the piano-retail side. In March 1911, a deed was agreed between Walter Maynard and Harry Rushworth and Rushworth and Dreaper Ltd whereby, supplement to the 1908 agreement, the retail arm, under the management of William, would take over the concern of Walter Rushworth & Sons organ builders, and continues to employ Walter Maynard and Harry. Edwin Rushworth Senior did not sign on behalf of Rushworth & Dreaper on this occasion.³⁴¹

According to Maynard's company history, the organ works was removed to larger premises at Great George Street, Liverpool, 'in order to cope with the greatly increased amount of work to be undertaken'³⁴². The move of the Organ Works from Mill Lane to Great George Street occurred in 1908.³⁴³ The necessity to relocate to larger premises could well have been a deciding factor in the transfer of the organ building interest over to the control of the William Rushworth. During a private interview with Maurice Eglington, an organ builder who had previously been Managing Director of organ building firm, Hele & Co., he stated that 'Rushworth's always dealt in the big jobs'³⁴⁴ – indicating that the Rushworth organ building firm was interested in obtaining larger, potentially more profitable contracts. This may have

³³⁹ Newspaper Obituary, unsourced, undated. Provided by Rushworth family in support of research. Included in appendix.

³⁴⁰ Not sure what is meant by 'virtual' control but that is the word used in the notes of James Rushworth, which this section is based on

³⁴¹ Details taken from: James Rushworth, History File, abstracts from old documents. Unsourced, undated, loose hand-written papers provided by family in support of the research.

³⁴² WMR1942, p.2

³⁴³ See, *The Musical Times*, July 1st 1912, p. 430, for details of 'their new cathedral organ works'.

³⁴⁴ Maurice Eglington, unrecorded interview (June 2012) – handwritten notes.

provided the motivation to remove from Mill Street to larger premises at Great George Street. There is clear evidence in papers collected from the Rushworth family that the company did go on to construct some of the Britain's largest pipe organs (for example, the 5-manual organ at Christ Hospital, Horsham, the largest school organ in Britain). The process of manufacturing cathedral pipe organs, for example, required ample space to fully construct the organ within the organ works, take the instrument completely apart before shipping, then and re-assemble it on site at the intended location. The fact that Rushworth's would have multiple contracts to fulfil simultaneously necessitated having larger premises in which to house the work-in-progress and jobs being undertaken.

Rushworth's Concert and Entertainment Bureau

As already referred to, perhaps the biggest development is the creation of the 'Rushworth and Dreaper Concert and Entertainment Bureau' which (in their own words), 'has been a natural growth out of the increasingly large numbers of high-class Concerts, Recitals and Entertainments which have been under the direction of Rushworth and Dreaper during recent years'.³⁴⁵ This could be described as a related diversification, in that it was still in music, but very different from retailing or manufacturing, focussed more on offering a service. The firm summarised the aims and objectives of this particular department as follows:

1. A complete Register is kept of the terms, etc., of the leading Artists and Organisations of the day in every branch of the Musical and Entertainment Profession including those of local repute.
2. Artists, Entertainers, Orchestras and Bands are supplied on the most favourable terms for At Homes, Banquets, Balls, Dinners, Receptions, Garden Parties, and public and private functions of every description.

³⁴⁵ The R&D Concert and Entertainment Calendar and Music Teachers Directory, 1908-09, p. 14

3. The entire management and organisation of Concerts, and the Musical and Entertainment Features in connection with the Bazaars, Exhibitions, etc., etc., is undertaken.³⁴⁶

It appears that in their capacity as Concert Agents, the Rushworth's entertainment bureau catered for the needs, demands and requirements of the artists, the venue and public. The process of staging a concert, performance or recital went as follows: Firstly, Rushworths would negotiate the terms and price of the performer with their agent, who was usually based in London, these included Ibbs and Tillett, Max Mossel and Messrs Harold Holt and Harold Fielding.³⁴⁷ Following this Rushworth's would find a Liverpool venue for the performance; these included the Philharmonic Hall, St Georges Hall, the Yamen Rooms (Bold Street) and Central Hall (Renshaw Street). Finally, Rushworths would undertake all the bookings, promotions, advertisements and specific concert and artiste requirements such as providing instruments, amplification, staffing and seating arrangements. In addition to this, in specific instances, the Rushworths would negotiate the terms of payment between the artists and the venue and negotiate terms for cancellations or non-attendance of performances and artistes. As a catalogue celebrating 'one hundred years in music' outlines,

[the Concert Bureau] undertakes every detail of management – seating, ticket printing, sales, decorations, poster and press announcements, programmes, circulars, provision of stewards and all staff, attention to bye-laws and Entertainment Tax requirements – in fact, everything that goes to make an entertainment a social and financial success.³⁴⁸

The Rushworth Concert Bureau provided a fully comprehensive and all-encompassing service to the Liverpool musical public and musical venue proprietors and managers. The roster of international and local performers, artistes, soloists and orchestras featured in events organised and run by the Bureau is equally impressive with big-name acts such as Madame Melba

³⁴⁶ The R&D Concert and Entertainment Calendar and Music Teachers Directory, 1908-09, p. 14

³⁴⁷ Tide, in his article on 'A Unique Music Firm', refers to these agents as 'London impresarios'. Tide, T, O., 1947. Liverpool: A Unique Music Firm. In, Henrichsen's Musical Year Book, VOL. IV-V, 1947-48.

³⁴⁸ 'One Hundred Years in Music' with compliments of Rushworth & Dreaper: The Great Music House – company catalogue, c. 1928, p. 9

(Soprano), Madame Clara Butt (Contralto), Signor Caruso (Tenor), Mischa Elman (Violinist), Backhaus, Paderewski and Buhlig (Pianists), Schiever, Berlin, Vienna, Boston and Brussels (Quartets) and the London Symphony, London New Symphony, Queen Hall, Liverpool Symphony and the Halle (Orchestras).³⁴⁹ Interestingly, the firm also publicised their ability to arrange all kinds of entertainment for all kinds of social events from ‘London or Continental Celebrity of the first rank’, to a ‘magician or Punch-and-Judy exponent for a children’s party’.³⁵⁰ This really highlights the firms’ ability to cater and accommodate all types of musical occasion, available for all sectors of Liverpool’s populace and all age groups.

The approach of the Rushworth Concert and Entertainment Bureau is encapsulated by the frequency and content of the correspondence between the Rushworth business and the Liverpool Philharmonic Society. A letter dated, 13th April, 1908, from the Philharmonic to Rushworth’s provides details of the committee quoting a price of, ‘15 guineas for the proposed 4 morning concerts with Mr Schiaren’s Quartet for the Saloon, Phil Hall, Hope Street – this includes seating, lights, fires, with the use of ladies and gentleman cloak rooms. The seating accommodation is 350 – any other information I will give with pleasure should you require it.’³⁵¹ This provides evidence that, as early as 1908, the Rushworth Concert Bureau was bringing music to the city, liaising with local music venues, musical society, international concert agents and performers, all in an effort to bring world class musical performance to Liverpool and encourage an atmosphere of musical appreciation across the region. It is difficult to quantify for the financial success of this venture for the Rushworth Company; it is equally difficult to document the number of performances or events that the firm was organising

³⁴⁹ This is only a sample of some of the more popular performers on the Rushworth repertoire. For full listings of artists and performers available under the Rushworth roster, see: The R&D Concert and Entertainment Calendar and Music Teachers Directory, 1908-09, p. 15

³⁵⁰ ‘One Hundred Years in Music’ with compliments of Rushworth & Dreaper: The Great Music House – company catalogue, c. 1928, p. 9

³⁵¹ LRO 780 PHI 0/111 Letter Book, p. 51

annually. However, through their role as ‘enterprising’ concert agents it is clear they had placed the company right at the centre of the musical life of the city and through this were making a direct and important cultural contribution to the locality.

Concert and Entertainment Calendars and Music Teachers Directory

The first decade of the twentieth century marked the beginning of a period in which William would privately and publically increase the profile and reputation of the both himself, personally, and the business, generally. The creation, publication and distribution of the Concert and Entertainment Calendar marked a shift from the traditional model of business enterprise to a more socially orientated approach aimed at servicing the musical public and arousing interest, appreciation and interaction with practical musicianship and musical performance. The booklet, perfectly sized to fit in an overcoat or jacket pocket, or handbag, was designed to provide an overview of the musical, artistic and cultural life of the city, and provide access to events, performances, recitals and entertainment across the region. The firm stated:

we aim in our business to cover ‘Everything in Music’ that is artistic and reliable, from the largest Pipe Organs to a sheet of music or the smallest fitting for any kind of musical instrument. We therefore deem it in our interest to foster and further to the utmost of our power the love of good music. Hence the annual publication and free distribution of this Calendar, and the many high-class Concerts and Recitals given under our direction each year.

An entirely New Feature this year is the inclusion of a Classified Directory of Music Teacher’s resident in Liverpool and district, which we trust will prove helpful to Parents and Students, as well as members of the profession.³⁵²

It is important to note that in this statement the firm’s vision of cultural contribution and public service is always connected to generating profits for the company. The quote above includes the phrase ‘in our interest’ which highlights the fact that the business strategy was as important

³⁵² The R&D Concert and Entertainment Calendar and Music Teachers Directory, 1908-09, p. 2

a consideration as the cultural contribution. This demonstrates the nexus of commerce (business objectives) and culture (distribution of concert calendars, free of charge) through the lens of a musical family business.

Rushworth Stringed Instrument Manufacture

Despite the technological advances impacting upon music reception, consumption and participation, there is clear evidence that, during the inter-war period, William was eager to maintain and promote traditional classical musical heritage. This took the form of the collation and housing of the Rushworth Antique Musical Instrument Museum³⁵³, but was also apparent in his commitment to the manufacture of instruments from the classical repertoire. The workshops which were housed on-site in the Islington premises were designed, primarily, to deal with the reconditioning, repairing and manufacture of pianos. However, by c.1920, the instrument manufacture enterprise had expanded to incorporate the construction of many stringed instruments, namely: violins, violas and cellos.

Professor Harvey makes reference to Rushworth and Dreaper several times in his book on ‘the Violin family’. He advances the opinion that Rushworth was the primary retail outlet in Liverpool if one was interested in purchasing a violin. The research of Professor Harvey refers to the inter-war period; however, this opinion has been substantiated by interviews conducted with different violin enthusiasts. Kenneth Ford explained that,

my violin tutor, who only dealt with Rushworths, went into the shop at Islington – I had drawn out my savings, and they gave her two violins to choose from, in my price range. They were about £15, which was expensive in those days but they were much better instruments. I was so surprised that they would let her bring them to me to try the instrument before I bought it. Fallowfield was a great guy, he travelled over from Wallasey, he took you under his wing and would really encourage you to do more. They also had a guy called Richmond Bird, and

³⁵³ The accumulation and impact of the Rushworth Antique Collection of Musical Instrument will be discussed in Chapter Five

inevitably, with Liverpool humour of course, he was known as “Dicky” Bird and he was from Wolverhampton, I think, and he was a skilled individual violin maker. He was appointed by Rushworth’s as the chief luthier in the 1930s. It was at that time that they started to make their own violins, but they also imported quite a lot and they traded them themselves. They brought many instruments over ‘in white’, before the varnish, and they varnished them and sold. The best ones they made were the Ardeton range.³⁵⁴

What this example shows is that Rushworths were respected in the field of violin repairs and manufacture. Many interviewees have observed that Rushworths was not only a place to purchase a violin, but a place where the touring orchestras, playing in Liverpool, would visit to practice before the evening performance or a where one would go as a professional musician to have a violin checked over, re-strung and tuned. Players from the string section of the Liverpool philharmonic orchestra were regular customers of Rushworths and were granted permission to rehearse and prepare for performances at the Rushworth Hall. This reinforces the fact that Rushworths would only employ the highest calibre of staff - Fallowfield, Bird and Hennie were at the top of their profession. This is a factor which contributed the longevity of the business and the loyalty of the customers.

The quality of instruments available at Rushworths was also displayed in their catalogue. The Rushworth Company provided detailed, high quality, and immensely informative catalogues that not only provided details of the instruments available for purchase, but also provides ‘notes on choosing a violin’; ‘terms of business,’ which includes details of payment terms, ordering, guarantees and delivery; and short biographies of ‘the great masters of violin making’ which details makers from the Italian, French, German and English Schools of manufacture, with an accompanying section on ‘the great masters of violin bow making’; another section follows on ‘hints on the care of the violin’; a section and price list covering ‘violin and violin bow repairs’; the catalogue also includes ‘tools for violin makers’; and details

³⁵⁴ Kenneth Jones, recorded interview, 14th August 2013

of sheet ‘music for violin, viola and ‘Cello’. What the publication and distribution of the violin catalogue displays is not only the quality of the catalogues but also the importance the business placed on advertising, marketing and company literature and how it reinforced the company image and reputation. The catalogue contains fifty-six pages with only thirty-three dedicated to advertisements and sales, whilst the rest were concerned with education, knowledge and violin care and accessories.³⁵⁵

Professor Brian Harvey in his study on the Violin Family made several references to Rushworth’s and the development of the violin workshop. In this section, Harvey goes through the primary violin retailers across the country,

in the north there was John Owen at Leeds and, one of the few female workers at this time, his daughter Ivy Rimmer Owen. In Manchester there were the major establishments of Thomas Earle Hesketh and the Voigts. In Liverpool one of the more obvious places to go was Rushworth & Dreaper where workshop violins were made in the ‘Arde-ton’ range under the supervision, and in some cases personally by, Richmond Bird.³⁵⁶

Harvey provides a detailed ‘Directory of Makers’ which highlights the important Manufacturers – Rushworth’s receives a particularly detailed and informative account,

RUSHWORTH & DREAPER. This Liverpool-based firm, now Rushworth’s Music House Ltd., was established in 1828 and its letterhead indicates: ‘Five Generation Family Music House – the largest in Europe’. Their well-known ‘Arde-ton’ stringed instruments were made between 1920 and 1943, mostly by an individual maker who was a member of a workshop team. Contrary to widely held belief, the violins were made by Richard S. Williams and Frank Fallowfield (who worked for the firm for over 60 years), Richmond (‘Dickie’) Bird made violas, and cellos were made by George Hemmings. All craftsmen were trained by Bird. Varnishing was mostly by George Hemmings from his own recipe and the timber and fittings were from Germany. There were some 162 violins, 7 violas and 25 cellos. The name ‘Arde-ton’ comes from ‘A. Rushworth-Dreaper, made in Islington’ (courtesy of Garth Hennie, Manager, Violin Dept.). (Instruments

³⁵⁵ Violins, Violas, Cellos, Double Basses, Strings and Accessories – issued by Rushworth & Dreaper, Stringed Instrument Specialists, Liverpool, c.1930

³⁵⁶ Harvey, B. W., 1995. *The Violin Family and its Makers in the British Isles*. (Clarendon Press: London). p.291

labelled ‘Apollo’ are thought to have been imports.) ‘Ardeton’ violins sold for £20 in c.1930, new, and cellos £40 new.^{357 358}

The manufacture of stringed instruments represented a link to the classical repertoire of musical and a diversion that complemented the manufacture of the Ardeton Rushworth piano (practice-clavier). What this section illustrates is that William Rushworth was adaptable and entrepreneurial in the fact that he was always seeking new streams of revenue and would accommodate these new ventures by providing workshop space, catalogues and marketing material, but most importantly, he would acquire the best staff and high-quality luthiers to produce and manage the manufacture process – as the employment of Richmond Bird from Wolverhampton exemplifies. It is difficult to explain the quality of the violin catalogue as it requires a tactile approach to appreciate the investment, time and production that went into its creation; but the catalogues were not only of high quality, durable, on high quality glossy paper – but in terms of content they were informative, detailed, wide-ranging and educational. Perhaps more importantly, it provides a clear illustration of William’s approach to retail; he was all-encompassing – his retail outlet catered for all skill levels, all price ranges and provided everything from tools to make and mend instruments, to strings, accessories, music stands and violin outfits (which consisted of violin, bow, case, chin and shoulder rests, spare strings, tuning fork and tutor diagrams). These ‘outfits’ were designed to cater for all skill levels from ‘beginner’, ‘student’, ‘academy’, and ‘conservatoire’. The case of violin retail exemplifies the end-to-end music service that Rushworths promoted that was replicated in all departments, whether it was pianos, records, gramophones, violins or cathedral pipe organs. The company catered for all musical tastes, all abilities, all products and all major suppliers and

³⁵⁷ Ibid., p.381

³⁵⁸ Incidentally, Harvey provides evidence that several Ardeton have been sold at auction at Sotheby’s. S6/90/69, Ardeton, Liverpool, £2,090; S11/92/28, Ardeton, 1925, £770; S11/92/316, Ardeton, Liverpool, 1925, £880.’ The references at the bottom refer to instruments sold at auction in Sotheby’s – so in this case, the references reflects, Sotheby’s, June 1990, lot 69 (S 6/90/69).

manufacturers. The business strategy was, in part, facilitated by William's social standing on a national level and reinforced by his links with many of Britain's major cultural and musical institutions, organisations and manufacturers. As the next chapter will show, William was held in the highest regard by his peers and associates.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of the business development of the Rushworth business under William. The important developments being the amalgamation of the retail and the organ works under the sole stewardship of William, the takeover of the Dreaper and Ward music retail businesses, the diversification into stringed instrument manufacture and the financial and business development which set the foundation upon which they could develop their family approach to cultural contribution.

The musical landscape changed during the first half of the twentieth century as new technologies enabled the musical public to purchase and interact with 'live' music in their homes through the recorded medium. No longer was it essential to leave the house, purchase tickets and attend a concert in order to interact with music. The development of player-pianos, gramophones, radio and later LP's enabled musical performance to be heard without practical musicianship. Rushworth's were at the forefront of retailers efforts to bring the new consumer technologies to market and providing access to player-pianos, gramophones and later Radio, record players and television. Rushworth's embraced the new modern era and facilitated the growth of the new musical market in Liverpool.

However, during the twentieth century, as World War One approached, music witnessed the beginning of a sea-change in consumption and reception, as a result of modern technology. What was the impact on the instrument retailer? We know that in Liverpool, for example, many of Liverpool's music halls, music venues and clubs closed down (e.g.

Rushworth Hall in 1960, the Casbah in June 1962, the Iron Door Club in 1964, the Cavern 1973, Eric's in March 1980, the Olympia in 1987, the Wellington Rooms in 1997, the Picket in 2004 – all closed down at various points of the twentieth century). Was this a result of replacing actual musicians and live performance with recorded music? The new technology negated the effect of practical musicianship; whereas, during the nineteenth century, if you wanted to hear a particular piece by Beethoven or Strauss, then you had to frequent the Philharmonic, or the Rodewald, or the Rushworth Concerts at Rushworth Hall, this changed once you could enjoy the music of a full orchestra from the comfort of your own home through the technology of the gramophone. In fact, according to Sir Henry Wood, the listening experience improved as you now had the ability to play back, over and over again, your favourite piece of music, your favourite section, by your favourite composer/orchestra, in the comfort of your own home, without the distraction of the audience. The gramophone provided the opportunity to study and analyse music, to familiarise and enjoy, repetitively, musical performance.

Conversely, before the onset of the recorded medium and 'music without the musicians' it is likely that you would only have the opportunity to hear your favourite classical piece once or twice per lifetime, if you were lucky, depending on whether the orchestra, conductor or society were playing that particular piece. What was the impact of the concept of 'music without musicians' (or recorded music) on engagement with actual live, human, performed music? A shrinking market? Fewer musicians? Less people actively taking up musical tuition? Attendances at the Rushworth & Dreaper Music Festival indicate that music studentship was on the rise. One indicator could be the contents of the Rushworth Concert Calendars. In 1908 the booklet (which during the course of their existence/publication did not change in size and scale) had a total of 60 pages, in 1930-31 it totalled 136 pages, and however, in 1950-51 it dropped to 36 pages. Rushworths survived and even took advantage of these changes, through

William's leadership, complimented by his wider activities. Whatever the case, William had created the solid foundation provided by a profitable and expanding business in which he could extend his social capital, his public service and the function of the Rushworth Company as the centre of all musical engagement. William reinvested profits in the business, creating new facilities and departments which were designed to service and facilitate the musical community. The next chapter will focus on the development and evolution of William's cultural contribution and assess how the local civic culture provided the framework and opportunity through which William could engender an atmosphere of musical engagement and appreciation which would ultimately benefit and increase the profitability of his business.

Chapter Five

William Rushworth – entrepreneurship, philanthropy and cultural contribution

Introduction

In 1907 Liverpool celebrated the 700th of anniversary of the granting of King John's charter. To mark the occasion, the city planned a series of civic celebrations which would culminate in a pageant through the city centre intended to celebrate the commercial, economic and cultural history of the city. Liverpool had entered the twentieth century with confidence in its economic sustainability and this was reflected in the construction of grand architectural projects that projected the wealth of the local Corporation and commercial elites – the Port of Liverpool Building (built between 1903-1907), the Royal Liver Building (1908-1911) and the Cunard Building (1914-16) form the 'three graces' which mark Liverpool's historic and iconic waterfront, whilst Liverpool Anglican Cathedral had its foundation stone laid by King Edward VII in 1904.³⁵⁹

Just as the city of Liverpool was riding the wave of Victorian prosperity, so too was the Rushworth business, which, at the turn of the century, was still in the process of growth, diversification and expansion. Under the stewardship of William (1897-1944), the business would move from strength to strength incorporating new products, new services and new departments designed to cater for all the Liverpool musical and needs of local residents. During the first decade of the twentieth century the business would expand into the field of 'Concert Agents' and develop a 'Concert and Entertainment Bureau'. To compliment this aspect of the business' diversification, in 1906 William arranged the printing, publication and distribution (free of charge) of the 'Rushworth & Dreaper Concert and Entertainment Calendar and Music

³⁵⁹ Although the cathedral was not officially opened until 1978.

Teachers Directory'. In 1908, the first correspondence between the Rushworth business and the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic is archived at Liverpool Record Office, marking the beginning of personal and commercial relationship that would flourish and continue for over a century.

This Chapter will examine the achievements of William Rushworth, providing an insight into his vision to make his firm the centre of music across Merseyside. His devotion to the promotion of music and providing access to musical education increased his profile across the nation and this benefitted the business as Rushworths became the administrators and headquarters of several prominent local and national institutions (e.g. the British Music Society, the Arts Council Great Britain, The Liverpool Philharmonic Club, Liverpool Organist and Choirmasters Society, the Gramophone Society). Under his guidance the business expanded its premises, incorporating Americanised window displays, lighting, advertisements and publicity, as well as adopting a department store approach to music instrument retail. This led to an increasing the number of services designed to attract and support the musical endeavours and interests of the public (e.g. a concert hall, a lecture hall, practice studios, recording studios, a café and a museum). The firm would sponsor, administrate and organise musical competitions, festivals and performances, including brass band competitions, popular concerts and the Rushworth festival of music and verse. The organ works would experience similar growth during the first decade of the twentieth century as the factory was relocated from modest premises on Mill Street, near Islington, to much larger premises at Great George Street in 1908. The success of the business enabled William to increase his public profile and respectability and this led to him sitting on the boards and committees of several musical, cultural and artistic societies and institutions. Through his energy, commitment and contribution to music, arts and culture he would further raise the reputation and profile of the Rushworth enterprise.

As has been established in Chapter Three, the period 1897-1908 was one of substantial growth, expansion, diversification and profitability for the Rushworth business. The success of the firm during this period provided the capital requirements and economic base upon which they could begin to align their commercial expansion with an interest and involvement in and amongst Liverpool's cultural and societal milieu. This enabled them to begin focussing on the public service and education aspects of their company vision. According to music critic Herbert Sinclair, William Rushworth of the third generation was, 'the greatest individualist on the retail side of the trade'. In a statement of support, Sinclair continues to outline his vision of the future of retail,

you may hear, today or tomorrow, that the day of the individual is gone, and that for the future it is the huge organisation, with its tentacles spread all over the country, that is to rule industry. I don't believe it. I believe in personal service, and those two words epitomise the Rushworth & Dreaper business.³⁶⁰

It is perhaps following their death that we learn most about personalities and characters; their morals and mind-sets. In the case of William Rushworth, we have a businessman whose knowledge, experience, dedication and contribution earned him the title of 'father of Liverpool music',³⁶¹ according to David Webster, the Chairman of the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Society at the time of William's death in 1944. Under the leadership of William, the Rushworth music business expanded, diversified and became the centre of music in Liverpool. He was much concerned with providing access to music for all sectors of Liverpool's diverse class and social systems. Uniquely, Rushworths was a centre of social interaction and cultural exchange; a place where magistrates, merchants and surgeons would mix with labourers and clerks. As many Rushworth staff have confirmed during interviews, Rushworths had one guideline which illustrates their open and inclusive attitude, 'You can speak about anything in store except

³⁶⁰ Sinclair, H., May 1927. "The Music Centre of Liverpool". *The Pianomaker*. pp. 1397

³⁶¹ Newspaper cutting, family documents, date and source unknown.

religion and politics'.³⁶² William expanded the services, facilities and instruments that could be purchased at the Islington site. Consequently, the premises also expanded from occupying only 13 Islington, it soon grew to encompass 11-17 Islington. The facilities and services increased accordingly – rather than focussing solely on what products could be sold, William was determined to focus more on the manner in which the success of his firm could facilitate participation in, appreciation of, and interaction with, music. This chapter will detail, and account for, the causes, interests and associations which, under William, Rushworths housed, facilitated, organised and sponsored.

Dave Russell explains the tendency of music historians to offer ‘a one-dimensional view whereby social and economic factors create a superstructure within which music operates, largely ignoring music’s potential, in turn, to shape and structure the society that created it’.³⁶³ In many ways, this represents the dominant narrative framework of the Rushworth history – to what extent did they create the environment in which the business would flourish and increase in profitability? Conversely, to what extent were Rushworths a product of their environment – how were they benefitted, or limited, by their socio-economic, cultural and geographic environment? As well as pointing to the agency of the Rushworths in transforming the musical life of the city/region, it could also be suggested that Rushworths were swept along in a wave of increasing musical engagement, interaction and participation as the English musical renaissance brought about a more involved musical public.

This chapter will first analyse how the business grew and diversified under the stewardship of William; accounting for the growth in facilities and departments which were designed to promote the virtues of music and provide space for music education, participation

³⁶² This has been confirmed by several interviewees; but one specific example came from, Pamela Parkinson (private recorded interview, June 2013).

³⁶³ Russell, D., 1987. *Popular music in England, 1840-1914: A Social History*. (Manchester University Press: Manchester). p. xii

and dissemination to flourish. As well as accounting for the growth of the business and the increasing public profile and societal presence of the family, and providing some context to the activities and contribution of the Rushworth family, this chapter will also provide a portrait of Liverpool's civic and cultural community. It will give an overview of many of Liverpool's cultural institutions, societies and associations and show the diversity, plurality and functioning of some of these central organisations (as well as accounting for the Rushworth's direct role and contribution within these organisations, spanning several generations). Consequently, the Rushworth retail business became nationally recognised and William founded, or was on the executive committee of, some of England's most important musical and cultural organisations. It is clear that William was very active in Liverpool's civic life and worked tirelessly to promote music, the arts and culture. He was interested in creating an engaged, educated and appreciative musical public, aiming at all sectors of Liverpool public, all strata of the local class system and across a broad span of age-groups. More interesting is the active engagement William had within the many organisations with which he was associated – he didn't merely sit on the board and committees in a ceremonial capacity – he was central to the planning, organisation, administration, fund-raising and publicity for all the associations with which he was connected. He devoted much time and resources to his causes and the dedications, memorials and testimonials delivered by the various associations and organisations upon the receipt of his MBE and upon his death reflect the high esteem with which he was held and the respect, recognition and appreciation for all William contributed to Liverpool throughout his life in the spirit of public service. William's son, James, would continue this proud tradition of public service and cultural contribution to Liverpool into the post-war period.

William Rushworth and ‘The Development of a Retail Music Business’

The impact that William’s initiatives and ideals were having on the Liverpool musical and cultural environment resulted in him becoming a founder-member of the Federation of British Music Industries³⁶⁴, of which he was honorary treasurer and member of the Council; and Vice-President of its later development, the Music industries Council.³⁶⁵ The Federation, instituted in c.1910³⁶⁶, was designed to ‘effect a more complete union than has hitherto existed between the art and craft sides of music’.³⁶⁷

The following acknowledgement of William’s contribution to the Federation is outlined in the statement below, highlighting of the health the trade in pianos during 1912-13 and the problems still to be overcome:

BRITISH MUSIC TRADES CONVENTION

The annual conference of this body was held at Buxton on May 23-26. About 300 members were present. The commodious Empire Hotel was requisitioned for the occasion. The President, Mr. William Rushworth, said that British Manufacturers of pianofortes had progressed enormously during the last few years. He remarked that one evil they must set themselves to abolish was the stencilling of cheap foreign pianofortes with names that enabled agents to derive an extortionate profit.³⁶⁸

William’s involvement with the Federation of British Music Industries provided an opportunity to further enhance his growing reputation and educate his peers in the music trade on the management and organisation of a music retail business. In 1924 William Rushworth was 53

³⁶⁴ *The Musical Times*, August 1944, p. 255. ‘Obituary – William Rushworth’

³⁶⁵ Details taken from Newspaper Obituary provided by the Rushworth family – date and source unknown. (include in appendix)

³⁶⁶ Sources and documents related to the formation of the Federation of British Music industries are difficult to find, and therefore, it is difficult to establish exactly when and how this organisation came about. However, a document provided by the Rushworth family, ‘The Development of a Retail Music Business’ (May 1924) highlights that this was ‘a paper read at the fourteenth annual convention of the British Music Industries’ which would indicate an established date of around 1910.

³⁶⁷ *The Musical Times*, March 1st, 1922, p. 202

³⁶⁸ *The Musical Times*, July 1st, 1913, p. 467

years old and the business was reaching its zenith in terms of profitability, size, importance and cultural influence. During this year he was invited by the Federation of British Music Industries to prepare and deliver a paper to his fellow music dealers on the ‘Development of a Retail Music Business’. During the same convention Sir Henry J. Wood delivered a paper on ‘the influence of the gramophone on musical culture’, showing how Rushworth was sharing the billing, mixing and socialising, with much-esteemed company amongst the musical elites of Britain. According to David Rushworth, William, his grandfather, was not a great public orator and was reluctant to address the audience directly, so asked for the paper to be read on his behalf.³⁶⁹ However, the content of this paper provides a clear indication of William’s expertise, experience, knowledge and attention to detail in all matters connected to the success of his business and the retail of musical instruments. More importantly, this paper explains William’s rationale and strategy, which will be examined below through short case-studies, and illustrates the Rushworth approach to culture and commerce through their music business. The most revealing aspect of this detailed paper, which covers twenty-nine pages, is the regular acknowledgement of the importance of connecting the business with the community. William outlines specifically the benefits of establishing links with the artistic establishments, associations, societies and orchestras – insisting that the success of the business can be linked directly to the musical life of the city.

In the introduction to the paper, William explains the peculiarities of the trade and how, in conjunction with the efforts of the federation of British music industries, who were pushing for ‘the inclusion of music in the general curriculum of elementary education’, the retailers (or ‘dealers’ as he calls them) can ‘use all their influence and energy in their own neighbourhoods, in support of the broad policy of the Federation’. He continues to explain his belief in, ‘the

³⁶⁹ David Rushworth, Private Interview, March 2013

necessity of making his establishment the centre of the every possible musical activity in his locality, by unstinted service to the community'.³⁷⁰

The article provides several references to the importance of the local music retail establishments in cultivating and facilitating local music and culture. It also provides a description of the various roles of different departments in the Rushworth organisation, highlighting their duties, aims and objectives, and is direct in its insistence that there must be a connection between the organisation, the public and the music world at large. For example, William covers sections on: advertising and newspapers; publicity for music in the town; the value of the annual concert calendars; the development of a specialised concert bureau; the box office (which he claims 'introduces to the dealer's premises a still wider circle of the money-spending public [...] making his premises the hub of his City's musical activity'); assistance to every form of local musical effort (this involved the retailer 'associating himself as actively as possible with every local musical organisation and society, identifying himself with their committees, offering them accommodation for meetings and rehearsals, and assisting them in their executive and clerical work'); the music teachers association; work in schools; music study circles; lecture concerts in schools by a pianoforte trio; orchestral concerts for young folk (Rushworth proclaims that 'the concerts should not represent a financial proposition, but the loss will prove to be an investment for the future years in creating a music-loving public.');

proportion of hire purchase to cash sales; premises (here he informs us that 'He [the music dealer] should provide accommodation and all possible assistance for music teachers to give student recitals in his rooms.'³⁷¹

³⁷⁰ Rushworth, W., 1924. "The Development of a Retail Music Business". Paper delivered at: the fourteenth annual convention of the British Music Industries. p. 3

³⁷¹ Rushworth, W., 1924. "The Development of a Retail Music Business". Paper delivered at: the fourteenth annual convention of the British Music Industries.

Sir Henry J. Wood, ‘The Influence of the Gramophone on Musical Culture’

Just as William was outlining his vision of the role of the music dealer in providing access and provisions for music consumption, production and education, Sir Henry Wood³⁷², at the same conference, delivered a paper which explored the challenges and opportunities offered by a new musical technology, the gramophone. The impact that this new technology was having on the development of musical culture was characterised by Sir Henry J. Wood, in a paper delivered at the fourteenth annual convention of the British Music Industries in May 1924. This, incidentally, was the same convention at which William had delivered his paper on the ‘Development of a Retail Music Business’.³⁷³ Wood makes several pertinent points about the positive impact of the gramophone on musical culture, education and performance. His intimation that the gramophone should be characterised as a musical instrument is an interesting perspective. He states that ‘unless it [the gramophone] be a musical instrument it can have no influence on musical culture.’ In his opinion,

the gramophone as we know it today is a musical instrument capable of highly artistic performance of music. It is an instrument which is already – and will increasingly be – of a great influence on musical culture [...] the gramophone more than any other single influence I know has brought good music to the ears and understanding of the ordinary man [...] the gramophone of the present day has the power to spread the gospel of music about the world, and in that power, I feel, resides the gramophones influence on musical culture [...] the gramophone’s influence on music is a logical result of that capacity of the instrument to reproduce the actual tone and the detail of the actual performances of voices and instruments.³⁷⁴

Sir Henry J Wood was clearly a champion of the benefits and impact of the gramophone on musical reception, understanding and education. He believed that the gramophone would

³⁷² Sir Henry Joseph Wood (1869-1944) was an English musician, conductor and arranger who attended the Royal Academy of Music. Wood conducted the Carl Rosa Opera Company and founded the promenade concert series in London (in conjunction with Robert Newman and Dr Cathcart). details taken from: <http://www.bach-cantatas.com/Bio/Wood-Henry.htm>

³⁷³ See chapter Four for details of the paper that William prepared for this convention.

³⁷⁴ Wood, Sir, H. J., 1924. *The Influence of the Gramophone on Musical Culture*. (Columbia Gramophone Co., LTD., London). pp. 3-4

provide access to music for all sections of the populace and that this, in turn, would increase the general public's appreciation of, and passion for, music, whilst he also infers that the professional musician or music master (and their pupils) would also benefit from the opportunities to dissect, concentrate on, and listen repeatedly to the same sections of music, focussing on the detail of certain parts of the score and instrumentation.

Interestingly, Wood continues by asserting that,

music culture is influenced by three things in particular – first, by the frequent performance and, in consequence, the frequent hearing of music; secondly, by the quantity of music performed, and the quantity of its performance; and thirdly, by the expansion of the musical public. The first and second of these influences tend to deepen and broaden the musical culture which already exists in a community, and the third influence naturally develops musical culture where it does not exist. Now the gramophone is influencing musical culture in all three ways. By means of it, music can be as frequently performed as the listener desires. The quality of gramophone music and the quality of performances are, at their best, highly artistic. And it is just because of its capacity to provide music in the home, and to repeat the music over and over again as often as we wish to repeat it, that the home gramophone is one of the most powerful influences I know for the spread of musical knowledge and a real love of music.

Musical culture, obviously, exists and grows, and can only exist and grow, by reason of the public's knowledge of music. The knowledge of music – which is musical culture – does not only mean a familiarity with the structure of individual works, with the art of composers, with the methods of various composers, and with executive artists.³⁷⁵

If we take Wood's points, and apply them to the Rushworth enterprise and in particular the personal efforts of William, we can see that the Rushworth business was as equally influential new music technology, such as the gramophone, in the proliferation of music and its associated culture across Liverpool. For example, Wood states that musical culture is influenced in the first instance 'by the frequent performance and hearing of music', and secondly, 'by the quality of the music performed, and the quality of its performance', and thirdly, 'by the expansion of

³⁷⁵ Wood, Sir, H. J., 1924. *The Influence of the Gramophone on Musical Culture*. (Columbia Gramophone Co., LTD., London). pp. 5-6

the musical public'. In Rushworth's case, they were central to the musical life of the city via their role as Concert Agents, which brought to the locality some of the most world-renowned, international class and high profile music performers and artistes. The Rushworth business model and the vision of William encompassed all three aspects of what Wood deemed to be the central influences on the development of musical culture – this is evidenced by the development of the Rushworth & Dreaper Concert and Entertainment Bureau, who in their capacity as Concert Agents fulfilled all three categories of cultural influence as outlined in Wood's paper. Analysis of the Rushworth and Dreaper Concert and Entertainment Calendars provide detailed evidence of the calibre of performers, orchestras and ensembles that could be sought via Rushworth's Concert and Entertainment Bureau. The 1908-9 calendar shows, for example, that through Rushworth's, it was possible to gain access to performances by ninety-five different acts: fourteen different sopranos (including Madame Melba and Mrs Henry J Wood); eight Contraltos (including Madame Clara Butt); eleven Tenors (including Signor Caruso); ten Baritones/Basses (including Signor Scotti); three Cellists (including Pablo Casals); nine Violinists (including Mischa Elman and Szigeti); twelve Pianists (including Backhaus and Paderewski); eight Quartettes (including the Boston, Vienna and Berlin Quartettes); seven Humourists (including the Royal Entertainers); six Bands (including the Victorian Court Band); and five Orchestras (including the Halle and the London Symphony). By 1918-19 the roster of performers available via Rushworth & Dreaper's Concert and Entertainment Bureau had increased markedly to 160 in total, with new artists adding to the ever increasing repertoire including, for example, Violinist Albert Sammons and Pianists, Moiseiwitsch, Rachmaninoff and Solomon. The construction of the Rushworth Hall in 1910 provided further access to musical performance, which further influenced the development of musical culture. Similarly, the Rushworth Box Office could (in Rushworth's own words), 'secure seats for all important Liverpool, Manchester, Southport and London Theatres,

Concerts, Lectures and Recitals. The Office, with its many private lines, is in continuous telephonic communication with the various theatres, and knows immediately what seats are available anywhere and which are best placed'.³⁷⁶ What this shows is that Rushworths were central to the musical life of the city, providing access to the highest quality music, performers and musicians, which helped to develop a knowledgeable and passionate musical public. This reflects Rushworth's cultural contribution at its zenith and this would have the knock on effect of encouraging musical engagement, interaction and education, fostering an atmosphere of musical appreciation by providing access to the highest calibre of music performance.

Rushworth's approach to cultural contribution

A significant aspect of Rushworths cultural contribution was their all-encompassing approach to music, arts and entertainment. The scale and scope of Rushworths influence in Liverpool was not confined to music, but spanned the full range of fine arts, from classic orchestral music, chamber music and popular music to fine arts, painting and drawing; and from the theatre, to antiques, history and museums. The construction of a 200-seat concert hall signalled the start of a period when Rushworth's cultural influence would transcend the boundaries of their workshops and showrooms, and move into the realms of local society and community. Hugh Cunningham outlines this broad approach to leisure during the nineteenth century:

Historians with an apparently insatiable compulsion to compartmentalise have seen these different forms of entertainment in isolation one from the other – there are histories of sport, of drama, of the pantomime, and of the circus. Yet what is most striking is the connections between these different forms of entertainment, connections so strong that one can speak of this world of entertainment as part of one close-knit popular culture.³⁷⁷

³⁷⁶ One Hundred Years in Music, c. 1928-29. Rushworth & Dreaper Ltd. (Company brochures provided by Rushworth family in support of research).

³⁷⁷ Cunningham, H., 1980. *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution*. (Croom Helm: London). p. 35. Cited in, Russell, D., *Popular entertainment, 1776-1895*.

The approach of William mirrors that of many of the business leaders of his era. It has been well documented how businessmen philanthropists invested in their locality, in their workforce, in facilities, and in sports, recreation and leisure. Indeed, many went to the lengths of providing housing for their workforces. The most notable examples were Cadbury's in Birmingham, Rowntree in York, and locally to William, Lever at Port Sunlight on the Wirral. Cadbury, at the Bourneville works in Birmingham dedicated much capital to the recreational and social activities of their workforce. They had schemes which encouraged participation in athletics and winter games, football, cricket and tennis, swimming baths and lesson, activities for youths including camps and trips to Switzerland, and non-athletic recreational pursuits such as the musical society which had its own annual music festival, a dramatic society, a folk dance society, a photography club and radio, motor, cycling and chess clubs.³⁷⁸

Similarly, in 1901, Joseph Rowntree had bought 123 acres of land which he would develop into the village of New Earswick. Although it is noted that 'the new housing was not designed to be a philanthropic enterprise. Nor was it intended that the cottages should be let only to those employed by the firm'.³⁷⁹ There is little doubt, however, about the philanthropic attitude of Rowntree, who, driven by his Quaker religious beliefs, believed his business was a 'God-given trust, responsible its employees and community as well as to its owners and shareholders'.³⁸⁰ To this end, Rowntree initiated and financed many social schemes including the building of several adult, children and girls schools, a mental hospital, and a library. He believed his business profited from a healthy contented workforce and advance schemes such as sick and provident funds, a doctor's surgery, a savings scheme and a pension scheme.³⁸¹

³⁷⁸ *The Factory & Recreation: An Account of the Recreational and Social Schemes at Bourneville Works.* Cadbury Bros Ltd. c.1924.

³⁷⁹ Vernon, A., 1958. *A Quaker Businessman: The Life of Joseph Rowntree, 1836-1925.* (George Allen & Unwin Ltd: London). p. 147

³⁸⁰ <http://www.oxforddnb.com/liverpool.idm.oclc.org/view/article/35857?docPos=2>

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*

In the local context, William Lever, who had financed and developed the Port Sunlight model village for his workers, is an example of a businessman philanthropist who was devoted to making contributions to his community and leaving a legacy. Perhaps most relevant in terms of Lever's contribution was the construction and opening of the Lady Lever Art Gallery in 1914, which he built in memoriam to his wife.³⁸² Rushworth would open an Art Gallery at his Basnett Street site in 1930.³⁸³ Lever would make further charitable contributions to Liverpool by endowing the University of Liverpool with the School of Tropical Medicine and the School of Town Planning and Civic Design.³⁸⁴ What the examples of Cadbury, Rowntree and Lever demonstrate is that Rushworth was following the prevalent zeitgeist of public service, community culture, philanthropy and cultural contribution which was common amongst businessmen and industrialists of the late nineteenth century. William brought this concept through to the twentieth century. Perhaps most exceptional about the philanthropic activities of William is that whereas Cadbury, Rowntree and Lever has commercial operations which has staff of many thousands, William was only operating a small enterprise which had around 400 staff at its zenith – this makes the actions and contributions of William all the more remarkable.

William Rushworth epitomised and personified this nexus between local cultural dynamics and popular entertainment. However, William broadened the scope of his influence to encompass and facilitate the educational aspect of his culture. The efforts of the Rushworth family to accommodate social and associational visitors to Liverpool and promote the city's pleasures, culture, and architecture shows a real passion for the city, and their efforts to promote all that is best in Liverpool did not go unnoticed:

The National Union of Organists' Association Congress paid a visit to Liverpool where Messrs. Rushworth & Dreaper's abounding hospitality was shown in the provision of motors which met

³⁸² Jolly, W, P., 1976. *Lord Leverhulme: A Biography*. (Constable and Company Ltd: London). p. 153

³⁸³ The Rushworth Art Gallery is covered in detail, p.152.

³⁸⁴ <http://www.oxforddnb.com.liverpool.idm.oclc.org/view/article/34506?docPos=9>

the members and conveyed them round the principal places of local interest, including the Cotton Exchange, the Philharmonic Hall, the new Cathedral, University, St Georges Hall (where Mr Ellingford gave a short organ recital), and also a remarkable new Church of St Paul's, Stoneycroft, designed by Mr Gilbert Scott, the genius-architect of Liverpool Cathedral. The acoustic properties of the church greatly enhanced the fine qualities of the organ by Messrs Rushworth and Dreaper, which were displayed by W. Maynard Rushworth, who is President of the Liverpool Association. The members were subsequently entertained at tea in the Rushworth Hall, and in the evening the Congress was concluded by a smoking concert at which Dr Warriner presided.³⁸⁵

The above example provides evidence of the efforts and lengths Rushworths would go to facilitate, welcome and entertain national associations. In this way they broadcast not only the quality and standards of their business but also promoted the city of Liverpool, acquainting people from across the country with the culture, architecture, art and musical infrastructure which was enjoyed and serviced in Liverpool. The following sections will provide details of some of the cultural organisations and charitable institutions with which William was involved. These provide evidence of the approach to cultural contribution and public service espoused by William, whilst also providing insight into the civic attitudes engineered towards creating a respectable society. The complex network of organisations, societies and associations in Liverpool, their function and objectives and, most importantly, William's personal role and contribution will be covered in the following case-studies.

Liverpool Pageant 1907, Liverpool at Home, and Children's Bazaar (in aid of the Royal Liverpool Children's Hospital)

The Liverpool Pageant of 1907 marked William's first entry into the social and cultural life of the city. The *Liverpool Courier* reported on a meeting held at the Town Hall which saw the formation of,

³⁸⁵ *Musical Times*, October 1st 1920, p. 695

an auxiliary committee to assist the general committee in arranging for the forthcoming celebrations. Among those present were Alderman L. S. Cohen, Major Cooney, and Messrs. Robert Kirkland, W. H. Gilding, W. Rushworth, T. Fell Abraham, T. Dowd, J. W. Faraday, and T. Bush. Major Cooney was appointed Chairman and a strong committee was formed with power to add to their number. Mr J. Graham Reece accepted the office of hon. secretary, and Mr W. Rushworth of hon. treasurer. The hope was expressed that the Liverpool tradespeople would assist the committee in their endeavour to raise the required amount from £2000 to £3000, Alderman Cohen remarking that the money subscribed would eventually come back to the tradesmen of the city, as the celebrations would bring a large influx of visitors.³⁸⁶

This example shows that within a decade of his accession to General Manager of the firm William had already accumulated sufficient cultural and social capital to be regarded amongst the civic elite of Liverpool. This would provide the foundation upon which he could build his own personal social profile and dedicate himself to local charitable, philanthropic and civic responsibilities.

William's enthusiasm and commitment towards publicising the culture and attractions of Liverpool is exemplified by a programme found in the Broadwood & Sons archive, which advertises the major cultural attractions of Liverpool, and is titled 'Liverpool at Home'. It includes a profile of Liverpool and its primary cultural institutions, highlighting the Cathedral, St George's Hall, The Walker Art Gallery, The Public Reference Library, The Musical Instrument Museum (at Rushworth's), The University institute of Archaeology, St Nicholas Church, The Overhead Railway, The Port of Liverpool and Ferry Service, as well as detailing hotels, restaurants, theatre and variety performances.³⁸⁷

In 1922 William contributed towards the organisation of Children's Bazaar in aid of the Royal Liverpool Children's Hospital. He was Chairman of the 'Publicity Committee' for the event and also on the 'Raffles Committee'. As well as making a personal contribution,

³⁸⁶ *Liverpool Courier*, 27th March 1907, 'Sept-Centenary Celebrations'

³⁸⁷ Broadwood Archive, Surrey History Centre, 2185/JB/57/14; Rushworth file, letter bundle 'R'

William also arranged for members of his staff to contribute to the organisation of the Carnival, for example, Mr F. L. Cooper was responsible for arranging the film exhibitions and collections, whilst Mr D. Munro organised the compilation and general printing of the Souvenir Handbook.³⁸⁸ William worked tirelessly in the interest of Liverpool. He was an entrepreneur, a businessman, a civic elite, who used his finance, his experience and expertise to promote the arts, invest in education, facilitate culture and improve the economic and cultural condition of Liverpool. The details of these particular contributions highlight two key points; firstly, that as early as 1907 William's sphere of influence had moved beyond the boundaries of his enterprise and his social responsibilities were recognised at a civic level; secondly, that William was able to draw upon the departments, services and personnel of his company in support of local charitable initiatives. These contributions would have benefited William's social enterprise, reputation and civic presence, whilst simultaneously improving the image, goodwill and reputation of his business.

Liverpool Music Teachers Association

The Classified Directory of Music Teachers was included as part of Rushworths Concert and Entertainment Calendars and demonstrates the links between Rushworths, musical education, music teachers and pupils and provides another example of the company servicing the musical requirements of the community. This would act as a pre-cursor to the establishment of the Music Teachers' Association (MTA), which was founded in 1912. The creation, structuring, financing, facilitation and administration of the Liverpool Music Teachers Association provide a perfect case study in William's approach to cultural contribution through education and musical tuition. The MTA was founded by two prominent Liverpool organists, Mr H. Ellingford (City Organist) and Dr A Pollitt. The Honorary Secretary was J. Raymond Tobin

³⁸⁸ All details taken from: 'Grand Carnival and Bazaar, in aid of Royal Liverpool Children's Hospital – 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th December 1922. St George's Hall, Liverpool. Souvenir Handbook. Available at: LRO 362.119 GRA

and on the committee was William Rushworth. The Rushworth premises at Islington provided the headquarters of the Association and all committee and branch meetings were held there. The Rushworth Hall and the Lecture Hall were available for use by the MTA, free of charge, until 1960, when the Company removed to new premises at Whitechapel. William's position on the committee was soon extended to a role as Honorary Treasurer and shortly afterwards staff at Rushworths took over the administrative and secretarial duties for the MTA. This would begin a period in which three successive generations of Rushworth family would contribute to the functioning of the MTA. James Rushworth took over the duties of his father upon his death in 1944 and he continued in this capacity until 1974 when his son, David Rushworth succeeded him. Whilst the MTA enjoyed the facilities afforded them by the Rushworth business, a small library of reference books and sheet music was established; this was transferred to the City Music Library in 1960.³⁸⁹

Members of the MTA were encouraged and afforded the opportunity to attend six lectures, organised by Rushworths, and given annually by leading experts on the art of teaching music, and in addition they were allowed use of the Rushworth Clubroom. To complement the service provided by Rushworths to the Liverpool musical public, the Islington premises became the headquarters of several other important national and local musical education societies and organisations. These included being local representatives of: the Royal Academy of Music, London; The Royal College of Music, London; the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music; and the Trinity College of Music, London – the examinations of the latter two institutions were held on the firms premises.³⁹⁰ The links to the national musical examination bodies cemented Rushworth's position as the pre-eminent musical establishment in Liverpool. At this point the business has become the centre of Liverpool music, the location where parents

³⁸⁹ 'Music Teachers Association – North West Branches'. In, *Music Teacher*, December 1985, p. 21. Loose article provided by Rushworth family.

³⁹⁰ WMR1942 history – p. 2-3

would take their children to take their first music lessons, sit their first music examinations, purchase their first instruments, and participate in their first public musical performance.

Teachers Notes

To complement this service, in 1921 Rushworth's created, published and distributed a quarterly pamphlet called 'Teachers Notes' which was 'issued in the interests of the art and profession of music'. Teachers Notes would be distributed for free amongst members of the MTA and would provide technical and practical advice with regards to all issues connected with musical education, music tuition, acquiring students. The publication also publicised local musical events, festival, competitions and performances, whilst also highlighting any developments regarding the firm. The May 1935 issue explains that, 'Teachers Notes is published by Rushworth & Dreaper solely for the benefit of the Music-teaching profession. This little magazine does not aim at teaching the teacher, but rather keeping him up-to-date with all matters appertaining to his profession. Mention is made of hints or suggestions which come to our notice through our wide experience with the teaching profession in the hope that these may be helpful to other teachers. That the 'Notes' meets with a certain measure of success is evidenced by the appreciative letters received'.³⁹¹ De Boufflers-Taylor explains that, 'the Music Teachers Association and the British Music Society were only two among many other ventures which came into being largely through his [William's] personal interest'.³⁹²

The Rushworth Art Gallery

The scope of William's cultural contribution was not confined to music; his influence extended to the fine art of painting and drawing, as well as the theatrical arts via his position as Director

³⁹¹ Teachers' Notes, 'Silver Jubilee' Number, No. 44, May 1935, p. 7.

³⁹² Boufflers-Taylor, S., 1976. *Two Centuries of Music in Liverpool*. (Rockliff Bros: Liverpool). p. 101

of the Liverpool Playhouse³⁹³. In 1930, William opened an art gallery at his Basnett Street site. A glowing endorsement of William, personally, and the art gallery venture, generally, was provided by Professor Charles H. Reilly, Head of the University of Liverpool, School of Architecture.³⁹⁴ An article written by Reilly in the *Liverpool Post and Mercury* in 1930 proclaims that, ‘Liverpool as a whole does not seem to realise that, thanks to the generosity of one of her most public spirit present day citizens, Mr William Rushworth, she has at her disposal a second public art gallery’.³⁹⁵ Reilly continues to explain that:

It is public in the sense that it is free without payment for anyone who cares to enter and examine the exhibits, and, though it is a small gallery on the first floor approached through the well-known music shop, it has this advantage over larger galleries that it offers a fresh exhibition of modern art every month. It offers, too, this unique thing to the dwellers on Merseyside, to see how they are expressing themselves, their city, and their time in all the arts and crafts. As in a big gallery one is not pestered to buy, though ordinarily one can, but if one does, no profit by way of commission goes to the generous donor of the gallery. One does not even pay for one’s catalogue, which is a gift.³⁹⁶

As was often the case with William, his contribution to the painters, draughtsmen and architects did not end with the opening of this public art gallery. He was on the committee of the Merseyside Arts Circle, he would also hang the paintings of local artists for free on the walls of the Rushworth Tea and Luncheon Room at Islington. Finally, William was the acting Honorary Secretary of the ‘Rotary Arts Scheme’ which organised a ‘Competitive Exhibition of Liverpool Art’ in 1925. The exhibition was billed as a ‘scheme for the encouragement of local art’ and was to be housed at the Rushworth Rooms, 13 Islington, taking place in autumn

³⁹³ In 1927 William became a Director of the Liverpool Playhouse Theatre (formerly the Liverpool Repertory Theatre) and he would continue in this role until his death in 1944.

³⁹⁴ For biographical information and sources relating to Professor Reilly, see: <http://www.liv.ac.uk/library/sca/collDESCS/univarchives/unibiogreilly.html>

³⁹⁵ *Liverpool Post and Mercury*, May 12, 1930. ‘A Little Art Gallery – Architects in varied form’.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

1925.³⁹⁷ It was outlined on the competition entry booklet that the competition was ‘organised by the Rotary Club of Liverpool in co-operation with the arts sub-committee of the Liverpool Corporation, the Liverpool Academy, Liver Sketching Club, Artists’ Club and the Sandon Studios’.³⁹⁸

The Rushworth & Dreaper Permanent Collection of Antique Musical Instruments

The curation of artistic and educational exhibitions was an important feature of William’s cultural contribution. In the early 1920s William embarked upon a programme of collecting antique musical instruments from collectors across Europe. He would send senior staff out in search of suitable pieces. In keeping with the firm’s primary retail focus on the piano, William maintained a focus on the development of keyboard instruments. Pauline Rushton, editor of a book detailing the pieces kept at Liverpool Museum, explains that

Rushworth’s archives do not give a complete picture of his collecting activities but they include sufficient detail for us to know that he purchased instruments from several sources: from private dealers, private individuals, other collectors, notably the Dutch collector Paul de Wit, and even over the counter at the Islington premises.³⁹⁹

Rushton explains that William had a two-fold motive for the collation of the collection of antiques (apart from his own personal interest in old keyboard instruments) which were ‘Education and Publicity’. Maynard Rushworth, who was Curator of the Collection and responsible for the guided tour, demonstrations and brochure, explained that

the Rushworth collection of Antique musical instruments has gained a worldwide reputation and has proved a continual source of education, inspiration and pleasure to the many thousands of people, both young and old, who have inspected it. The collection was chosen to represent music at the Great International Exhibition of Antiques and Old Works of Art arranged by Sir Martin Conway at Olympia [London] in 1928 where it was inspected by Queen Mary. It created great

³⁹⁷ Competition Guidelines and Booklet available from Liverpool Record Office

³⁹⁸ LRO 707.4 CUT – Art Exhibition Catalogue

³⁹⁹ Rushton, P., (ed.) 1994. *European Musical Instruments in Liverpool Museum*. (Trustees of the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside). p. x

enthusiasm amongst the large number of visitors who came to see it. In its permanent home it has been a source of great influence and instruction when the instrument have been played and described to the hundreds of school children and students from, not only the schools of this city [Liverpool] but from places as far afield as Hull, Preston, Wigan, Manchester, Oswestry, Colwyn Bay, Chester, Warrington, Huddersfield, Halifax and Southport. Every visitor is presented with a souvenir brochure of which ten thousand are printed annually. On four occasions there have been broadcasts of performances on these instruments in the National and North Regional programmes of the BBC. Not a day passes by without Music Teachers and school authorities bringing parties of pupils for personally directed tours of inspection.⁴⁰⁰

The *Musical Times* made reference to the Collection, insisting that, ‘mention should be made, too, of the Rushworth & Dreaper Permanent Collection of Antique Musical instruments – a museum whose fame extends far beyond this country’.⁴⁰¹ Norman Mullineux, an Executive Director of the firm, explained that he ‘can’t tell you the number of people I’ve seen go down on their knees to kiss the key of that piano’ in reference to the piano contained in the collection on which Beethoven played during his visits to Count von Oppersdorf at Obergoglau Castle, Saxony.⁴⁰² When asked by *John Bull Magazine* in 1956 on his father’s motivation for the investment in the antiques, James Rushworth explained, ‘It’s much easier to invite people to come and look at my collection, than to ask them to look at the shop. [The Antiques take visitors] twice through the shop with our goods in front of them all the time.’⁴⁰³ This strategy of attracting customers to the music shop for purposes other than to purchase musical instruments is mirrored in William’s construction of the Rushworth Hall and the Art Gallery. Rather than position it as a place to simply ‘purchase’ instruments and products, William sought to make the Rushworth’s Islington premises a place to ‘do’ activities. Whether it was music tuition, sitting music examinations, partaking in the Rushworth Festival (or watching children take part), utilising the practice and recording facilities, browsing through the

⁴⁰⁰ WMR1942 history, p. 3

⁴⁰¹ *The Musical Times*, Vol. 73, No. 1078 (Dec 1, 1932), p. 1085

⁴⁰² *John Bull Magazine*, 31 March 1956, p. 30-31

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 31

Collection of Antiques, viewing the exhibitions of local artists or simply having a tea or coffee in the Café – William had an extraordinary quality of attracting the musical public to his shop for purposes other than to purchase products. He generated his own footfall and without doubt made his enterprise the centre of musical life in all its forms, whether participating, educating, observing or purchasing. In similar fashion to the Rushworth Hall and the Antique Collection, the Rushworth Art gallery was designed to bring potential customers, art-lovers and enthusiasts to the site as a by-product of an engagement in non-music related activities. With regard to the Gallery, bringing patrons of the arts to his shop in Basnett Street, where they sold sheet music, tickets, music rolls and had a music library could easily be identified as an attempt to generate sales through increasing the number of visitors to the shop. It could also be considered a charitable enterprise as artists could hang work in the gallery, for a whole month, free of charge, and Rushworth took no part of the sale of any works.

Orchestral Concert for School Children

In another similar initiative in 1922, William inaugurated and made possible a pioneer series of orchestral concerts for school children.

In connection with 'Music in Education' as a practical proposition, a valuable object-lesson was Messrs. Rushworth's demonstration of a Lecture-Concert for Young Folk given in the Philharmonic Hall with a professional orchestra of forty-six, conducted by Mr. Gordon Stutely, with Miss E. Allen as lecturer, in brief and pithy explanations between the various musical items. The programme was on the lines of the concerts which Mr. William Rushworth has initiated and carried out so generously at Liverpool. Mr. Rushworth has kept his ideals steadily in view, and is a pioneer who is out to succeed in spite of obstacles. He is content with doing something practical while others do the talking. This Lecture-Concert illustrated Mr. Bernard Shaw's ideas of how best to give children a taste for good music in a convincing way.⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰⁴ *The Musical Times*, Vol. 65, No. 978 (Aug. 1, 1924), pp. 742-743

The efforts of William, glowingly recognised and appreciated by the musical public, demonstrated his ethos and ideals regarding the musical, artistic and cultural requirements of the Liverpool public.⁴⁰⁵ He was interested in connecting the Liverpool musical public, whether professional or amateur, popular or classical, young or old, to the best performances by leading artists and musicians, but also in reinforcing this with a focus on the educational and analytical appreciation of music. As Simon Gunn explains, Charles Halle's

frequently proclaimed mission [was] to create an 'educated' musical audience [which] involved abolishing the idea that music was the background to fashionable socialising. [...] During the second half of the nineteenth century, classical music in the provincial cities increasingly cast off its former associations with sociability, religion, philanthropy and moral improvement. An essential aim of the education of the musical public was to convince audiences of the superiority of music that had no function other than aesthetic.⁴⁰⁶

From the evidence collated thus far, it is clear that William understood the need for musical education and appreciation to work alongside active interaction with and participation in musical performance. He brought the late nineteenth century reconstruction of music's purpose and objectives into the twentieth century Liverpool, with the added focus on 'young folk' which would breed the next generation of musically-engaged musicians. Again, this innovation worked in tandem with the creation, administration and facilitation of the Music Teachers Association, which was designed to not only provide access to musical tuition to the Liverpool populace but also to assist the music teachers in terms of content, results, knowledge and techniques. The function of the MTA was to connect music students with adequate and qualified local tutors but also, 'to widen the teachers scope of musical activity and improve the expertise in their teaching and musicianship whilst sharpening their business sense in relation

⁴⁰⁵ These 'appreciations' are covered in detail below in sections covering the Liverpool Philharmonic Society and the award of MBE.

⁴⁰⁶ Gunn, S., 2000. *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class*. (Manchester University Press: Manchester). p. 146

to fees and other charges together with, in later years, advice regarding income tax and insurance'.⁴⁰⁷

Rushworth Competitive Music Festival and Brass Band Competition

The Rushworth Annual Brass Quartet Contest ran for exactly 50 years from 1909.⁴⁰⁸ The Brass Quartet Contest complimented the firm's Brass and Orchestral Instrument Department and, as a Rushworth pamphlet explains, 'was an eagerly anticipated event for twenty-five years among bandsmen of Lancashire, Cheshire, North Wales and the North of England, and representative of some of the finest bands in the Kingdom regularly compete in the Rushworth Hall'.⁴⁰⁹ The provided a useful pre-cursor to the development of the Rushworth Competitive Musical Festival which was instituted in 1942. William had been Vice- President of the Liverpool Competitive Music Festival in 1937, so his involvement in the promotion of musical enterprise and performance pre-dates the creation of the Rushworth Festival. The original festival ceased with the onset of War in 1939, however, it was resurrected by William Rushworth in 1942 who was keen to ensure that local music students (and their teachers) had an outlet whereby they could showcase their talents and the fruits of their labour. The objects of the original Society (as laid out in the programme):

To cultivate the study of music and art in the city of Liverpool and districts

To encourage and award young talented musicians

To increase the interest of the public in good music

To assist competitors to recognise their strong and weak points, by comparing their performance with those of others

⁴⁰⁷ 'Music Teachers Association – North West Branches'. In, *Music Teacher*, December 1985, p. 21. Loose article provided by Rushworth family. (appendix)

⁴⁰⁸ Boufflers-Taylor, S., 1976. *Two Centuries of Music in Liverpool*. (Rockliff Bros: Liverpool). p. 101

⁴⁰⁹ 'One Hundred Years in Music' with compliments of Rushworth & Dreaper: The Great Music House – company catalogue, c. 1928, p. 8

To provide an outing for the aged poor.

The price of admission was 1 shilling per session with season tickets available at 5 shillings (excluding the grand final)

Under 'Special Notice' the Rushworth support of the Festival was further endorsed by the following:

pianos for the Festival have kindly been supplied by Messrs. Rushworth and Dreaper LTD., 11-17 Islington, Liverpool 3 and Messrs James Smith and Son (music sellers) LTD., 76-72 Lord Street, Liverpool 2

(Rushworth's also donated three prizes)

Messrs Rushworth & Dreaper Ltd., Silver Challenge Cup

Messrs Rushworth & Dreaper Ltd., Silver Challenge Shield

Messrs Rushworth & Dreaper Ltd., Challenge Trophy

This indicates a real deep-rooted association with the planning, facilitation and sponsoring of the festival in conjunction with Liverpool's other musical retailers and institutions. However, once the Rushworths had control of the festival on their own terms they made some important changes to the format. Firstly, they lowered the price of admission from 1 shilling to 6d. The mission statement and object of the festival was also updated:

By promoting the Musical Festival, Rushworth & Dreaper have received ample proof that the event is fulfilling a real musical need. The response of the many students has been so great that the Festival must now be extended to three days instead of the two originally arranged. Rushworth & Dreaper are happy to render this service for the encouragement of music, and for the interest shown by those engaged upon such valuable educational and cultural pursuits. The Liverpool Education Authority has indicated its approval of the Festival and have agreed that entrants from the Liverpool schools will not forfeit their school attendance marks. Scholars should, therefore, notify their head teacher of the day on which they will be attending the Festival. The permission does not apply to spectators of school age.⁴¹⁰

⁴¹⁰ Rushworth's Musical Festival Programme, 1942, p. 1

The adjudicator of the first Rushworth Festival was Maurice Jacobson B.Mus., Hon. A.R.C.M. a highly respected festival adjudicator and chairman of the National Youth Orchestra and ‘guiding light’ of the National Festival of Music for Youth.⁴¹¹ Writing in 1945, as the cessation of World War Two was nearing, Jacobson made some particularly relevant and resonant personal observations about the purpose, structure and objectives of the Rushworth Festival:

Twenty five years of adjudicating at Music Festivals in different parts of the works have brought me many experiences of different sorts, usually stimulating, sometimes perplexing, occasionally saddening, frequently joyous. Throughout all these is woven a thread, a line of progress which human endeavour fashions even stronger. The thread sometimes disappears beneath the pattern of urgent world affairs, only to emerge as clearly as before.

One of the miracles of this war has been the resurgence of musical interest which it seems almost to have promoted. There are many possible explanations for this, none as important as the fact itself. Every individual actively concerned with music, from the humblest to the highest, is helping to create a pattern of beauty, which will be permanent and indestructible.

It is our custom to ‘praise famous men’. Let us now praise famous institutions, particularly those who have provided an incentive to music making, when its influence was most needed.

And this brings me to the Rushworth Music Festival, held in Rushworth Hall, April 30th-May 5th 1945. All concerned – teachers, competitors and audience – must be grateful to Rushworth and Dreaper for this stimulus to their art. What a festival it was! – In many respects unique in my whole experience. There were 1,012 entries (1,061 competitors) to be judged in six days. The under-10 years piano solos produced 196 competitors, under 12 years 190, and the under 14 years 124 – staggering figures. Girls’ vocal solos totalled 155, and the Boys 51. There were such small matters as 58 Beethoven Sonata movements, 46 sopranos and so on.

Do these huge numbers stand for anything of value? I think so. There are – thank goodness – no cash prizes, only certificates for the better performances. But the striking thing about most of the competitions was the enormous variety of standard – from first rate all the way down to thoroughly bad. There was a thick substratum of the latter, particularly in the junior classes. If this diminished my pleasure, it had the effect of strengthening my missionary zeal!⁴¹²

⁴¹¹http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/14054?q=maurice+jacobson&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit

⁴¹² *Teachers Notes*, June 1945, p. 3

Jacobson's summary of the Festival explains in detail the structure, format, participant numbers and objectives of the Rushworth Competitive Music Festival. It highlights the success, function and objective of the festival and demonstrates the time, approach and seriousness, with which the Rushworth Company arranged, organised, financed and administered the competitive festival. The success of the festival is illustrated by its longevity and increasing participant numbers. The calibre of the adjudicators, Dr Herbert Howells and Maurice Jacobsen illustrates the approach the Rushworth business adopted in terms of managing the competition but also in engendering an atmosphere of musical engagement, studentship and appreciation. This does not simply provide evidence of Rushworth's cultural contribution but also the efforts the company made to create the cultural and musical environment and atmosphere in which the business would flourish. Similarly, having participant numbers ranging from 1500-2500 and the whole event taking place over three days at the Rushworth Hall ensured that during that period the number of potential customers would potentially increase, which could result in increased sales – especially as entrants from the children's sections would be accompanied by parents. It shows great ingenuity and entrepreneurial abilities to not only provide a public service that encourages cultural and musical engagement, but also increases footfall and potential customers (with at least a broad/loose interest in music or they would not be there in the first place) to the premises.

Rodewald Concert Club (later Rodewald Concert Society)

William's ability to administer, finance and organise concerts, recitals and festivals was evident in his contribution to the Rodewald Concert Society. In 1914, the Rodewald Concert Club moved from their regular site at the Carlton Club and relocated at the Yamen Café on Bold Street. On 4th September 1916, William Rushworth was elected to the committee and appointed as joint secretary with H. Ernest Roberts. Within two weeks Rushworth had initiated his first change, and that was to install the name 'Rodewald Concert Society' (RCS). It has

been suggested that Rushworth was approached to contribute to this society in order to professionalise the organisation, whilst his name, reputation and network of contacts with the national musical establishment would help attract the best performances and artists⁴¹³. The Rushworth Concert Bureau had a wide-ranging and comprehensive account of all the major events organiser, agents, performers and ensembles, whilst Rushworth's presence on the board and committees of England's major musical institutions (such as Federation of British Music Industries; the British Music Society; Music Retailers Association) meant that it was easy for the RCS to attract and publicise some of the world's greatest performers. Rushworth's took over the concert management on behalf of the Society. From 1916 until 1968 the Rushworth family had a presence on the committee of the RCS. In 1932, William's role was changed to Treasurer, a position he would occupy until his death in 1944. William's son, James, succeeded him as Treasurer. In 1968, the RLPS took over the concert management from R&D as they were discontinuing their operations as concert managers. In 2012, a grant was awarded to the RCS from the Rushworth Trust which would contribute towards the Centenary celebrations of the Society.⁴¹⁴

'A Brief History of the Rodewald Concert Society' was written to celebrate the jubilee year of the concert society. It provides an overview of the formation, development and difficulties faced by the organisation over the course of its 50 year history. However, the article provides two important references to Rushworths; firstly, the photograph of the Committee of the Rodewald Concert Society shows James Rushworth, prominently positioned, front row, with the caption confirming his role as Honorary Treasurer. Secondly, the article concludes with the following recognition of William Rushworth who was Joint Honorary Secretary,

⁴¹³ Private Interview, Alan Jones, current Secretary and historian of the Rodewald Concert Society (January 2012)

⁴¹⁴ I am grateful to Alan Jones for providing me with drafts of his research into the history and progress of the Rodewald Concert Society. Other details and information are taken from; Boufflers-Taylor, S de., 1976. *Two Centuries of Music in Liverpool*. (Rockliff Bros: Liverpool). p. 35

September 1916-March 1933 and Honorary Treasurer from March 1933 until his death in July 1944:

But in this Jubilee Year we remember with profound gratitude those who in the years gone by have borne the heat and burden of the day and, not without many a struggle and many a generous gift, kept the Society's flag flying throughout the two world wars. Among a host of stalwarts who have passed to their rest it is perhaps invidious to single out a few names but at least, during the last twenty five years, stand out in the memory: H. A. Thew, William Rushworth, and last but very far from least, H. Ernest Roberts but for whose unswerving devotion throughout practically the whole period there might never be a Golden Jubilee Season.

The Rodewald Concert Society now holds a unique position in the musical life of the City of Liverpool. It is probably one of the largest of its kind in existence and claims to be the oldest Society in England devoted solely to Chamber Music – a proud position indeed.⁴¹⁵

The Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Society

The administration of the Rodewald Concert Society would, in 1968, be taken over by the Liverpool Philharmonic Society, another Liverpool musical organisation with which William held a prominent and influential position. The connection between the Rushworth business and the RLPS was long-lasting and multifaceted. The relationship encompassed all aspects of personal, commercial, trade, collaboration and administrative. Analysis of the Philharmonic Records held at the Liverpool Record Office highlights a deep-rooted and multifarious commercial relationship which was mutually beneficial and responsible for the attracting, signing and promotion of some of the biggest and most famous musical performers of the era. The Philharmonic letter books detail correspondence between the two organisations and provide a well-rounded perspective of the collaborative cultural and commercial relationship between the two institutions.⁴¹⁶ In terms of the commercial relationship, the Philharmonic Hall was a primary venue used by the Rushworth Concert Bureau, and the two organisations would

⁴¹⁵ Holland, A. K., 1961(?). A Brief History of the Rodewald Concert Society. Available at Liverpool Record Office, 780 RCS

⁴¹⁶ LRO 780PHI/2/1 – letter books 1909-1939

collaborate over seating, pricing, administration, facilitation of existing proprietors, and receipt of payment and fines for non-attendance. One exchange between William Rushworth and Professor Dilling from 18th August 1938 reveals the depth of the relationship and the mutual respect between the two companies as well as the collaborative approach and commercial profit sharing:

18th August, 1938

“Dear Sirs,

We are of the opinion that members of the general public will wish to hear music in the new Philharmonic Hall as soon as possible after it is open.

Naturally this public outnumbers the members of your society who will be privileged to attend the first concert in the new building.

Therefore, we feel your society would care to consider the suggestion of giving a concert on the first Saturday evening after the Hall is opened, January 14th.

The artistes for this ‘popular’ concert we suggest might be musicians of the type of Albert Sammons or Jelly D’Aranyi – violinists, Quentin Maclean, Organist and local singer and accompanist.

We would suggest popular prices ranging from 6d to 2/6d, which , as you will see from the following, provides at capacity the sum of £162.18.0.

Box seats – 132 @ 2/6... 16.10.0

Stalls – 754 @ 2/- ... 75.8.0

Upper do – 240 @ 2/- ... 24.10.0

Balcony - 634 @ 1/- ... 31.14.0

Orchestra – 472 @ 6d ... 11.16.0

£162.18.0

These prices exclude entertainments tax, as we assumed that if the Concert was organised under the auspices of your Society, exemption would be secured.

We estimate the expenses, including £40 for rent, to amount to £86, and in addition have allocated the sum of £45 to be expended on artists, a total of £131. This would result – if the house was sold out, and we feel it should be on such an occasion – a profit of approximately £30. We believe as propaganda for the new hall, the organising of such a Concert, would be very worthwhile, and if your Society would agree to giving it under their auspices we would be only too happy to undertake the whole of the organisation and management of it, the Society retaining 50% of the profits. While we are optimistic enough to think that it would be a success, but should the venture entail a loss, then we would be prepared to stand half the amount.

We feel also that if the Concert resulted in a large public not being able to secure admittance, then we could, even at short notice, give further concerts on the same lines, so long as the position warranted it.

If for some unforeseen circumstances the opening of the Hall is delayed then we would suggest running the concert on the first available Saturday after the official opening and the artistes engaged on that understanding.

You will appreciate that the time of year is approaching for the publication of our music year book, and if the concert is agreed upon, we feel sure your committee would like it to be announced.

Naturally, if the suggestion meets with your approval we should have to negotiate with the artistes at once, and we would be grateful, therefore, if the matter should be given your immediate attention.

Yours Faithfully

[Signed] William Rushworth⁴¹⁷

This letter reveals a lot about the relationship between Rushworths and the Philharmonic. It shows the focus of William Rushworth on providing access to all sectors of local society; promoting the benefits of permitting popular concerts to attract non-patrons and non-members

⁴¹⁷ LRO 780PHI 1/12/1 – management committee register 1942-1982

to enjoy and revel in the opulence and grandeur of the new philharmonic hall. The prices reflect this also with ticket prices staggered in order to not only sell-out the venue but also to make the Concert affordable to the working class sectors of Liverpool society. The confidence of Rushworths as Concert Agents and Entertainment organisers is apparent by the fact that they agreed to take care of the management and direction, as well as the hiring of artistes and performers and the selling of tickets. The offer to advertise the concert in the Rushworth and Dreaper Music Year Book again illustrates that the company had the facilities and the contacts to promote the 'popular' performance as well as provide 'propaganda' for the new hall. The commercial links with the RLPS continued to grow under William and in 1931 Rushworth & Dreaper Organ Works built a pipe organ for the original Philharmonic Hall.

Rushworths and the supply of the Philharmonic pipe organs

The organ that was manufactured and installed at the Philharmonic Hall in 1931 was the first Rushworth & Dreaper pipe organ in the Hall and replaced the old Bewsher and Fleetwood organ. The new instrument kept some of the case work from the previous organ and included a new electro-pneumatic action. Sir Henry Wood was on the 'organ committee' that chose Rushworth & Dreaper as the firm to manufacture the new organ. The organ's first performance, on 2nd December 1931, was a performance of Brahms's Requiem, conducted by Sir Thomas Beecham, with Dr Arthur W. Pollitt, the Philharmonic Society's Organist, 'presiding at the instrument'. However, the Organ was to live a short life. In 1933 the Hall burnt down, destroying the recently installed Rushworth organ.

The second Rushworth organ was manufactured and installed in 1939. It had 3000 pipes and 70 speaking stops. A new innovation involved the hiding of the pipes behind grilles on the sides of the stage, which had special louvres that would open and close when the blowers were switched on and off; according to Ken Springer, organ builder for Rushworth & Dreaper for

over 50 years, ‘the intention was to prevent dust from entering the grilles and altering the sound’⁴¹⁸. The console would disappear below the stage when not in use. Included in the electric mechanism was over 68 miles of insulated copper wire. The Organ remains in the Philharmonic Hall today.⁴¹⁹

Rushworths were also entrusted with installing, tuning and servicing the Steinway Grand at the Philharmonic Hall⁴²⁰ and the Green Room, whilst at the same time having the capacity to change and install pianos from a variety of manufacturers⁴²¹, in a variety of sizes, and even with specialist tunings appropriate for world renowned performers and orchestras. The annual publication of the Rushworth & Dreaper Concert and Entertainment Calendar (later the Music Year Book) involved frequent and precise communication and collaboration over the content and form of the RLPS entries and event. The RLPS would request a final proof and opportunity for editing prior to publication.⁴²² In 1942 William was elected to the RLPS committee and placed on several sub-committees during his tenure which lasted until his death in 1944. On July 6th 1942, at the ‘Meeting of the General Committee’, William was appointed Corporation Representative’ for ‘Publicity and Sales Sub-Committee’ and the ‘Executive Sub-Committee’ whose responsibility it was to manage ‘the remuneration of the orchestra and all arrangements regarding concerts outside of Liverpool and the organising and engagement of

⁴¹⁸ Ken Springer, Private Interview, March 2015

⁴¹⁹ Correspondence relating to the costing, manufacture, specification and installation can be found at: LRO 780 PHI Letter Books 2/1; 774, p. 970 (February 16th, 1938); LRO 780 PHI Letter Books 2/1; 0/290, p. 199-200 (May 10th, 1938); LRO 780 PHI Letter Books 2/1; 290, p. 808 (December 7th, 1938); For Review of the re-built organ see: *The Liverpolitan*, June 1939, p. 24

⁴²⁰ LRO 780 PHI Letter Books 2/1; 82/929, p. 601 (June 8th, 1934); June 24th, 1920; February 28th, 1928; for details regarding the, ‘Steinway Model ‘D’ Concert Grand, No. 267666, which was destroyed in the fire, see letter dated 10th July, 1933

⁴²¹ For example of Chappell Grand Piano see letter dated, February 26th, 1926

⁴²² This is evidenced in several letters – for specific examples see: LRO 780 PHI Letter Books 2/1; 371/973, p. 678 (July 24th, 1934); LRO 780 PHI Letter Books 2/1; 0/608, (January 14th, 1936); LRO 780 PHI Letter Books 2/1; 53, (July 29th, 1936); LRO 780 PHI Letter Books 2/1; 91/569, p. 521 (July 20th, 1937)

those concerts'. On October 11th, 1943, William was elected onto the 'Executive Committee to deal with matters concerning the orchestra'.

On the Friday, 1st July 1944, William collapsed at his desk and he died the following Sunday (3rd July). At the next meeting of the RLPS General Committee on 10th July 1944, 'the following resolution was approved with the committee standing':

This committee wishes to place on record its profound gratitude for the services given to music by William Rushworth for nearly sixty years. They are conscious of his qualities of leadership and desire, which he strove to put into effect that the people of Liverpool and district should have every opportunity for the appreciation and practice of the arts. Besides having the benefit of his advice and help over many years, this society has enjoyed his council as a member of its committee in the last two years of transition and his loss will be keenly felt. The committee desires to express its deepest sympathy with Mrs Rushworth and her family.

British Music Society

William's connection with the national music establishment was demonstrated by his founding of the Liverpool branch of the British Music Society in 1919. His premises at Islington provided its 'handsome clubroom for Liverpool members', which he equipped with a music library and use of a concert grand piano. The following quotes highlight the style and calibre of event that the British Music Society organised in conjunction with Rushworths and also the gratitude of the local music public for the William's approach to music education and performance.

Thanks to the public spirit and enterprise of Mr. William Rushworth the Society now enjoys the use of the handsomest club premises in the provinces, where members can foregather and enjoy social amenities as well as incidentally helping on the good cause of British music. On the opening evening the members were formally received by Mr E. A. Behrend, chairman of the local branch, and Lord Howard de Walden in his few and felicitous remarks recognised the leading part played by Liverpool in the new movement.⁴²³

⁴²³ *The Musical Times*, Vol. 60, No. 922 (Dec. 1, 1919), pp. 703-712

The British Music Society - whose local branch owes so much to the personal interest in its welfare taken by Mr. William Rushworth, its hon. Treasurer - commences its syllabus by a pianoforte recital by Mr. E. S. Mitchell on October 27, followed by Miss Ursula Greville's British song recital on November 5, and on November 28 Mr. Eugene Goossens will speak on 'Contemporary developments and tendencies in Music.' Another lecturer whose appearance is welcomed is Mr. Arthur Bliss (March 8). The wide-spread usefulness and success of the Society's meetings in its beautiful club-room in Messrs. Rushworth & Dreaper's Islington premises, are among the gratifying features of the great awakening of local interest in music and musical matters since this enterprising firm took the Liverpool branch under its wing.⁴²⁴

The association between Rushworths and the British Music Society again demonstrates William's commitment to combining practical musicianship and with the education, theory and historical aspects of music appreciation. This approach to musical interaction and education was repeated in several schemes instituted by William in the interest of the young musical public in Liverpool: the Bluecoat Society of Arts.

The Bluecoat Society of Arts

This case-study provides another insight into the role William Rushworth played in connecting and introducing different collectives from differing sectors of Liverpool society; in this instance the Liverpool Council and the Bluecoat Arts Society. Here William demonstrates his skills as a fundraiser, as a connecting influence amongst Liverpool's commercial and civic elites, his commitment to improving the condition of the city in the aftermath of war and his social standing and influence across all the arts, not just music.

The Bluecoat Society of Arts was established in January 1927, within a building on School Lane that had been built originally as a charity school. This building was to be reinvented as, 'a centre for the arts, with studios, club rooms and a concert hall that could also

⁴²⁴ *The Musical Times*, Vol. 62, No. 944 (Oct. 1, 1921), pp. 725-730

be used as an exhibition gallery'.⁴²⁵ On 4th December 1928, after the resignation of Mr Kelly from the executive committee of the Bluecoat Society of Arts, it was decided to ask William Rushworth to fill the vacancy.⁴²⁶ On the 20th December, 'the Secretary stated that Mr Rushworth had accepted the invitation sent to him to join the Committee'.⁴²⁷ William Rushworth's first involvement as a member of the executive committee of the Society was to attempt to raise funds by suggesting the setting up of 'a special appeal committee, composed mainly of a number of those who might be expected to take lively interest in the preservation of the building, but who had not been associated with earlier money-raising efforts, to appeal for gifts of valuable works of art, furniture and books, to be sold at public auction'.⁴²⁸

In 1937, William Rushworth was involved with another attempt to solve the economic hardships of the Society. Following the death of a Mr Earle, who had left a considerable fortune to be distributed at their discretion by his executors, in association with the Liverpool Council of Social Services, William had 'hoped that an opportunity had arisen for obtaining a sum of money sufficient to reduce or even extinguish the debt on the building'. However, in contrast, 'Mr H. C. Jackson, Secretary of the Liverpool Council of Social Services saw this as a chance of creating a centre for all the voluntary social services, or as many of them as could be housed under one roof; and not unnaturally his thoughts turned to Bluecoat Chambers'. Whether William approached Jackson, or vice-versa, is not known, however, he considered 'Jackson's proposal so hopeful that he called Layton, Chairman of the committee, into consultation. From the first Layton was distrustful and non-committal, and at a meeting with Jackson and

⁴²⁵ MacCunn, W. S., 1956. *Bluecoat Chambers: The Origin and Development of an Art Centre*. (Liverpool University Press: Liverpool). p. 25

⁴²⁶ LRO 367 BLU/1 Minutes of Meetings of Bluecoat Society of Arts 1927-1970, p. 171

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 179

⁴²⁸ MacCunn, W. S., 1956. *Bluecoat Chambers: The Origin and Development of an Art Centre*. (Liverpool University Press: Liverpool). p. 30

Rushworth he asked Jackson to put forward some definite proposal for the committee to consider.⁴²⁹

William Rushworth's dedication to the Bluecoat Arts Society was again apparent in the aftermath of the Liverpool Blitz during World War Two. During May 1941, Liverpool city centre was subject to sustained bombing by the German Luftwaffe, with the Bluecoat Chambers suffering very significant destruction. The cost of repairs was estimated at about £32,000.⁴³⁰ The costs would be recoverable from the War Damages Commission. However, with the building out of use and rents and income significantly reduced, the Society had to find ways to cover the annual deficits until rebuilding could be carried out and completed:

It was decided that an appeal should be made to the Trustees and members of the committee for loans to be secured by a second mortgage; the amount aimed at was £4000, and the Trustees and committee subscribed £2,250. It was then decided to make a wider appeal and a sub-committee consisting of Mr William Rushworth (Chairman), Professor Budden, Mrs Permewan and the Secretary was set up to organise and direct it. Largely thanks to the indefatigable perseverance of Rushworth, who threw all his energies into the task, a further £1,850 was raised in loans and £1,750 in gifts [...] The success of the appeal did not content Rushworth. He made contact with Mr P. R. England, the chairman of the Royal Insurance Company, and persuaded him to take over the first mortgage of £14,000 and charge interest at the very low rate of 3 per cent (the existing rate was 5 per cent). This was the most generous gesture on the part of the Royal Insurance Company who were influenced not only by Rushworth's able pleading, but by an appreciation of the value of the building to Liverpool and by a spirit of civic patriotism.⁴³¹

When William Rushworth died in 1944 it was noted,

This was a very real loss to the committee, of which he had been an invaluable member for sixteen years. His work in 1941 and 1942, in raising money and in persuading the Royal Insurance Company to take over the first mortgage, played a decisive part in ensuring the survival of the Trust, and was his greatest service to the committee; but, in less spectacular ways, he had given

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 34

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 42

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 44

much thought to its affairs over many years, and had always been ready and willing to put his specialised knowledge at its service.⁴³²

Liverpool Art Studies Association

The Liverpool Art Studies Association exemplifies the depth and range of William's civic and societal interests. The object of the Arts Studies Association, which was established in 1907-08, was 'the promotion of the aesthetic side of all Art Studies, and for the cultivation of a sense of beauty in all forms of Art'⁴³³. In several of the Annual Reports there are numerous personal notes of gratitude and thanks to Rushworth & Dreaper for their efforts in support of the Association, for example, in 1919-20 the annual Report outlines,

Once more the Association is indebted to Messrs Rushworth and Dreaper. Through their efforts, Mr Robertson, L.R.A.M., associated with the H.M.V Gramophone Company, gave a stimulating talk on 'The Place of the Gramophone in Teaching Musical Appreciation in Schools [...] Refreshments in the artistic New Tea Room, were provided by Messrs Rushworth and Dreaper [...] Messrs Rushworth and Dreaper made arrangements whereby the Stirling String Trio visited four schools. These recitals were attended by about 1850 children who showed by quiet attention and intelligent questions how interested they were [...] The hearty thanks of the Association are given to Messrs Rushworth and Dreaper who provided annotated programmes for the Stirland Recitals and also pianos free of charge.⁴³⁴

All these acknowledgements were made in the same Annual Report of 1919-20 and similarly, Rushworth's contributions to the Association are equally recognised in later Annual Reports. For example, in 1923-24, the Report explains that,

the Association feels bound to congratulate Messrs. Rushworth and Dreaper on the energy and public spirit which have induced them to repeat for the benefit of adults during the coming season that illustrated orchestral concerts at Picton Hall, which have done so much for the older children during the past two years. With the inauguration of this development the Association believes that a more consistent effort is being made in Liverpool than anywhere else in the country to

⁴³² Ibid., p. 48

⁴³³ Art Studies Association, Twelfth Annual Report, Session 1919-20. Available from LRO 706.8REP

⁴³⁴ Art Studies Association, Twelfth Annual Report, Session 1919-20. Available from LRO 706.8REP

implant a love of good music and knowledge of it among large masses of the population in whose case access to the concert-room has hitherto been restricted.⁴³⁵

Similarly, in 1927, the Report highlights that

the Society of Scribes and illuminators, on the conclusion of an exhibition of their work in London, sent a large number of exhibits to Liverpool. The housing of the Exhibition and all the business arrangements were undertaken by Mr W. Rushworth and the excellent way in which the work was carried out, cannot be too highly praised. The Lecture Hall, at 11 Islington, was placed at our disposal, and members of the staff were given valuable assistance during the fortnight the Exhibition was open. In addition to this, Mr Rushworth secured the services of Mr G. Calvert Dixon, of the Royal Academy and Slade School, who gave explanatory demonstrations, which added greatly to the value and interest of the Exhibition.⁴³⁶

William's particular influence within the Art studies Association saw him attract some of the biggest, most popular and high profile exhibitions, performers and cultural authorities from across Britain to Liverpool, generally with the sole intention of generating public interest, knowledge and appreciation of music, art, culture and education.

Rotary Club of Liverpool

As his profile and reputation was being recognised nationally, in Liverpool William was building a reputation as a leading businessmen in the city. His role in the formation of the Liverpool Rotary Club provides illuminating insight into his profile and reputation amongst the commercial elites. Author, David Ben Rees, in his history of the Liverpool Rotary Club, explains that the principles of Rotary were focussed on 'the idealism of caring for one's community and initiating an international outlook'.⁴³⁷ However, what is known about the formation of Liverpool Rotary is quite illuminating as it highlights the strategy of Stuart Morrow in establishing international branches of Rotary and also reinforces the perception and

⁴³⁵ Art Studies Association, Sixteenth Annual Report, Session 1923-24. Available from LRO 706.8REP

⁴³⁶ Art Studies Association, Twentieth Annual Report, Session 1927-28. Available from LRO 706.8REP

⁴³⁷ Ben Rees, D., 2013. *Celebrating the Centenary of the Liverpool Rotary Club, 1913-2013*. (Modern Welsh Publications: Carmarthenshire). p. 15.

centrality of William's position amongst Liverpool's commercial elites. After clubs were established in Dublin, Belfast, Glasgow, Edinburgh, London and Manchester, Morrow then moved on to Liverpool after encouragement from the Chicago based leaders, Paul Harris, Silvester Schiele, Gus Loehr and Hiram Shorey. The process of Morrow in establishing a Liverpool Branch of Rotary is best explained by Ben Rees:

This was his method. After arriving in a city like Liverpool, where he hardly knew a living person, he would immediately start planning his strategy. In Dublin and Belfast he had been fortunate in his contacts, but Liverpool was entirely different. So he would settle in his hotel and find out who were some of the leading businessmen of the city. In Liverpool, Morrow decided that the first businessman that he should approach would be William Rushworth, who had a large music shop in Islington. From William Rushworth, he was introduced to T. H. Jackson, a well-known solicitor, then C. H. Addinsell, a gentleman's outfitter, and G. J. Pratt, a fish merchant as well as A. J. H. Reid, an insurance man. To each of them he would sell the idea of a Rotary Club. Within twelve months of arriving in Liverpool he called a meeting of all those business people who had shown an interest and had met with him, as well as heard the praising of the benefits of being a Rotarian. He booked a room at the Hotel St George in Lime Street on 27 March 1913 and spoke eloquently to those who turned up. The arrangement worked well in Dublin, Belfast, Glasgow and Edinburgh. So why should it not succeed in Liverpool? It did. He was proved right. Morrow was elected as the organising secretary, was paid one guinea a week and half a guinea per member introduced and recruited into the fold.⁴³⁸

After the founding of the Liverpool Rotary club, Ben Rees explains that at the first meeting of the Club on 3 April 1913,

William Rushworth should have been offered the Presidency but he preferred to be a member of the Committee. In fact, he declined the Presidency throughout his long Rotary involvement. He was a Rotarian for 31 years until his death in 1944, one of the few remaining founder members by then. He supported the Club enthusiastically and so did his son and grandson.⁴³⁹

William Rushworth fulfilled other roles in his active capacity as a Rotarian; namely, he was appointed Chairman of the 'jobs for demobs' scheme which was designed to find employment

⁴³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 16-17

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 19

amongst the businesses of Rotarians for ex-servicemen returning from World War One.⁴⁴⁰ William was appointed Chairman of another Rotary committee which successfully found employment for 400 war orphans in four years.⁴⁴¹ This complemented the work he was doing with the South-West Lancashire War Pensions Committee. He was also Honorary Treasurer of the Lord Mayors War Fund Committee. What these examples illustrate is William's multifarious array of causes and committees which were not primarily concerned with music, culture or his business enterprise. These efforts during the period of war highlight the morals and ideals of a man concerned with serving the community, public service, and assisting with the social difficulties faced by England upon the cessation of the Great War. David Webster (Chairman of the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Society), in an appreciation written for the press, summarises this aspect of William's character and personality:

the war has rescued the word 'service' from the degradation threatened it by advertisers. Rushworth served. We have in England many people who are generous with their money. There are fewer, but he was one, who are generous with their time and experience. He was always willing to help, and he went to endless pains for institutions and projects in which he was interested. He cared passionately for doing things in the right way, and he always cared for the right things. He never pushed himself to the front, but he was always ready with the support and inspiration a keen brain and a spirit of enthusiasm could give.⁴⁴²

The success of William's efforts and the acknowledgement of his social, charitable and cultural contribution is reflected in the warmth and respect directed towards him from the Liverpool commercial and civic community. He was at the very centre of Liverpool's cultural, musical and artistic life, and through his charm, hard-work, generosity and intelligence, he was able to assist and direct the formation of the Liverpool Rotary Club and contribute towards its success and longevity. The role he played in the creation of the Liverpool Rotary demonstrates the

⁴⁴⁰ For full details of the 'jobs for demobs' scheme see: *The Financial Times*, September 13, 1920, p. 6

⁴⁴¹ 'Death of Mr W Rushworth - Loss to Liverpool Musical Life' – loose newspaper cutting, unsourced. Provided by Rushworth family.

⁴⁴² 'Late Mr. William Rushworth – An Appreciation. Loose newspaper cutting – unsourced. Provided by Rushworth family.

network of contacts, associates and business partners which were on hand to support William in his latest venture and shows his capacity to bring people together from diverse commercial and professional backgrounds but also arouse their interest and passion in the formation of new institutions.

The Liverpool Organisation

Importantly, William's social interests did not reside solely in cultural and musical movements – he was at the heart of the Liverpool Organisation⁴⁴³ established during the inter-war period in 1928. The Organisation was designed to improve commerce and attract industry and investment to the region in the aftermath of World War One. Belchem highlights the 'essential purpose of the Liverpool Organisation and the Civic Weeks was to boom Liverpool not only as the greatest shipping centre in the country, but also as a rising industrial centre'.⁴⁴⁴ The Organisation had, as its Chairman, Mr F. J. Marquis and had among its committee many of Liverpool's commercial elites such as the Earl of Woolton, who in his memoirs explained that he recalled:

with much pride my associates of those days - among others, Sir Bertram Chimes, Mr Samuel Gluckstein, Mr R. J. McAlpine, Mr William Rushworth, Mr Graham Reece, Mr Stubbs, Alderman R. J. Hall, Mr Van Gruisen, Mr P. C. Roberts, Mr Harvey Dodd, Mr N. Nicholson, and Mr Derry of the Cunard Steamship Company.⁴⁴⁵

Whilst the success or failure of the organisation is up for debate it is important because it highlights the esteem with which William was held in Liverpool, and the fact that his sphere of influence extended far beyond the bounds of music centric activities and organisation.

⁴⁴³ The full title of the Organisation was, 'The Liverpool Organisation for Advancing the trade and Commerce of Liverpool'

⁴⁴⁴ Belchem, J., 'Introduction: Celebrating Liverpool', in *Liverpool 800*. (Liverpool University Press: Liverpool). p. 36

⁴⁴⁵ *The Memoirs of the Rt. Hon. The Earl of Woolton, C.H., P.C., D.J., L.L.D.* 1959. (Cassell: London). pp. 112-115

William was respected amongst his peers, the commercial elites of Liverpool, and was a notable and important figure amongst the higher echelons of the city's civic circles.

St Anne's Citizen Institute

William's involvement with the St Anne's Citizen Institute reflected his commitment to enriching the lives of the poorer sections of Liverpool society. The Citizen Institute was acclaimed for 'the method of providing for the general leisure interest by means of voluntary social centres is attracting much attention at the present time in Liverpool, and of the neighbourhood centres St Anne's Citizen institute is probably the most complete example in the city, if not in the country'⁴⁴⁶. William was a prominent member of the Institute's General Council and held the position of Honorary Treasurer as part of the Executive Committee. As well as administrative duties he also made financial contributions, with the business, Rushworth & Dreaper contributing £30 subscription, whilst William made a personal £5 annual donation to the 'Camp and Christmas Cheer etc.' fund. In addition to this William also made a 'special donation' of £50.⁴⁴⁷ Upon William's death in 1944 the Institute included the following dedication in the annual report,

Early in July we received a further shock by the sudden death of Mr William Rushworth. We place on record our sincere appreciation of his untiring practical interest in the work of the Institute for many years. His association commenced about the end of the last war, and he joined the Committee when it was reconstituted in January, 1920. He was appointed Vice-Chairman, and continued in this office until 1929, when he relinquished it to take on the Hon. Treasurership. In the latter position he was very active until the time of his death. His help and sound judgement were invaluable, and his happy personality is sadly missed by all who were associated with him.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁶ Report on the Uses of Leisure in Liverpool, November 1923. Quoted in, St Anne's Citizen Institute Annual Report, 30th September 1941. Available from LRO 367SAI

⁴⁴⁷ St Anne's Citizen Institute Annual Report, 30th September 1941 LRO 367SAI

⁴⁴⁸ St Anne's Citizen Institute Annual Report, 30th September 1944 LRO 367SAI

William Rushworth and the award of M.B.E

As the onset of World War One approached, William had been successful in securing the future of the Rushworth business under his stewardship. He had united the Organ Works and the Retail premises under one familial line which would see both arms of the business passed down to William's only son, James, upon his death in 1944.

William's influence on the cultural life of Liverpool continued to grow during the war period. He was part of several movements designed to engender a greater sense of cultural awareness and cultural appreciation across Merseyside – these included William's presence on additional Liverpool committees such as the Liverpool Organisation, The Art Studies Association and the St Anne's Citizen Institute. As part of his service as an active Rotarian he was Chairman of the 'jobs for demobs scheme', which found work for ex-servicemen, in addition to his work in finding employment for those left orphaned after the war had ended. This was complemented by the work he fulfilled as a member of the South-West Lancashire War Pension Committee. In 1931, as part of the King's New Year's Honours List, William Rushworth received the distinction of the award of 'Member of the Order of the British Empire'. The local press was quick in their acknowledgement of the reception of the MBE, with the *Liverpool Echo*⁴⁴⁹, *Liverpool Daily Post*⁴⁵⁰, *Liverpool Weekly Post*⁴⁵¹, and the *West Kirby Advertiser* all running stories congratulating William on the award. It is interesting to note that the sub-headings record that the award was conferred in connection with William's 'public spirit' and 'public service'. The President of the Liverpool Rotary, Mr W. J. Smith, declared to the *Echo*,

⁴⁴⁹ *Liverpool Echo*, 1st January, 1931

⁴⁵⁰ *Liverpool Daily Post*, 2nd January 1931

⁴⁵¹ *Liverpool Weekly Post*, 3rd January 1931

in addition to other community work, Mr Rushworth is a member of the South-West Lancashire War Pensions Committee, and we are all familiar with his work for the Rotary War Orphans scheme. He sets us all a wonderful example in his public spirit.⁴⁵²

The *Daily Post* went further by detailing his work in the interest of Liverpool's ex-servicemen,

[William] has rendered valuable service as Chairman of the Rotary War Orphans Committee which, working in conjunction with the Ministry of Pensions, placed more than 400 war orphans in employment in about four years. Mr Rushworth has also presided over the 'Jobs for Demobs' committee, which, with the co-operation of the Liverpool newspapers, found administrative positions for 1000 ex-servicemen. He is vice-chairman of St Anne's Citizen Institute and chairman of the Matthew Arnold Council School, Dingle.⁴⁵³

In typically modest and humble fashion, William had the following 'personal note' circulated to Rushworth employees in the 'Rushworth & Dreaper Staff Newsletter':

As it is difficult for me to thank each one of you personally, I gladly avail myself of the medium of staff notes to express my deep appreciation of your good wishes and of your token of esteem which took the tangible form of a presentation piece of silver to mark the occasion of the conferment of the M.B.E upon me by His Majesty the King for some little work I had done in connection to finding employment for War Orphans. The gift is a charming one which I shall always treasure, and I wish to convey to each one of you my warmest thanks.⁴⁵⁴

Upon the announcement of William's inclusion in the New Year's Honours List many letters were sent to the business offering congratulatory comments. These provide an indication of the general feeling of respect and goodwill which many important organisations across Liverpool felt compelled to impart to him. The congratulatory letters were compiled and preserved in a scrap-book, which has kindly been made available to this project by the Rushworth family. What is striking about the scrapbook is the diversity of causes and organisations that were eager to acknowledge the receipt of this much-deserved honour. For example, letters were received from the 'Liverpool Society for the Prevention of International Traffic in Women and

⁴⁵² *Liverpool Echo*, 1st January 1931.

⁴⁵³ *Liverpool Daily Post*, 2nd January 1931

⁴⁵⁴ 'Rushworth & Dreaper's Staff News Letter', 23rd January 1931.

Children’, ‘The Vice-Dean of Liverpool Cathedral’, ‘The Ministry of Pensions’ (Liverpool and London Branches) – the letter from the Ministry of Pension was particularly poignant as the Chief Area Officer, Mr Rawdon-Smith, states,

if I remember his [the Rotary President’s] words rightly, he said that you were one of the finest men in the City and one of the finest members of this Club [the Rotary], in both of which sentiment I heartily agree. I am extremely gratified the King has been able to give you this recognition of your work on behalf of the war orphan boys. No one realises better than I do the enormous amount of personal work it has meant to you to place the great number of boys in employment that you have done. I don’t know if you know it, but this area, in spite of the fact that unemployment in general is much higher here than in other parts of the country, has the best record for the number of war orphans boys in employment and this fact is due entirely to your hard work to this end.⁴⁵⁵

Other Liverpool organisations to offer their congratulations include, ‘Ministry of Labour, Employment and Insurance Department’; ‘Liverpool Boys Association’ – this letter includes the line, ‘it seems silly for me to say that there is not a man in Liverpool who deserves it more, but this is a fact, and we are all delighted’⁴⁵⁶; ‘Public Libraries Liverpool’; ‘Liverpool Rotary’ (and Rotary International, London); ‘Steinway & Sons’ – this series of letters contain phrases such as,

I want to hasten to congratulate you upon a very splendid distinction which has fallen on the shoulders of a very splendid man ... on behalf of Steinway & Sons our heartiest congratulations ... which we are certain was never bestowed ion a more worthy gentleman ... might I add that I hope time will quickly come when a fitting acknowledgement will be made to you of the unique work which you initiated and are carrying on in relation to the propagation of musical interest among children, and all that that wonderful work implies.⁴⁵⁷

The letter from the ‘Columbia Graphophone Company, Ltd.,’ states, ‘I certainly think that all you have done for Liverpool well deserves this recognition. I hope it will be the forerunner for

⁴⁵⁵ Letter from W. H. Rawdon-Smith to William Rushworth, 1st January 1931 [private collection].

⁴⁵⁶ Letter from Liverpool Boys Association to William Rushworth, 2nd January 1931 [private collection]

⁴⁵⁷ Letter from Steinway & Sons to William Rushworth, 23rd and 29th January 1931. [private collection]

many others'⁴⁵⁸; 'The Federation of British Music Industries'; 'the Gramophone Company Ltd; 'The Liverpool Organisation'; and 'Wilson, Cowie and Dillon, solicitors' all also sent letters of appreciation.⁴⁵⁹ The award of this Royal distinction illuminates several facts about the work and character of William Rushworth. More than anything, they highlight the diversity of his interests, which far extended the boundaries of his business and commercial enterprise. They encompassed all aspects of Liverpool commercial, civic, musical, philanthropic and charitable organisations and institutions. They are all unanimous in their praise of his work across the city, his public spirit and public spirit and the fact that the award is appropriate for his level of commitment to his causes, the generosity of his time and effort and that the distinction of M.B.E is richly deserved.

Conclusion

What is the most appropriate way of describing the socio-cultural innovations and actions of William Rushworth? Was he an entrepreneur, a philanthropist or a social entrepreneur? What was the motivation behind William's decision to make such a sustained and varied contribution to the artistic and cultural community in Liverpool? Did he have the foresight and intuition to understand that investment in cultural initiatives would result in the greater returns and profits for his business? Was he aware of a real societal requirement for a cultural visionary who would promote, facilitate and administrate cultural events, occasions and performances?

In the case of William, his cultural contribution encompassed two important aspects of his private and professional life. The first aspect was primarily concerned with the functioning of the musical instrument business and connecting services and departments that would cater

⁴⁵⁸ Letter from Columbia Graphophone Company, Ltd., to William Rushworth, 15th January 1931 [private collection]

⁴⁵⁹ This is not an exhaustive list but letters and company's selected to show the diversity, scale and scope of the organisations which were keen to acknowledge and celebrate this 'much-deserved' honour. I am grateful to the Rushworth family for providing the scrap-book of letters for my perusal during the research.

to and facilitate not only the retail of instruments, but also the enjoyment, education and appreciation of music – these took the form of a concert hall (which covered the enjoyment and participation aspects), a lecture hall and examination halls, as well as associations with the national musical establishment such as the Northern College of Music, the Royal College of Music, Trinity College of Music (covering education), and finally the concert bureau and antique museum which were designed to foster and engender a sense of musical appreciation, via the hiring and performances of world-class popular musical talent such as Rachmaninoff, Moiseiwitsch, Melba, Mischa Elman and Solomon and the antiques would promote the education, understanding and passion for music. The second aspect encompassed service to the community and facilitation of the musical economy and public in Liverpool – providing outlets and produce that would arouse musical appreciation and interest. In this case we can refer to the Rushworth Festival of Music and Verse, the publication of annual Musical Year Books and Concert Calendars, the publication of Teachers Notes and the institution, administration and facilitation of the Liverpool Music Teachers Association which connected the teachers and the pupils with the music shop, where they would practice, sit their examinations onsite, and purchase instruments (at discounted rates). A third arm of cultural influence and innovation came in the form of his societal and associational duties and roles across Merseyside and also in national organisations.

An article which appeared in Henrichsen's Musical Year Book in 1947 provided a detailed insight into the dealings, contribution and departments within Rushworth business. The article opens up with the following statement:

This article on Rushworth & Dreaper and their work is printed in the hope that it may stimulate music firms, the profession and music lovers to get together locally to develop the right type of musical activities on sound lines by mutual collaboration.

The author highlights some of the characteristics and ideals espoused by William Rushworth:

Their relationship with the various musical societies' and organisations' activities is a result of a long-term policy inaugurated by the late William Rushworth. He realised that the music trade must be prepared to give service in addition to offering merchandise for sale. He therefore fostered collaboration between the trade and the art by providing the facilities which those residing in the Liverpool area have come to take for granted. His great interest in music as a vital educational and cultural factor in the life of the citizens is well-known, and for many years his advice was sought by existing societies and by people desiring to launch new ventures in the field of musical activity. On his death in 1944, Mr David Webster, then Chairman of the Liverpool Philharmonic Society and now administrator of the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, in a press tribute wrote that 'whether he agreed with a new proposal or not, no one asking his advice or criticism appealed to him in vain.'⁴⁶⁰

One point that needs stressing is the environmental factors which influenced the cultural contribution of William. William could not have had such a huge impact on the culture of the city if the local populace was not so keen to consume and absorb his cultural initiatives. For example, there is little point sourcing, investing and acquiring an antique collection of musical instruments to have in permanent display, if there is not a general musical public who would be interested to view them. Similarly, there is no point in opening an art gallery if there are no artists who want to contribute paintings, nor a clientele who would be interested in viewing the exhibitions. In this way, the Rushworth festival would not have been a success had there not been large amounts of music teachers and pupils/students interested in showcasing their talents and development.

Table 5.1: The social and cultural contributions of William, including a summary of their objectives and function

Innovations/organisation/cause	Function/objective/contribution
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rushworth Art Gallery • Rushworth Hall • Rushworth Antique Collection 	As a group these innovations were designed to bring potential customers, musicians, clients and musical/cultural/artistic general public to the Rushworth site – for cultural purposes/activities, but not necessarily to purchase instruments, products and goods
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Concerts for Children • Brass Band Competition • Rushworth Festival 	Encourage musical participation and performance. Provide music students with an outlet to showcase their talents and show parents the fruits of their investment in tuition, equipment and instruments

⁴⁶⁰ Tide, T, O., 1947. Liverpool: A Unique Music Firm. In, Henrichsen's Musical Year Book, VOL. IV-V, 1947-48.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Music Teachers Association • Concert Calendars • Teachers Notes • Concert & Entertainment Bureau 	<p>Mobilising and connecting the music teachers of the region with each other and with music students – providing access to musical tuition. Encourage musical participation, enjoyment, tuition, education and learning. Bringing world class talent, performers and musicians to Liverpool and Merseyside.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bluecoat Arts Society • Liverpool Rotary • Liverpool Organisation • Playhouse Theatre • Art Studies Association • St Anne’s Citizen Institute 	<p>Non-music specific, but still cultural and artistic, organisations. William would offer his administrative and organisational skills; the professional nature of his business back office and use of his premises; his contact, his time and his personal expertise. Reflects his social standing and civic presence and the range of his public interests.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rodewald Concert Society • Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Society 	<p>Music specific organisations up on which William sat on the executive committees and contributed to the administration, organisation and functioning. Strong commercial links established with the RLPS with generated sales, contracts and income for Rushworths (e.g. pipe organ, piano supply and servicing) and much collaboration with these societies over concert and event management and organisation – shared risk and profits.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jobs for Demobs Scheme • War Orphans Scheme • War Pensions Fund 	<p>Wartime Contributions – public service. Non-music specific. Duties and contribution to society that was specific to the period but shows William’s adaptability and provides insight into his public spirit. Again this reinforces the strength of his public image, reputation and service.</p>

As has been discussed, the societal life of Liverpool, the ‘clubland’, provided the outlets through which William could realise his ideals and visions, whilst acquire the social and cultural capital necessary to have a real, tangible influence on the cultural life of the city. Whilst it has been outlined the role and impact that William had on the foremost cultural institutions and organisations of Liverpool, it must be stated that many of these organisations existed long before he was invited to join them; Liverpool had the vibrant, wealthy, educated and cultured sectors of middle-classes and merchant elites which had the requisite clubs, societies and associations, providing the base from which William could realise his cultural vision of an enlightened and musically engaged Liverpool populace.

However, this does not account for William the cultural innovator, who created, formed and financed many cultural initiatives and organisations both locally and nationally. William was a pioneer of the Federation of British Music Industries and a founder member of the

Liverpool Rotary Club. He reinvigorated the Liverpool Competitive Music Festival, and created the Brass Band Competition and formed the Liverpool branch of the British Music Society.

In conclusion the process of cultural contribution and cultural exchange worked reciprocally – the city provided the culturally engaged, educated and wealthy consumers of cultural products - William provided access to the arts, festivals, competition and education designed to generate greater interest, educated understanding, and a general desire to consume music, arts and culture. There is no point opening a museum or art gallery if there will not be any visitors, in the same way that there is no point creating a festival or competition if there will be no entrants and participants –so whilst William was sponsoring, advertising, promoting and administering several cultural pursuits, his efforts would have been futile without the requisite local market to consume (and contribute towards) his cultural enterprise. The way that William tackled this issue is by creating, servicing and promoting the virtues of education, culture and music, complimenting this by instituting outlets designed to engender and foster a greater cultural awareness which would ultimately create the next generation of cultured local citizens. In this way, William had the vision, the finance, the society and the cultural and social capital required to create the environment in which the business flourished.

The nature and focus of William's cultural contribution shifted as the period of his leadership of the firm developed. His early innovations seem to focus more on organising events (Rushworth Festival, Rushworth Collection of Antiques, Rushworth Hall), publications (Teachers Notes, Concert and Entertainment Calendars) and services (Music Teachers Association, Concert Bureau and Antiques) which were designed to raise the profile of the business, increase custom/profits, attract people out the shop and connect with the musical public, music teachers and children. However, as time moved on, William's public service extended to the primary cultural institutions of the city (music and non-music) such as the

Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Society, Playhouse Theatre, Rodewald Concert Society, Art Association, Rotary and Bluecoat Society. So initially his focus appeared to be primarily within his industry, within his business, within his strand of cultural expertise – trying to initiate, finance, administer and organise cultural events, occasions, performance, competitions and festivals in an attempt to raise the profile of the business, reinforced the reputation and generate sales and increase profit. Following this, as his social profile and reputation improved, and his standing and track record increased – then his emphasis moved into the realms of the City, the region, the locality. He was a patron of the arts and in his capacity as a successful business leader he had the social and cultural capital and the commercial and financial back-up to influence culture, music and the arts on a regional scale.

Chapter Six

The Development of the Business under James Rushworth: the Fourth Generation

It [the Music House] should be able to offer everything to the musician – pianos, organs, and a wide range of other musical instruments; the best possible selection of sheet music together with scores, tutors, all of this backed up with good repair and service workshops. Certainly have, as we do, a full selection of records, tapes and now videotapes, but also, if possible, a special violin room where these instruments and their accessories are available together with a repair service under a trained and experienced luthier.

James Rushworth, OBE, M.A., JP. (1982)

Introduction

In 1932, William James Lyon Rushworth⁴⁶¹ joined the family business, representing the fourth generation of continuous Rushworth control of the company. He was aged 19 and had spent his school years being privately educated at Wrekin College in Shropshire. James's father, William, had been educated locally at Liverpool College so this marked an increasingly gentrified family approach to education. In a manner typical of the era, he by-passed the opportunity to attend University, and spent his formative years in the business shadowing the activities of his father, in both a professional and societal capacity. In a *Liverpool Echo* article celebrating his 50th anniversary in the music business James recalled that,

‘When I left school he [William, his father] asked me what University I wanted – Oxford or Cambridge? But I decided to get on with learning the business, as my father was then 62. As it is, he went on until he was 74.’ James Rushworth admits that his decision to miss out on university brought regrets by the time he was 40. ‘You’d be mixing with so many people on boards and committees and become aware that they had this extra dimension of experience’.⁴⁶²

⁴⁶¹ Despite his full name being William James Lyon Rushworth, he was known in the business, and throughout his lifetime, generally, as ‘Mr James’.

⁴⁶² *Liverpool Echo*, Saturday, February 5, 1983, p. 7.

The company had undergone rapid transformation since James' father William had joined the company during the late nineteenth century. Not only had the business increased in physical size, with both the organ works and retail sites occupying larger premises, but the firm had increased the number of services and facilities it offered to Liverpool's musical public. Another important development was the amalgamation of the organ works and the retail establishment under the sole stewardship of William. The social, cultural and financial capital connected to the family and the business had been on a constant, consistent and increasingly upwards trajectory. James would have to encounter changing musical tastes, developing musical technologies and shifting modes of musical reception that would alter the demands and outlook of his musical enterprise.

At the moment that James joined the firm, William could be considered to be at the forefront of Liverpool's cultural and commercial elites. His influence extended far beyond the bounds of his company and his administrative expertise combined with his reputable and well-established business to provide the foundation upon which William could contribute to the local cultural economy. So whereas William of the third generation had joined a small family-owned enterprise, operating from one site, concentrating on a single branch of commerce (musical instruments retail – the organ works at that time was under control of another branch of the family, William's uncle, Walter, and his cousins, Walter Maynard and Harry), James joined a nationwide enterprise, that involved both organ building and musical instrument retail. The company held major sole agency agreements with the world's leading piano manufacturers, at expansive premises at Islington (Numbers 11-17 Islington) and contained a museum containing a collection of antique musical instruments, a concert hall, a lecture hall, a club-room and several practice, recording and tuition studios, and a lunch and tea room. The Organ Works had outgrown its premises at Mill Street and under William had been moved to much larger premises at Great George Street. The organ building arm of the business had

expanded its operations and marketed itself as the ‘Cathedral Organ Works’ fulfilling a multitude of large-scale overseas contracts. The business was at the zenith of its growth and profitability and James arrived at what seemed a promising moment to expand the business in the post-war period.

In 1944, William of the third generation died at his desk in Islington. He was rushed to the Royal Infirmary but attempts to revive him were unsuccessful. James succeeded his father in control of the business and continued to develop the business into the post-war period. William had adopted a ‘one-heir’ or ‘chosen one’ approach with regards to succession planning.⁴⁶³ This is probably because James was William’s only son. Whatever the reason William and James worked, side-by-side, in the business which would have been of immeasurable benefit to James and helped ease transition after William’s death. James would go on to oversee many phases of development during a career that would last until 1997, and received many personal accolades and awards in recognition of his contribution to the cultural and musical life of Merseyside.

This chapter will account for the changing structure of the business under James’ leadership, changes that included the amalgamation, incorporation and takeover of many musical retail establishments locally, and several major organ companies nationally. James initiated the increasingly profitable move to send many pipe organs to locations such as West and South Africa. Locally, he established, organised and administered many projects that were designed to promote and encourage musical participation and education, such as Liverpool Youth Music Association and the William Rushworth Memorial Trust. Continuing the legacy and public service of his father, James continued the family line of involvement with many of Liverpool’s largest and most prestigious cultural institutions and organisations such as the

⁴⁶³ See Literature Review chapter, p.26

Bluecoat Arts Society, the Liverpool Playhouse theatre, the Rodewald Society and Liverpool Rotary. This chapter will look at the development of the business, the initiatives James took, both musically and culturally, and assess the impact he had on musical development across Merseyside. It will draw upon the testimony of several conducted interviews⁴⁶⁴ during the course of the research. In doing so it will provide first-hand accounts, insight and recollections of the personalities and characters involved and also of the business, and the contribution and role that it and the Rushworth family played in the musical life of the city.

Liverpool's Economic Condition

As has been explained in earlier chapters, at the turn of the twentieth century, Liverpool was still considered a prosperous and wealthy port city. However, the onset of two World Wars during the first half of the twentieth century damaged the local economy. John Belchem explains the impact of the First World War on Liverpool's economy:

at the same time, external factors intervened, particularly in the 1930s when the depression hit Liverpool very hard; unemployment remained twice the national average throughout the decade and, in consequence, Liverpool was a 'stricken city' with 'boarded up shops and empty offices' reduced to the point of 'impoverishment' almost unbelievable when compared to pre-war conditions.⁴⁶⁵

The impact of World War Two was to disrupt Liverpool's flow of trade severely. The years of austerity and destruction caused by the Blitz of the German Luftwaffe were to leave an indelible mark on Liverpool's landscape as well as the mentality of its resident population⁴⁶⁶. Sheila Marriner's study of the 'Social and Economic Development of Merseyside' presents a picture of a Liverpool that entered the war in a precarious economic state, but left it in a much worse one: 'Merseyside had suffered persistently higher unemployment rates than the national

⁴⁶⁴ The interviews have taken a variety of formats including written, recorded, telephone, email exchange, skype, face-to-face, formal and informal. See Appendix II for full details of interviews.

⁴⁶⁵ Belchem, J., 2006. *Liverpool 800*. (Liverpool University Press: Liverpool). pp. 39

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 44, 166, 168, 262

average. In 1939, for example, the percentage of unemployed in Merseyside was 18.8 compared with the national average for Great Britain and Northern Ireland of 9.6 per cent'.⁴⁶⁷

Jon Murden provides detailed insight into the cost of World War Two on Merseyside,

In total, wartime raids destroyed 6,585 homes and a further 125,310 properties were seriously damaged. Almost 4000 people died and twice that number was seriously injured. Liverpool's city centre and docklands took a severe pounding and enormous amounts of damage were inflicted ... As a result of this bombardment, for much of the next thirty-five years Liverpool would be engaged in an attempt to rebuild itself, transforming the physical as well as the character of the city in the process.⁴⁶⁸

Mass Observation Reports conducted in Liverpool during the war highlighted a 'business as usual' attitude around the city, despite the destruction of the docks and city centre and the constant threat of bombing raids by the German Luftwaffe. It is noted that in Liverpool the cafes, restaurants, music halls, cinemas and shopping centres remained open for business and the local populace appeared at ease with the imminent threat of further attacks. The Mass Observation Report highlights that there was a general feeling of good-cheer which included singing, whistling and drinking. Most relevantly, the report explains that the dance halls remained open through the night with around 500 per night people in attendance, even during air raids.⁴⁶⁹ Similarly, the Liverpool Philharmonic Society continued with its subscription series. De Boufflers-Taylor explains that despite, 'Liverpool suffering severely from air raids in 1940 and 1941, the Luftwaffe was unable to bring the Philharmonic to its knees [...] Audiences flocked to experience a couple of hours respite from the horrors and frustrations surrounding them, augmented by men and women of HM Forces temporarily resident in

⁴⁶⁷ Marriner, S., 1982. *The Economic and Social Development of Merseyside*. (Croom Helm: London). p. 126

⁴⁶⁸ Murden, J., 2006. 'City of Change and Challenge': Liverpool since 1945. In, Belchem, J., (ed.), *Liverpool 800*. (Liverpool University Press: Liverpool). p. 393.

⁴⁶⁹ LIVERPOOL AND MANCHESTER. [File Report]. At: Place: University of Sussex. Available through: Adam Matthew, Marlborough, Mass Observation Online, <http://www.massobservation.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Details/FileReport-538> [Accessed July 29, 2015].

Liverpool, foreign soldiers and sailors and émigrés'.⁴⁷⁰ According to the Report, Liverpool displayed extraordinary traits of defiance and a 'business as usual' attitude despite the difficulties caused by the war. The Report suggests this is completely different to the situation in Manchester and even suggests that Liverpool's approach to wartime hostilities could have been shaped and informed by the prevalent port-city dynamic. In references to the port-city dynamic the Report highlights the drunkenness of sailors, their propensity to engage with prostitutes and cause general disruption and social disorder. It is also explained, however, that 'the sailors brought an atmosphere of revelry and holiday which they continued throughout air-raid warnings, and which was in direct contrast to the depression atmosphere of the blitz [as exemplified in Manchester]', the Report refers to this as 'Ultramorale'.⁴⁷¹ In the case of Rushworths, the onset of war resulted in the Organ Works at Great George Street being requisitioned by the Ministry of Defence and reorganised to construct aeroplane wings for the Royal Air Force. This brought a halt to much of Rushworth & Dreaper's organ construction and had an obvious negative impact on the profitability of the firm during this period. One anecdote, provided by the son of an organ builder, Bill Duncan, recalled how Rushworths used the timber, which was stored by the firm to construct the case-work for pipe organs, to build an air raid shelter during war time and then re-used it post-war to build organs.⁴⁷²

What is more important than the figures and statistics was the impact the prevalent economic deterioration in Liverpool (as a consequence of two world wars, the Great Depression and the decline of the Lancashire cotton industry⁴⁷³) was having on the local

⁴⁷⁰ De Boufflers-Taylor, S., 1974. *Two Centuries of Music in Liverpool*. (Rockcliff Brothers: Liverpool). p. 25

⁴⁷¹ LIVERPOOL AND MANCHESTER. [File Report]. At: Place: University of Sussex. Available through: Adam Matthew, Marlborough, Mass Observation Online, <http://www.massobservation.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Details/FileReport-538> [Accessed July 29, 2015].

⁴⁷² Private Interview (Unrecorded). Bill Duncan, June 2012.

⁴⁷³ Higgins, D., and Toms, S., 2003. 'Financial Distress, Corporate Borrowing and Industrial Decline: the Lancashire Cotton Spinning Industry, 1918-38'. In, *Accounting, Business and Accounting History*, 13 (2). pp. 207-232

population's engagement with music and culture. Music, in its capacity as a pastime, a hobby, recreation, leisure and entertainment, holds a precarious position in the functioning of the local economy. There is no doubt that during periods of affluence and wealth, music would be considered the primary and most important of the arts, simply by fact of the numbers who engaged with it, participated in it, interacted with it, paid for tuition, purchased concert tickets, and bought new instruments. Simon Gunn outlines the social cache attached to knowledge and understanding of the classical music repertoire⁴⁷⁴, whilst Newton and Carnevali's positioned the piano as the must-have, luxury furniture item of the Victorian and Edwardian England⁴⁷⁵ – both reinforce the perception of music consumption, production and participation as a measure of social status and cultural identity. For example, culturally, the ability to play the piano conferred a certain status in society, as did having a piano in the home, which facilitated the hosting of musical evenings. The social and cultural function of music during the nineteenth century up to the Second World War positioned it right at the centre of recreation, leisure, hobbies and pastimes as a result of there being a lack of alternative entertainment and as such, it was given a prominent place in upper echelons of Liverpool society.

However, in Liverpool, it could be argued that after the onset of two World Wars and the subsequent physical, mental, cultural and, most importantly, economic breakdown of the city and its populace, the position and importance of music, socially and culturally, was overtaken by the necessity to find work, deal with unemployment, find adequate housing, and locate life's necessities of shelter, heat and food – musical engagement, for much of the resident population had taken a backseat. As the economic conditions worsened, the port went into severe decline and competitors from the South (such as Southampton which specialised in passenger travel and Felixstowe in freight) began to overtake Liverpool in terms of tonnage

⁴⁷⁴ Gunn, S., 2000. *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class*. (Manchester University Press: Manchester). Ch. 6

⁴⁷⁵ Carnevali, F., and Newton, L., 2013. 'Pianos for the People: From Producer to Consumer in Britain, 1851-1914. In, *Enterprise and Society*, 14 (1), p.37-70

and passengers. The decline of the port also signalled the decline of the related trade in invisibles, banking, finance and insurance services, with institutions such as the Cotton Exchange, the Corn Exchange, the American Chamber of Commerce and the Stock Exchange ceasing to function, decimating the ranks of the city's very large sector of clerks and other white collar workers. During periods of prosperity the city's clerks had been a driving force behind upwards social mobility in the city and provided a buoyant consumer market in which Rushworths could operate. However, their departure and decline in numbers deprived retailers such as Rushworths of an important customer base. Liverpool's economy was struggling and this was a position that would change little in the following decades.

As the financial situation worsened, and the difficulties faced by the Liverpool population deepened, the Rushworth enterprise faced an entirely new set of problems. They had to modernise, diversify, adapt and adjust to the new market and the social and cultural deterioration caused by the economic downturn. Under James the company had to embrace new technologies, products and instruments. He had to deal with the decline of the piano as a status symbol – as a product, the piano had reached a natural saturation point, everyone that wanted a piano in Liverpool, had one, and due to the size and cost of a piano, it was not the type of product that would be regularly upgraded. Moreover a good quality piano can long remain in good playable condition with regular maintenance in the form of new strings, tunings and polishing. A new, modern outlook and approach was required by Rushworths, who had to embrace new products, new music and different modes of musical engagement and during the post-war era.

Declining Piano Trade

The enterprise which James was to inherit was in a precarious position as the post-war socio-economic conditions in Liverpool were not conducive to increasing sales in musical

instruments, which were essentially classified as luxury items and as a result were subject to a 100 per cent luxury tax. Ehrlich highlights that the First World War was more detrimental to the piano trade than the Second, as ‘post-war austerity dictated a continuation of the piano shortage’. He goes on to explain that ‘production [of pianos] was diminished, of course, and standards tended to decline, which disturbed musicians but had little effect on a general public for whom pianos no longer occupied a central place in the expenditure and aspiration.’⁴⁷⁶ James described how he remembers ‘when a good new English Piano was sold for £29 and a Grand Piano for £48; also the arrival of the first Hammond Organs in Liverpool in 1938’.⁴⁷⁷ However, in contrast to the perspective of Ehrlich, this shift in public taste and demand for pianos is reflected in the order books of Broadwood and Sons, which show that the quantity of pianos supplied to Rushworth’s falls dramatically in the aftermath of World War Two, as opposed to World War One. Ehrlich highlights that 1950 appeared as a watershed moment in piano history as,

Britain entered a period of rising incomes and full employment: during the subsequent decade the standard of living rose faster than at any other time in the twentieth century. The removal of the luxury tax, and the release of pent-up demand for instruments after more than a decade of acute shortage, therefore ensured a buoyant market.⁴⁷⁸

Interestingly, Appendix II of Ehrlich’s study provides evidence of a declining market, rather than a buoyant one. He provides estimates of piano production between 1850 and 1970, which shows that English piano production reached a high point in 1910 of 75,000 pianos; however, by 1960 this had declined to only 19,000 with this figure further decreasing during the next decade to 17,000 by 1970.⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁶ Ehrlich, C., 1976. *The Piano: a history*. (Aldine Press: Herts.) p. 195

⁴⁷⁷ WJLR82, p. 1

⁴⁷⁸ Ehrlich, C., 1976. *The Piano: a history*. (Aldine Press: Herts.) p. 195

⁴⁷⁹ Ehrlich, C., 1976. *The Piano: a history*. (Aldine Press: Herts.) p. 221

The decline in the number of pianos being produced is reflected in the declining numbers of orders between Rushworths and one of their high-profile suppliers, Broadwood and Sons, as evidenced by the Broadwood Order Books. When the commercial links between Rushworth and Broadwood were established in 1921 the quantity of pianos ordered and supplied was reasonably steady – between April 1921 and April 1922, Rushworth’s ordered thirty-nine pianos⁴⁸⁰ and between February 1939 and February 1940, Rushworth’s ordered twenty-five pianos.⁴⁸¹ However, upon the cessation of war, piano purchases dropped markedly, with only one piano order during the whole of 1946 and one during 1947, with none purchased during 1948.⁴⁸² Of course, the years immediately following the war were exceptional in many ways. Nonetheless, the number of piano purchases never reached their pre-war levels. In 1959 Rushworth’s purchased four pianos from Broadwood and in 1960 eight pianos were purchased⁴⁸³ - a large proportional drop from the pre-war figures.⁴⁸⁴ It was obvious from this point that pianos had been replaced as Rushworth’s primary revenue stream. It was James who had to seek alternative instruments for sale and had the responsibility of bringing the Rushworth business into the post-war era.

One area in which Rushworth’s appeared to prosper in the aftermath of war was in the purchase, reconditioning and re-sale of second-hand pianos. The piano stock book detailing the period c. 1950-1961 shows a thriving trade in second-hand pianos at the Whitechapel, Birkenhead and Chester branches. The strategy appears fairly straight forward; purchase second hand piano, recondition and renovate it, then sell on at a profit. This required skilled technicians and a dedicated on-site piano workshop. In 1951, for example, the Chester branch

⁴⁸⁰ Surrey History Centre Archive, 2185/JB/29/110/2 (1914-26) p. 284-288

⁴⁸¹ Surrey History Centre Archive, 2185/JB/29/117/1, p. 41-44

⁴⁸² Although it must be noted that these were exceptional years in British economic history

⁴⁸³ Surrey History Centre Archive, 2185/JB/29/117/1, p. 471

⁴⁸⁴ I am grateful to Robert Simonson, archivist at Surrey History Centre, for his assistance in identifying and making sense of relevant material in the extensive Broadwood Collection.

purchased sixty-four second hand pianos for a total combined cost of £1829. These were sold, in most cases, within one year (except one piano which was sold in 1955 despite being purchased by the company in 1951) and brought in £6480, achieving a gross profit of £4651.⁴⁸⁵ To subtract from this would be the cost of housing and paying workmen in the piano workshop, in addition to the cost of vans, fuel, delivery and collection. David Rushworth indicated that the company would aim to at least double the income from sale of refurbished as opposed to purchase cost, which appears easily achievable, but depended on the manufacturer and model. For example, at the Chester branch, a Bechstein Upright was purchased for £72 on the 18th May 1951 and re-sold for £170 on 13th December 1952. A Steinway Upright bought for £55 on 22nd May 1955 was sold for £145 on 18th September 1956. The quantity of second hand pianos sold for the period 1951-1961 was approximately 3,520 and what is noticeable is the number sold to local authorities across the North-west, such as the Liverpool Education Authority, hospitals, and organisations such as the Matthey School of Music or Liverpool Philharmonic (via Liverpool Corporation). It provides an insight into the state of the local economy in post-war period when official authorities, organisations, schools, hospitals and corporations were purchasing second hand and refurbished instruments and not purchasing new pianos. Budgets had shrunk, money was tight, and this filtered down to the consumer market and retail enterprise such as Rushworth's. The fact that the Liverpool musical public were selling their pianos could suggest that, a) musical engagement was on the wane (although the act of listening, as opposed to playing, music was on the increase), b) people who had maybe inherited the piano needed the extra cash during periods of economic hardship, c) musical tastes had changed and no longer was piano playing and ownership considered a sign of social status,

⁴⁸⁵ These figures taken from Piano Stock Ledger, c. 1950-1960. Provided by Rushworth family in support of the research. The figures listed under 'C' (for Chester Branch), no page number.

d) less people could afford or had the inclination to pay for, and receive piano tuition, e) some will have upgraded or part-exchanged old pianos.

The Relocation from Islington to Whitechapel

The post-war restructuring of Liverpool city centre was to have a profound effect on Rushworth's business enterprise. A compulsory purchase order was imposed by Liverpool Corporation which insisted upon the purchase of the famous Islington premises, forcing James to consider alternative locations closer to the centre of Liverpool's retail district. Members of Rushworth's staff have recalled during interviews that one of the Rushworth Directors, Major Leslie Pinfold, was sent by James into different areas of the city centre to measure footfall as they attempted to find a suitable location for the new premises. Eventually, a site was found, 42-46 Whitechapel, which would soon to become known as 'Rushworth Corner'. The old site at Islington was demolished, with a new Inner Ring Road (New Churchill Way) being constructed in its place. According to family members, destroyed amongst the rubble were vast quantities of Rushworth's archives that had been left at the site. Although it is difficult to pinpoint the motivation for James to allow the company archives to be destroyed along with the building, it could be considered that the new premises represented a break with the past, a new beginning – which would bring with it new company accounts, ledgers and materials. Jonathan Rushworth has suggested that James, 'used to say that he was proud of the history and tradition of the business but didn't want to dwell on it too much as he was running a business and needed to look forward'.⁴⁸⁶ Looking forward in this case may have involved, in symbolic form, the leaving behind of the old company archives and starting afresh with new company records to signal the start of a new era. It may also have been simply a case of space, and the new site didn't offer the necessary storage for over a century worth of archive material. Similarly, it

⁴⁸⁶ Jonathan Rushworth, private interview, January 2012.

may have been the case that the old material bore no relevance or importance to the new, modern operation which James was constructing.

The new site was opened on 9th May 1960 amidst much publicity and excitement – James’ mother, Norah, performed the opening ceremony and the *Liverpool Echo* produced a full page profile of the new premises and services provided. The new premises would encompass six floors and was divided thus: Basement – Sheet Music; Television and Radio; Service Office. Ground Floor – Record Shop; Musical instruments, Guitars, Drums, Brass. First Floor – Television; Radio, Stereograms; Tape Recorders; Record Reproducers; Transistors; Cash Desk; Box Office, Violins. Second Floor – Upright and Grand Pianos; Tunings and Hires; Publicity Office. Third Floor – Electric Organs; Antique Musical Instrument Collection; Music Exams and Concert Offices; Staff Canteen. Fourth floor – Accounts; Executive and Staff Offices; Telephone Switchboard.⁴⁸⁷ It is interesting to note the range and diversity of the services that Rushworths offered at the new Islington site, in keeping with family tradition and the company model and structure developed under William. The firm maintained, initially, the Antiques Museum, Exam and Concert Offices, Box Office and Publicity Office. The Rushworth Concert Committee would also remain in existence until 1968. James had transferred many of the services and departments included at Islington and attempted to recreate a similar site at Whitechapel, but with the added benefit of a city centre location.

The new Rushworth building was well-received in the local press, with the *Liverpool Echo* proclaiming that,

Not content with being just a music shop, it has been as well a cultural centre, yet it has kept faith with the button age, too, and provided for the devotees with the television sets, the radios and tape recorders ... In Whitechapel, a building specially adapted for the purpose it has to fulfil as

⁴⁸⁷ Layout of building taken from Publicity Flyer

a music centre and the new premises can deal with a stream of musical inquiries much more efficiently than could the old ... The founders of the firm believed that a music house should not be just a sales department; that it must be a centre of musical activity of every kind. And whatever public taste may decree, the new Rushworth & Dreaper's will be able to meet the challenge.⁴⁸⁸

Surrounding the article, in the margins of the page, are several advertisements for musical and television products and devices available from Rushworths, with big names sharing the page such as 'His Master's Voice', 'Steinway', 'Hammond Organs', 'Premier Drums', 'Eckovision' and 'Grundig'. The new products and technology advertised reflected the modern and contemporary outlook projected by the business – this was a modern store selling modern products. According to David Rushworth this full page dedicated to Rushworths would have been devised in close conjunction between James and the Echo administration, who often worked together in producing publicity and features on the company. This is confirmed by Doreen Grey, who worked as PA to James for several years, who explained that James was 'very friendly' with Alec Jeans (Managing Director of the *Liverpool Echo*).⁴⁸⁹ Ken Stabb contributed a recorded interview which recollects the move from Islington to Whitechapel. Ken Stabb⁴⁹⁰, who was working in the piano department, explained that,

We knew about move for a while – main reason for move was we were out on a limb out there, there were no other shops – they wanted to get into the town. They got the building in Whitechapel and raised the roof, making an extra floor– Pinfold organised the move on one Saturday and Sunday – all staff were in on the day of the move. I was involved in moving pianos. I think the move was exciting, every one realised we were out on a limb and it was good to get to the city centre. Whitechapel was more of retail site, but it had to be, records were disappearing, we didn't need as much space.⁴⁹¹

⁴⁸⁸ *The Liverpool Echo and Evening Press*, Thursday, May 12, 1960, p. 5.

⁴⁸⁹ Doreen Grey, unrecorded interview, 20th November 2012

⁴⁹⁰ Ken Stabb worked for the Rushworth business from 1944 until his retirement in 1997. He began his career in the piano workshop, before working his way up to sales and later became the piano department manager working alongside David Rushworth.

⁴⁹¹ Ken Stabb, recorded interview, 21st October 2013

The most important aspect of the move from Islington to Whitechapel is concerned with what aspects of the business were housed at Islington but were dispensed with upon the relocation (such as the concert hall, lecture hall, club-room, recording studios, examination and teaching hall/rooms, and a lunch and tea room). As has been well-versed, the Rushworth premises incorporated many departments, facilities and services which were not primarily concerned with the retail of musical instruments. James took the executive decision to adapt the Rushworth business for the new technological age and incorporate within his premises spaces devoted to the retail of electrical appliances (modern day white goods), Televisions, Radios, Record Players and vinyl records and later, LP's. What was not catered for was live performance and the Rushworth Hall was not recreated on the new site, nor the lecture hall, club room or the café, facilities which were similarly dispensed with. The new premises housed the Antique Musical Instruments from 1960-1967 but they were soon to be sold to Liverpool Museum. Betty Rushworth-Smith provided her thoughts on the old and new Rushworth premises,

I remember Islington – it was a meeting place for people in music – they had a restaurant and music rooms with pianos and teachers who would hire a room to teach – when anyone went to Islington they asked for Maynard [Rushworth], he knew all the music and knew how to talk to them. He was a quiet and unassuming man, a lovely man and I was very fond of him. Islington used to be a place in music where people congregated but the Corporation wanted to run a road through... Well from then they lost something... it was more like a shop – people would say it was different. Islington was an old place that had been there a long time with an atmosphere and the Whitechapel was a shop, didn't have the same feeling and it wasn't a meeting place.⁴⁹²

In 1967, as noted, the Rushworth Collection of Antique Musical Instruments were sold to Liverpool Museum in, what David Rushworth explains, 'was an attempt to raise capital'⁴⁹³. David has indicated that whilst the cost of purchasing the new Whitechapel premises was

⁴⁹² Betty Rushworth-Smith, recorded interview, 6th February 2014

⁴⁹³ David Rushworth, unrecorded interview, 2014

covered by the monies received from the compulsory purchase of the Islington premises, the cost of modernising, adapting and redesigning the Whitechapel building was paid for by increasing the credit facility (overdraft) available from Midland Bank.⁴⁹⁴ This triggered a period of financial difficulties that would trouble the business until it was finally closed in 2000. In advance of the sale to Liverpool Museum, the Rushworth collection had been valued by Sotheby's, who indicated a total worth of over £15,000⁴⁹⁵; the fact they were sold to the museum for figure closer to £10,000 could indicate that Rushworth's were eager to sell the Antiques and that the capital injection was required quickly. David has intimated that this signalled for the first time that company was in financial difficulty. Conversely, we could interpret the sale of the Antiques for less than the market value as an act of philanthropy or charity, that James wanted the Antique Musical Collection, which had been acquired from across Europe by his father in the 1920s and 1930s, to remain in Liverpool and be enjoyed and owned by the Liverpool public and a local institution. It is possible that a higher price could quite easily be achieved by breaking up the collection and auctioning each item off individually, the fact that they were not indicates that finance was not the primary concern or motivation behind the sale of the antiques to the museum.⁴⁹⁶

The Public, Social and Civic responsibilities of James Rushworth

James continued the Rushworth tradition of public service and built on the civic image and reputation forged by his father, William. James's first documented entry into public life is as Chairman of the Liverpool Round Table 8 in the years 1942-43.⁴⁹⁷ Upon the death of his father,

⁴⁹⁴ David Rushworth, interview 2014

⁴⁹⁵ I am grateful to Pauline Rushton, Curator at National Museums Liverpool, for providing access to the original paperwork and documentation from the period when the Antiques were sold to Liverpool Museum.

⁴⁹⁶ The Rushworth Antique collection is currently in storage at the world museum, Liverpool, and not on public display. Since the sale of the antiques in 1967, they have been on display once, for an exhibition called 'Good Vibrations' in 1997.

⁴⁹⁷ <http://www.lrt8.co.uk/history/>

James inherited several positions which had been previously held by William. For example, James himself remembers receiving,

a warm welcome into Rotary aged 30, in 1944 at Reece's restaurant, Parker Street by Owen Owens, by all my father's old friends. They were very kind – surnames only. Later the Club moved to the Adelphi. I remember my father bringing me here to lunch in the 1920s, cabin trunks in Hall, liners departing and arriving.⁴⁹⁸

Similarly, in 1945, he became a Director of the Liverpool Playhouse Theatre; again this was a position that had previously been held by his father. The position of Treasurer at the Rodewald Concert Society was also assumed by James in 1944, was another post previously occupied by William. What does this tell us about Liverpool's social structure in the mid-twentieth century? It brings about the question of 'achieved and inherited/ascribed status'. Talcott-Parson developed the concept of achieved and ascribed status in his study of social stratification, highlighting that the distinction between the two resides in the fact that ascribed status is inherited as a 'result of birth or hereditary qualities and socioeconomic status' whilst achieved status 'results from personal actions, accomplishments, talent and hard work'.⁴⁹⁹ When applied to James, it is clear that he provides a perfect mesh of both concepts; he inherited not only the business and reputation built up by William, but he also acquired many of the societal positions and civic duties fulfilled by his father. The concept of transfer of knowledge and social capital in family firms is a much researched area. Many studies have assessed the importance of accumulated social status and knowledge in family business and how this impacts on longevity, reputation, trust and innovation. The Rushworth family history provides a neat case-study of these concepts.⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹⁸ The Bulletin: Monthly Newsletter of the Rotary Club of Liverpool. November 1994. 'Fifty Years a Member: The Club pays tribute to Jim Rushworth'.

⁴⁹⁹ Wankel, C., 2009. *Encyclopaedia of Business in Today's World: A-C, Volume 1*. (Sage Publishing). p. 15

⁵⁰⁰ For 'trust and social capital' see: Pearson, A., 2011. *The Central Role of Trust in Family Firm Social Capital*. (Elgar: Cheltenham), especially chapters 1, 2, 9 and 15; for 'knowledge transfer' see: Martinez, A, B., 2013. 'Study of Factors Influencing Knowledge Transfer in Family Firms'. *Intangible Capital*, 9 (4). pp. 1216-1238; for

However, as will be accounted for during this chapter, James built up a reputation and continued the proud family tradition based on community service, in his own right, and pioneered many musical ventures, charities and associations designed to promote the virtues and benefits of interaction with music. In respect of James, a crucial aspect of his public service resides in the actual contribution he made, and role he played, in the functioning, administration and operations of the societies and associations which he represented. James was dedicated and committed to his causes and made concerted efforts to make an important and necessary contribution – his involvement was never simply symbolic or nominal, he was central to the functioning of the organisations of which he was a part. He may have benefitted from the social and cultural capital built up by his father, however, as this section will demonstrate, his role, impact and influence within Liverpool’s prominent musical and cultural institutions exemplifies that he had a deep-rooted commitment and passion for his civic and public duties.

In the case of the Rushworth family, it clear that by the time of William’s death in 1944, he had accumulated vast amounts of social and cultural capital. As a key figure in Liverpool’s social and civic circles, William had built up a reputation that was reflected in the outpouring of emotion and goodwill which the family received in the aftermath of his death. The unexpected and sudden circumstances of his death left James in charge of the business which William had built up from fairly humble origins into the musical behemoth for which it was renowned. James was now faced with the challenge of maintaining the profitability of the business, whilst maintaining and enhancing the family name and reputation. James would forge a career that would see him develop his considerable entrepreneurial skills and continue to expand the business, whilst adapting to the shifting musical culture and socio-economic conditions in Liverpool. His public life and civic responsibilities would continue unabated and,

‘succession and knowledge transfer’ see: Duh, M., 2014. ‘Family Business Succession as Knowledge Creation Process’. *Kybernetes*, 43 (5). pp. 688-714; For ‘Talcott Parsons and Social Status’ see: Gerhardt, U., 2011. *The Social Thought of Talcott Parsons*. (Ashgate: Surrey). Especially ‘Part IV: Positions’.

much in the same manner as his father, he would represent Liverpool and Rushworths on the board of many national organisations, such as the Musical Retailers Association and the Federation of Master Organ builders, whilst in 1951 he became a member of the BBC North Region Advisory Council and remaining in the post until c. 1954 (the usual term of office was three years).⁵⁰¹ On 14th June 1969 it was announced in the *London Gazette* (supplement) that ‘William James Lyon Rushworth, J. P.’, was to receive an O.B.E for ‘Services to the Community on Merseyside’. The following sections will describe several of James’s public roles focussing on the musical and philanthropic organisations and committees which he represented and contributed towards. This distinction was followed in 1971 by James being nominated and elected as a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts.⁵⁰²

Festival of Britain 1951

The Festival of Britain was organised in 1951 to celebrate one hundred years since the success of the Great Exhibition of 1851, and to mark the end of World War Two. James was appointed to the Festival Committee and this marked one of his first appointments in Liverpool’s public life in his own right.⁵⁰³ The Festival was to take the form of decentralised national exhibitions designed to reflect the improving economic condition in Britain after years of war and austerity had disrupted the flow of British trade overseas, whilst the Blitz had brought widespread destruction to large parts of Liverpool’s City Centre. Belchem explains that the Festival of Britain was marketed around the strapline, ‘Tomorrow’s Tide’, a theme designed to ‘re-awaken self-confidence, regenerate energy, and so enliven the local scene that our very blitzed sites

⁵⁰¹ James was first included as a member of the council (at the Controllers request) in October 1949, joining the board in 1951. I am grateful to Trisha Hayes, Archive Researcher at BBC Operations, for finding this information, at my request, from the BBC Written Archives.

⁵⁰² I am grateful to Evelyn Watson, Head of Archive at the Royal Society of Arts, for confirming these details.

⁵⁰³ James Rushworth was appointed Justice for the Peace in 1950, however, planning for the Festival began as early as November 1949.

become symbols of resurrection'⁵⁰⁴. The Liverpool Festival Society had appointed as its Chairman, Councillor John McMillan, and as Deputy Chairman, Professor G. E. H. Abraham and Alderman Luke Hogan, M.B.E. The Following members of the Festival Society were co-opted as members of the Council: Professor G.E.H. Abraham, Professor W. Lyon Blease, Professor Sir Henry Cohen, Alec Jeans, and James Rushworth.⁵⁰⁵

A list of companies who contributed to the festival fund is kept with the archive material at Liverpool Record Office. This shows that not only did Rushworth & Dreaper contribute £50 as an 'outright gift' but also donated £50 as a 'guaranteed fund'.⁵⁰⁶ Jonathan Rushworth has intimated that the distinction between the 'outright gift' and 'guaranteed fund' could be that, 'the guaranteed fund was an underwriting so if those raising funds could not achieve their target those giving guarantees would be called upon to pay the guaranteed amount. The outright gift on the other hand, would be a straight payment by way of a gift'.⁵⁰⁷ The exact contribution made by James to the Festival arrangement, organisation and administration are not documented, however, the exalted and elevated civic company with whom he sat on the Festival Committee demonstrates that he was considered amongst the commercial and cultural elites of Liverpool. That James was invited to the Festival Committee not only displays elements of his cultural and social capital, but that his interest in public service transcended the boundaries of his industry and his business. It also shows that James was willing to contribute his time and the administrative departments of his business in support of the festival, in addition to the financial contribution he and his company made to the Festival. This, in many ways, is

⁵⁰⁴ Belchem, J., 2006. Liverpool 800, 'Introduction: Celebrating Liverpool'. (Liverpool University Press: Liverpool). pp 44

⁵⁰⁵ LRO 780.61 FES

⁵⁰⁶ LRO 780.61 FES

⁵⁰⁷ Jonathan Rushworth to Nicholas Wong, private email correspondence, 6th September 2013

reminiscent of his father, William, who had comparable personal traits and made similar cultural contributions to the City.

William Rushworth Memorial Trust

James's cultural contribution was not confined to committee membership or public service – his influence also spread into the sphere of charity and the purely philanthropic. In 1954, James financed the creation of the 'William Rushworth Memorial Trust', in memory of his late father. The structure of the Trust 'was set up by a Trust Deed dated 10th July, 1954, to which the signatories are, firstly, Rushworth and Dreaper, Limited who endowed the Trust in the memory of the late William Rushworth; secondly, the Liverpool Council of Social Services (Inc.) which consented to act as Custodian Trustees of the Trust Fund; and, thirdly, three Managing Trustees, namely Mr J. M. Brown, M. A., J.P., (nominated by the Liverpool Council of Social Service), Mr B. B. B. Benas, C.B.E., J. P., (nominated by the Merseyside Civic Society) and Mr W. J. L. Rushworth, J. P., (nominated by Messrs. Rushworth and Dreaper, Limited).' It was created with the following mission statement,

The object of the Fund is the promotion of musical education (including not only the training of performers but also the improvement of musical tastes and appreciation) within a radius of sixty miles from Liverpool Town Hall. So far as possible grants are to be made to persons and purposes not eligible for support by public funds or other charitable funds and preference is to be given to those who have not received grants before. So far as practicable the whole income of the Fund is to be expended year by year.⁵⁰⁸

Bertram B Benas, a historian, barrister and leader of the Jewish community on Merseyside, was described as 'passionate about music – he wrote the programme notes for many Liverpool Philharmonic Society concerts and published a paper on 'Merseyside Orchestras' in the

⁵⁰⁸ These references taken from, Minute Book of the William Rushworth Memorial Trust – access kindly provided by Ken Martin at the Liverpool Charitable and Voluntary Services, who currently administer the Rushworth Trust.

Transactions of Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire in 1928'⁵⁰⁹. He was approached to take on the position of Chairman for the Rushworth Trust upon its creation. The opening note made in the Minute Book of the Trust has the following dedication made by Mr Benas,

Mr Bertram Benas spoke of his very long association with the late William Rushworth and of his admiration for Mr Rushworth's work for the cause of music. He expressed the feelings of all the Trustees that it was a privilege to be asked to administer a Fund endowed in Mr. Rushworth's memory.⁵¹⁰

The Rushworth Trust, which is still in existence today and continues to provide financial assistance and support for musical interests across the north-west, has had a continuous Rushworth presence amongst the trustees, with David Rushworth joining the committee in 1973 and remaining a trustee today, and Richard Rushworth acting as Secretary until 1997. Professor Michael Talbot, former head of the Music Department at the University of Liverpool, who has been a trustee since around 1985, explained his involvement with the Trust during a recorded interview in 2013. Professor Talbot inherited the position from his predecessor at the University and the Rushworth Trust, Professor Basil Smallman, who had taken over Chairmanship of the Trust from Bertram Benas upon his death in 1968. Professor Talbot recalls that his earliest memory of James Rushworth was at the Merseyside Music Council (MMC) which was 'established as a lunchtime club for those involved in music making. Members were music academics, school teachers, staff of colleges/education, organists. The purpose of MMC was a monthly 'talk' by guest speaker/lecturer. The MMC folded in the 1970s as it ran out of business to conduct (and poor attendances). James was involved as a committee member in this organisation'.⁵¹¹ The assertion by Professor Talbot that 'poor attendances' and 'lack of business to conduct' led to the folding of the MMC reflects the changing nature of the musical

⁵⁰⁹ <http://www.theathenaeum.org.uk/notables/page3.html> - cited on <http://www.geni.com/people/Bertram-B-Benas/6000000015531536537> - accessed 11 May 2015.

⁵¹⁰ Minute Book of the William Rushworth Memorial Trust – available from LCVS

⁵¹¹ Professor Talbot, Recorded Interview, 2013

environment in Liverpool. This shows that the leaders of Liverpool's business community would fraternise with members of the University and other musical organisations through initiatives such as the MMC. It reflects the spirit of the times, the social engagement with music and the determination felt locally to promote an atmosphere of musical appreciation, education and interaction. Professor Talbot recalls that this marked his first experience with James Rushworth. Professor Talbot explained that he knew James in a professional sense but was never a personal friend. In Michael's opinion James was 'avuncular – a dominant alpha-male, but never a bully'.⁵¹² Professor Talbot, who is still currently a trustee of the Rushworth Trust explains that, in his opinion, 'David [Rushworth] takes great pleasure in providing grants to desperate, struggling musicians'.⁵¹³

The involvement of Professors Smallman and Talbot highlight the links between Rushworths and the University of Liverpool's Music department. Professor Talbot confirmed the depth of this relationship, highlighting that Rushworths would offer an annual small prize (usually in the form of gift vouchers for, or an instrument from, the Rushworth music store) to be awarded to the highest graded undergraduate student in Music. For example, reported in the *Musical Times* (in the section on the activities of the Rushworth Trust), another instance of contribution from the Rushworth's to the University is outlined: 'At the Trustees Annual Meeting a Goble clavichord was presented to the Department of Music, Liverpool University, on behalf of the Trust by its Chairman, Mr Bertram B Benas, the well-known local barrister, and Mr James Rushworth, a Trustee. William Rushworth, whose memorial trust is it, was an honorary graduate of the University'.⁵¹⁴

⁵¹² Professor Talbot, Recorded Interview, 2013

⁵¹³ Professor Talbot, Recorded Interview, 2013

⁵¹⁴ *The Musical Times*, vol. 108, No. 1489, March 1967. pp.

The close relations between the Rushworth family and the university are once again evidenced by several collaborative efforts over many decades. For example, Alastair Rushworth was on the ‘Food and Wines Committee’ at the University. Under Alastair’s management Rushworth & Dreaper built ‘a Pure Tracker Organ’ for the University. The organ specification was drawn up in consultation with the Head of the Department of Music, Professor B. Smallman, M.A., B.MUS., A.R.C.O. The accompanying pamphlet that describes the organ highlights the mobility of the organ:

Designed originally for the Department of Music at Liverpool University it was quickly realised that with two other halls to serve, the organ would have to be mobile for continuo and accompanimental work. Basically it is derived from our Chest organ with the added advantage of a second manual which is invaluable for practice. The centre section of the organ is on a mobile platform and simply pulls forward without mechanical linkage from the pedal tower which stays fixed. The continuo section can then be wheeled anywhere in the University. The action is mechanical throughout.⁵¹⁵

William and James Rushworth both received honorary MA degrees from the University. William’s MA was awarded on 5th July 1941, the Daily Post reporting, ‘[...] the honorary graduands were introduced by the public orator. Of William Rushworth, head of the well-known Liverpool firm Rushworth & Dreaper, a native of Liverpool, it was said that all the Arts owe something to him’⁵¹⁶. James received his Honorary MA degree in 1975. Jonathan Rushworth explained in a private interview that this was an award of which his father was ‘particularly proud’.⁵¹⁷ The oration delivered at the reception of James’ MA provides a real insight into the role he played in the cultivation and dissemination of music, arts and culture

⁵¹⁵ Rushworth & Dreaper – marketing literature (undated)

⁵¹⁶ Daily Post, 7th September 1941 – I am grateful to Colin Smith, Library Assistant at the University of Liverpool Special Collections and Archive for finding this reference. He also informed me that the University Records for Honorary MA awards during World War Two are scant in detail. As a result, we are unable to clarify exactly the reasons that William was awarded the Honorary MA.

⁵¹⁷ Jonathan Rushworth, private Interview, (unrecorded), June 2014

across Merseyside, and also the esteem with which his accomplishments and contributions were held by Liverpool's primary educational authority:

today we pay tribute to a man who has a thorough knowledge of all branches of the music business ... Devoted to the service of music his generous support of musical activities on Merseyside has been valued by amateurs and professionals alike ... The opinion of Lord Chesterfield that 'few do business well who do nothing else' is amply confirmed by the career of James Rushworth with his exceptionally wide variety of activities. Today we are delighted to honour him in recognition of his great services to the encouragement of music and the enrichment of our cultural life on Merseyside.⁵¹⁸

The significance of the relationship between the University and the Rushworth business lies in the fact that it encompassed both the personal and the commercial – so by establishing personal links and friendships, it could generate sales for the business. For example, music students would use Rushworths for sheet music, instruments, and they of course received the contract for the building of the pipe organ. It could also represent an attempt to attach themselves, and the company to, and encourage relationships with, the music department at the university as it added some credence as a centre for musical education. This is a clear example of Rushworth's networking with the primary educational and cultural institutions around the City.

Liverpool Playhouse Theatre

Another aspect of James' inherited status involved him becoming a member of the Playhouse board upon the death of his father – continuing the proud tradition of Rushworth involvement with and influence on one of England's oldest repertory theatres. James became a Director in 1945 and, twenty years later, in 1965, he became Chairman of the Playhouse, succeeding outgoing chairman, Mr J. T. Edwards, who had held the position since 1962. As part of a board room reshuffle, Lord Simey of Toxteth was elected as Vice-Chairman after serving eighteen

⁵¹⁸ The University of Liverpool, Orations delivered at a congregation for the conferment of honorary degrees, Philharmonic Hall, Liverpool, Saturday, 12 July, 1975. Full programme provided by Rushworth family in support of research.

years on the board. In addition to this, Professor W. D. Williams, Dean of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Liverpool and Pro-Vice Chancellor, was elected to the board. James outlined in the Chairman's Annual Statement his hope that, 'he [Williams] will enjoy his membership of our Board and we are glad of this further strengthening of our close association with our University'.⁵¹⁹ Under James's Chairmanship the Playhouse Theatre would be completely redeveloped between 1966 and 1968. This work was carried out by building firm Tyson's under the direction of architects, Hall, O' Donahue & Wilson, at a cost of £280,000. James, in an oration delivered at the Liverpool Rotary to celebrate his 50 years membership, recalls the stresses of the period: 'your excellent new Monthly Bulletin featured me as the mystery photo with hair – I lost all mine twenty-five years ago during my Chairmanship of the Playhouse when we rebuilt, refurbished and extended it. I was helped enormously by Tyson's cancelling all the extras to help us clear our debt - a wonderful gesture'.⁵²⁰ An article that appeared in the Liverpool Echo in 1983 explains that of James's twelve presidencies, 'perhaps his most proudest is that of the Liverpool Playhouse'.⁵²¹

The redevelopment, as explained in the 1971 Diamond Jubilee programme, included the creation of a new restaurant, workshop and façade; and also the enlarging of both wings; fitting a counterweight system to the stage; a new paint frame; improving and extending dressing rooms, offices and wardrobes; an adequate rehearsal room; redecorating both the auditorium and façade. The programme highlights the 'financial situation which was, at times, precarious', and explains the £280,000 total cost was all paid for out of 'the reserves, a public appeal and grants from the Arts Council, Liverpool Corporation, Gulbenkian Foundation and

⁵¹⁹ Details taken from: The Liverpool Repertory theatre, Statement given by the Chairman at the Annual General meeting held at the Playhouse on Friday, 17th December, 1965, pp.7-9

⁵²⁰ *The Bulletin*, November 1994. Rotary Year 1994/5, p. 2

⁵²¹ *Liverpool Echo*, Saturday, February 5th, 1983, p. 7

Pilgrim Trust'⁵²². In the Annual Statement of 1965, James explains the four objectives of the redevelopment:

Firstly: to improve the working conditions of our Company by giving them more and better equipped dressing rooms, shower facilities, kitchens, rest rooms and a rehearsal room; Secondly: to improve the technical facilities of our theatre by enlarging the stage area, the provision of an entirely new workshop block complete with paint frame and scenery storage thus reducing operating costs in handling productions; thirdly: To improve our audience facilities by making provisions for the light lunch and pre-theatre meals. Increasing bar and coffee bar amenities and providing new foyers at stalls, circle and gallery level with ancillary rooms in which social and cultural activities can take place; Fourthly: To solve the difficult architectural problem involved in relating the Playhouse and its extension to the modern development planned by the City in the vicinity of Williamson Square.⁵²³

The programme included a section written by James Rushworth that explains the 'difficulties of the recent past' encountered by the theatre industry as a result of TV,

with the changing variety of taste in plays which must be attributed to television, our task in the selection of a play programme ... has become more important and intricate ... Today's actors and actresses, with the increased number of theatres throughout the country, and numerous opportunities for television work, are not so anxious to settle down in a permanent company.

So, similar to musical performance and engagement, the theatrical arts were suffering at the expense of new technologies (such as Television in the case of theatre and Radio/Juke Boxes/the recorded medium in the case of music), new modes of exposure and increased opportunities for artistic talent. James, through his role at the Playhouse and his family business was encountering many problems as a result of the advancement of new technologies which were removing the necessity to 'go out' for entertainment (whether that was music or theatre) through access to entertainment via the new medium of television which provided access to

⁵²² Full details of the redevelopment are included in: Liverpool Playhouse, Diamond Jubilee Programme, pp. 10-11

⁵²³ The Liverpool Repertory theatre, Statement given by the Chairman at the Annual General meeting held at the Playhouse on Friday, 17th December, 1965, pp. 12-13

music and drama unlike anything before. This aligned with the persistent financial difficulties, a constant problem for the arts sector. James confirmed this by stating that, ‘unfortunately, we [the Directors] have to spend more time than we would like on purely financial matters, striving as we do to get increased box office income, and to encourage as generous grants as are possible from the Arts Council of Great Britain and from the City. Many municipalities are now spending most generously in support of the Arts and Liverpool is a leader in this field’.⁵²⁴ James’s history celebrating fifty years in the music trade highlights that the rebuilt and extended Playhouse was ‘formally opened by H.R.H the Duchess of Kent’, which, an unsourced article on James explains, ‘must have been a moment of intense satisfaction for a man so committed to the project’⁵²⁵. Indeed, in the Liverpool Playhouse re-opening brochure, James explains,

Our new attitude to the world and our City is evident in the new appearance of the Playhouse, which combines the charm of the ‘old look’ of the Victorian Age with the workmanlike and efficient ‘new look’ of the Twentieth century. This makes the theatre very symbolic of our society and the age in which we live. The blending of old and new preserves the beauty of the past.⁵²⁶

James was a long-serving and devoted member of the Playhouse Board and in many ways his efforts and actions in redeveloping the site and facilities, which caused much personal stress (to the extent that he believed it made his hair fall out), mirror the efforts and approach of his father, William, who was similarly devoted and energetic in his support of local cultural institutions. James’s efforts in redeveloping the Playhouse are similar to the efforts of William in redeveloping the Bluecoat Chambers after the Second World War. James was an ardent supporter of the Playhouse and Antony Tuckey, Artistic Director of the Playhouse from 1969-1975, recalls that, ‘Later I was told that James Rushworth had dreams of it becoming the

⁵²⁴ Liverpool Playhouse, Diamond Jubilee Programme, pp. 6-7

⁵²⁵ ‘Half a Century in Music Trade and Organ Building’, undated, unsourced – provided by Rushworth family in support of PhD research

⁵²⁶ James Rushworth, Liverpool Playhouse Re-opening Brochure. Quoted in, Merkin, R., 2011. Liverpool Playhouse: a theatre and its City. (Liverpool University Press: Liverpool). p. 107

“Royal” Playhouse’.⁵²⁷ The scale of his ambition for the Playhouse reflects the depth of his feeling towards the theatre – James was a man of the arts and not confined to music, and he made concerted efforts to publicise the virtues and maximise the potential of Liverpool and its primary cultural institutions.

The work of James with the Playhouse and the problems faced mirrors the issues confronted by William, his father, some fifty years earlier. Whereas William had to adapt to changing technologies (such as the Pianola) and new modes of music consumption and interaction (e.g. the Gramophone), so too did James with the coming of commercial radio and television. Rather than resist the changes to the musical landscape, James showed the same entrepreneurial spirit as his father and embraced the new changes, in many cases being at the forefront of technological advancements. In the case of television, Rushworths were amongst the earliest suppliers to Liverpool. One interviewee, who worked at Rushworth’s for a short period in the early 1960s, recalls a technician in the television department calling him over to witness ‘the turning on of the first colour television in Liverpool’.⁵²⁸ Similarly, James incorporated the sale of white goods into his business, which was quite a diversion from musical instruments, but reflects his capacity to innovate, take risks, grasp new opportunities and forecast future trends. When commercial radio was introduced to Liverpool, James was a founder-member of ‘Sound of Merseyside’, the region’s first commercial radio station, which would later develop into Radio Merseyside and still broadcasts today. These examples illustrate James’s approach to business, his entrepreneurial character and how many of his personal and commercial traits were similar to those portrayed by his own father.

Liverpool Youth Music Committee

⁵²⁷ Merkin, R., 2011. *Liverpool Playhouse: a theatre and its City*. (Liverpool University Press: Liverpool). p. 109

⁵²⁸ Charlie Southern, unrecorded interview, 2013

The Liverpool Youth Music Committee was established in Liverpool during ‘the early 1950s’.

The objective of the organisation was to,

promote and encourage music making in its many forms among young people in schools, youth clubs and other situations on Merseyside. Membership included teachers, youth workers and others involved in music. For many years the committee worked from small offices in the city centre before moving to Bluecoat Chambers. In the pre-Beatles era youth music making included choral singing, amateur orchestras, wind bands and skiffle, rock n roll and folk groups. LYMC helped arrange purchase of instruments, tuition, organised concerts, educational visits, music festivals and lectures.⁵²⁹

James Rushworth was honorary treasurer of the organisation and was later joined by his son, David, on the Committee of the Association. James would present the board with a note on the finances of the organisation at each of the annual general meetings. As has been mentioned, there was much overlap and duplication of membership on the boards and committees of Liverpool’s primary cultural institutions and organisations. There was much collaboration between the cultural organisations of Liverpool and the Liverpool City Council – all working in the interests of Liverpool, its culture, its commerce and its populace. In the instance of the LYMC, James and Miss Van Mullem were both members of the executive committee of the Bluecoat, MMC and Merseyside Civic Society (Stephen Gray of the RLPS was on the board until June 1975). The crossover of interests and presence on numerous boards had obvious advantages for those organisations involved in providing access to, and funding for, the arts, education and culture. For example, the MMA in 1971 approved a grant of £1000 to the LYMC which was announced by James Rushworth at the Annual General Meeting of the LYMC.⁵³⁰ The LYMC received similar financial support from the Rushworth Trust and these causes and applications were no doubt supported by the presence of James on the boards and committees

⁵²⁹ Thanks to Gerry Harrison for his unpublished brief history of the ‘Liverpool Music Centre: Past, Present and Future’ written in November 2001.

⁵³⁰ Minutes of the meeting of the Liverpool Youth Music Committee, Tuesday 22nd June 1971. Available at: LRO 780PHI/15/22/1

of all parties concerned. For example, in January 1971 the committee minutes of the LYMC it was noted that,

Mr Rushworth had suggested that the Rushworth Trust present a Rose Bowl in memory of Madame Quigg to be awarded at the Youth Music Festival and he had informed Mr Quigg of his intentions ... the Chairman thanked Mr Rushworth for this gesture and the Meeting welcomed the gesture.⁵³¹

Similarly, at the same committee meeting, in the 'Treasurer's Report', James explained the 'dire situation' of the Association's finances which had an 'anticipated deficit of £479'. It was also highlighted that the Rushworth Trust would make a grant of £50 in an effort to reduce the deficit'⁵³². The official role of James with the LYMC was Treasurer; although the Committee Minutes provide a perspective on James's increasingly prominent role in assisting the functioning of the Committee. Several instances, noted in the Minutes, provide evidence of James's approach to his public work and his committee membership. For example, in 1971 the Minutes explain that, 'the Centre Accounts also gave rise to concern and Mr Rushworth said he would propose the raising of the fee from 6d to 1/- for each session at the next meeting of the Management Council'. Another example outlines the manner in which 'Mr Rushworth drew the discussion'⁵³³ to a conclusion by proposing that the draft be sent out as it stood'.⁵³⁴ During the same meeting, which was centred on the relationship between the LYMC and Liverpool Education Authority and Liverpool Council for Social Services, it was noted that,

the Organiser felt it was unfortunate that members taking part in the discussion had not actually experienced the Centre. Mr Rushworth did not like the word 'intrusion' used when discussing the work of the Committee and its relationship to the L.E.A. There had always been wonderful

⁵³¹ Ibid.

⁵³² Ibid.

⁵³³ These were pretty long-winded discussions regarding the a 'Committee Review in 1971'

⁵³⁴ Minutes of the meeting of the Liverpool Youth Music Committee, Tuesday 12th January 1971. Available at: LRO 780PHI/15/22/1

support from Mr Jenkins both for Mr Bailey and Mr Mulholland. Surely, Mr Rushworth continued, the Committee's work was complementary to that of the L.E.A.⁵³⁵

This example provides evidence for James's outlook on committee work and how he tried to endorse and create an atmosphere of collaboration between the administrators, the organisers, the financiers and front line services of Liverpool's cultural institutions and organisations. Often, as a result of his multifaceted and all-encompassing mix of financial, social and cultural concerns and responsibilities, James would and could act as an intermediary and connecting factor and influence between the cultural organisations. This was one of the greatest facets of his cultural contribution and the biggest example of his unique brand of cultural and social entrepreneurship. Similar to his father, James was at the forefront of and central to the administration and functioning of many of Liverpool's cultural concerns and worked tirelessly in his efforts to facilitate the arts on Merseyside. It appears from attendance recorded at the meetings of the LYMC committee that, in September 1971, David Rushworth was added to the board of the LYMC.⁵³⁶ On the 21 June 1972 at the AGM of the LYMC,

the re-election of Professor F.B.R. Smallman as Vice-Chairman and Mr W.D.C. Rushworth B.A., as assistant Hon. Treasurer was unanimously agreed by the members present. Dr Kennett expressed appreciation to Mr William Rushworth [David] for his particular responsibility on the Management Council of the Youth Music Centre.⁵³⁷

During the same meeting it was acknowledged that 'the grant from MAA and a special donation from Rushworth & Dreaper Ltd., contributed to the increase in income in the Youth Music Centres accounts'⁵³⁸. On the 5th November 1973 at a meeting of the LYMC:

[James] expressed his concern that the Organisers should feel financially insecure; in the event of the committee getting into financial difficulties he and his company would look after the

⁵³⁵ Ibid.

⁵³⁶ Minutes of the meeting of the Liverpool Youth Music Committee, Tuesday 21st September 1971. Available at: LRO 780PHI/15/22/1

⁵³⁷ Minutes of the meeting of the Liverpool Youth Music Committee, Wednesday 21 June, 1972. Available at: LRO 780PHI/15/22/1

⁵³⁸ Ibid.

salaries of Mr Mulholland and Mrs Allison for six months, during which time the Committee would continue to operate in the hope that the situation would right itself. The Organiser, in thanking Mr Rushworth, stated that he had been awaiting the outcome of reviews and investigations for the last two years in the hope that the Committee would benefit financially. The meeting expressed his thanks to the Hon. Treasurer for his most generous gesture.⁵³⁹

Further evidence of James's personal contribution to the finances of the LYMC was outlined in a meeting of the committee in 1974. During his Treasurers Report he explained that,

he had a number of grave facts to lay before the Committee and he would request that they be minuted in detail:-

1. The current overdraft is £450
2. For some years he has personally guaranteed the overdraft, up to a limit of £100 and recently, at the request of the Bank extended this limit by a further £500 to £600. Interest on the overdraft would be at Barclay's basic rate plus 2% charity rate, making 14%.
3. With the Chairman's agreement and with tonight's Committee's support which he requests, his conditions for this personal guarantee must be that the Committee or its officials do not expend, or agree to expend, without his personal consent a sum of more than £10.
4. Apart from salaries, etc., we owe at the end of the month for rent, goods etc., some £530 which we cannot meet.

Proposal: Our proposal is that we form an Emergency Finance Committee comprising the Chairman, myself [James] and I would hope one or two other members of the Committee, together with the Officers, Mr Mulholland and Mrs Allison, to go to work immediately and see how we can right this grave situation, so that our work can continue and not be brought to a premature end.⁵⁴⁰

This example shows that James's role within the LYMC far extended the administrative title of Hon. Treasurer. His commitment and personal guarantees, in terms of the overdraft, guaranteeing the wages of the organisers and providing still further finance from the William Rushworth Memorial Trust and from his business, Rushworth & Dreaper, enabled LYMC to continue not only to function but to exist. A breakdown of 'income and expenditure' for the

⁵³⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁰ Minutes of the meeting of the Liverpool Youth Music Committee, 26th September, 1974. Available at: LRO 780PHI/15/22/1

LYMC provides further evidence of Rushworth's financial support, detailing £200 provided by the Trust and a further £25 from the business.⁵⁴¹ As well as making direct financial contributions and personal guarantees, the Liverpool Youth Music Festival was also generously supported by the Rushworth business with the Evelyn Quigg Rose Bowl being provided by the Rushworths (as already explained) and in addition they provided the Rushworth Senior Trophy and the Rushworth Advanced Shield. All music and set pieces were obtainable from Rushworth & Dreaper Ltd.⁵⁴²

David Rushworth, during a recorded interview, provides some interesting insight into the formation and operation of the LYMC. The following excerpt explains the early formation of the LYMC:

Philip Bailey started what was known as 'Music Boxes' and he ran them in youth clubs, because you have to remember, the same way there was a pub on every corner, there was a youth club, and that is where kids went in the evening to keep them off the streets. Philip Bailey would go into the youth clubs and teach children music and father provided the instruments for it. He [James, his father] probably got a grant from the city council because Philip Bailey got money from the city to do this – it was all part of the Merseyside Youth Association. Philip Bailey, he started these things off, then Raymond Mulholland took over from him, and they then called it Liverpool Youth Music, and father, well the company, was the Treasurer of it for a time, and we used to get grants in for it and all that sort of stuff. Then Ray Mulholland was the chief exec, he got paid, then the number two guy was Gerry Harrison, super bloke, gifted man, he's still going, teaching kids. And John Perry still does a similar sort of thing, too. There was a scheme in the 80s and 90s called the 'Distributive Industries Training Board'. Raymond got a tip off and set up this training scheme with Tony Owens in Colquitt Street College and in the end it ended because the funding stopped but they had £100,000 left and we said to the dept. of industry what do you want us to do with it? And they said they can't take it back so we set up this Trust, the Liverpool Youth Music Trust. It attracted about 20-30 apprentices, I think – it was quite a big scheme, and this money was left and there's a Trust Fund with Gerry Harrison, myself, a chap called John Cook and Tony Owens and we meet every so often when people ask for money. So that was

⁵⁴¹ LYMC, Estimate of Income and Expenditure for the year ending 31st March 1975. Available at: LRO 780PHI/15/22/1

⁵⁴² Liverpool Youth Music Festival Syllabus, 1975. Available at: LRO 780PHI/15/22/1

Liverpool Youth Music... did we get many sales from it? No. but we encouraged music making in Liverpool and by default some of that must have come back to us. But there was also Hussy's and Crane's at the time so they must have benefitted too and they knew nothing about that scheme.⁵⁴³

The LYMC played a crucial role in encouraging the participation in music amongst the youth of the Liverpool populace. The Rushworth family played a crucial role in its financing, operation, survival and functioning. James was central to maintaining the financial stability of the organisation and David ensured that a Rushworth presence remained amongst the Trustees until the present day.⁵⁴⁴ The Rushworth connection to the LYMC displays the family commitment to foster and generate greater interest, participation and enjoyment of music and performance –without profit and pay-back being at the forefront of their mind-set. The idea was to create a new generation of musicians, and, as the success of former LYMC member Sir Simon Rattle⁵⁴⁵ illustrates, they achieved some degree of success with this initiative.⁵⁴⁶

Merseyside Arts Association

The Merseyside Arts Association (MAA) was established to serve the Merseyside area. The 'memorandum of the Town Clerk of Liverpool' explains that 'towards the end of 1965, in common with many other organisations in Liverpool, consideration was given by the Liverpool City Council to the provision made and assistance needed for the arts in the area. As a basis for its policy for the arts the City Council had accepted the following objectives:

- (a) To make available art of the highest standards possible, whether in painting, sculpture, music, drama, opera or ballet;

⁵⁴³ David Rushworth, 10th September 2013, recorded interview

⁵⁴⁴ <http://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?regid=525907&subid=0>

⁵⁴⁵ Sir Simon Rattle began his musical career with the LYMC before going on to study at the Royal Academy of Music, London. He is currently Principal Conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra.

⁵⁴⁶ A book written and published by Raymond Mulholland (1992) called; 'Pied Piper', provides a more detailed account of the LYMC and Raymond's role within the organisation, as well as its growth and survival. The book was printed and published by 'Platen Bethune'.

- (b) To extend more and more people the capacity to enjoy, appreciate and understand the arts;
- (c) To encourage those who are specially gifted and who are capable of achieving professional standards and wish to achieve a professional livelihood in arts; and
- (d) To provide greater opportunity for the active participation in the arts, whether in amateur drama, opera, ballet or the visual arts.

In addition the City Council approved, in principle, an increase in expenditure on the arts and the formation of the ‘Liverpool Arts Association’ to be widely representative of the cultural interests of the city and of business, trade unions and local authority interests.⁵⁴⁷

A report was compiled in 1973 on the MAA detailing ‘what it is’ and ‘what it does’, and highlighting key areas of initiative, funding and grant making which helped it make, in its own words, a cultural contribution. This explains that,

apart from this account of what MAA is and what it does there is a far more important aspect of its work that is harder to define, it is to do with its role as a ‘cultural pace-setter’ in the region. MAA is not a bureaucracy, it does not exist merely to collect money and then to pass it out, it does not merely give advice or arrange straightforward performances. MAA has an artistic role in the same way that a theatre or an orchestra has. Of course it does not employ actors or musicians, but what it does do is provide a never-ending source of creative ideas that act as a stimulus and a challenge to all the other arts organisations. It is not tied to any one art form, it spreads its interests across the widest spectrum finding out what is happening elsewhere and bringing these ideas and the artists who create them here to Merseyside. It is not an ‘establishment only’ organisation, neither is it part of the art world ‘underground’ – but it is in contact with both extremes and is able to recognise talent wherever it may appear.⁵⁴⁸

James was a member of the Executive Committee of this Association.⁵⁴⁹

Merseyside Music Council

⁵⁴⁷ Town Clerk Office Liverpool, Correspondence re: Proposed Formation of a Merseyside Regional arts Association, 1966-68. Available at: LRO 367BLU/8/4

⁵⁴⁸ Merseyside Arts Association: what it is, what it does, 1973. Available at LRO 706 MER

⁵⁴⁹ *Liverpool Illustrated News*, September 1969, ‘Personal Profile: Mr W. James L. Rushworth’, p. 18

The Merseyside Civic Society was established in 1939 'to render such service in the City of Liverpool and adjacent districts as are calculated to stimulate civic pride, interest and responsibility with a view to increasing and initiating amenities on Merseyside – preserving buildings of historic worth – encouraging activities relating to the arts - and cooperating with the local authorities to encourage a sense of citizenship'. Emerging from the Merseyside Civic Society was a suggestion that a music forum should be held. This occurred on 6th January 1953 and was attended by 340 people – it became known as the Merseyside Music Forum. This included talks delivered by Dr Mountford (later Sir James Mountford), pro-vice chancellor of the University, and Dr Herbert Howells, who for some years, adjudicated at the Rushworth Festival of Music and Verse. From this meeting emerged the Merseyside Music Council. It was decided that the areas to be covered were the Merseyside boroughs with the ability to extend to Southport, Wigan, Warrington and Chester. The effective purpose was as follows: (a) to enable Societies interested in music to develop a common policy on matters of common interest (b) to increase interest in music generally.⁵⁵⁰

The Merseyside Music Council (MMC) was established in 1954 with its first meeting taking place in July of the same year. The objects of the council were set forth as follows:

for the advancement of education by promotion and diffusion of the knowledge of music, by the encouragement of co-operation between societies devoted to the advancement of music on Merseyside and adjacent districts, by the issue of publication and reports, by the promotion of conference and by undertaking such other activities as may be conducive to the attainment of these objects, provided the same shall be legally charitable but not otherwise. The membership of the council shall be persons representative of the music life on Merseyside. The council have the power to elect additional members as may be necessary, and to appoint sub-committees.⁵⁵¹

⁵⁵⁰ Merseyside Music Council Report for the Standing Conference for amateur music, 10th September, 1965. p.1 Available at LRO 780PHI/2/29/12

⁵⁵¹ Merseyside Music Council Report for the Standing Conference for amateur music, 10th September, 1965. p.2 Available at LRO 780PHI/2/29/12

The report on the establishment of the MMC continues by highlighting those elected to the Council. Bertram Benas was elected Chairman with James Rushworth assuming the role of Vice-Chairman. Of James it is written,

Our Vice-Chairman is Mr James Rushworth, of the well-known firm, Rushworth & Dreaper Limited. He, too, serves on many committees, such as the Rodewald Concert Society, the Music Teachers Association, Liverpool Youth Music committee, etc., and is Liverpool Chairman of Trinity college of Music, London.⁵⁵²

Perhaps more important than the objects and the role assumed by James, is the calibre and profile of the other members of the MMC council, which included local musical notables such as: Philip Bailey (Liverpool Youth Music Advisor); Caleb Jarvis (City Organist – Chorus Master, Welsh Choral Union); Stephen Gray (General Manager and Secretary of Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Society); Alderman Macmillan (RLPS committee member, former Chairman of Merseyside Music Forum); Mr Perrett (Chairman of Rodewald Concert Society); Councillor Rathbone (RLPS committee member); Stainton de Boufflers Taylor (Music Master Wallasey High School, Conductor of Wallasey Singers, Organist and Music Critic); Professor Basil Smallman (Professor of Music and Head of department of Music, University of Liverpool).⁵⁵³ The MMC represents a collective effort by a large stratum of Liverpool's primary musical and cultural elites to mobilise collective efforts and initiatives in the interest of promoting and encouraging Liverpool music. The fact that James was positioned as vice-chairman reflects the respect and esteem with which he was held amongst his peers but also the level of expertise and contacts that he brought to the Council. During the following years James would make valuable contributions to the MMC. For example, on 7th April 1965, James delivered a presentation on 'Trust funds to benefit Local and National Music', which, according

⁵⁵² Ibid.

⁵⁵³ Names selected and taken from: Merseyside Music Council Report for the Standing Conference for amateur music, 10th September, 1965. p.3-4 Available at LRO 780PHI/2/29/12

to Ernest Pratt is a 'subject of special concern to all whose interest lie in the sphere of musical activity'⁵⁵⁴. The MMC committee minutes explain that,

Mr Rushworth gave the Council some very useful information regarding Trust Funds, mentioning in particular the Thew Bequest and the Rushworth Trust which were particularly applicable to the Liverpool area. He kindly provided each member with an Arts Council leaflet giving full particulars of all the Competitions, Awards and Scholarships available for music students. Arising out of the discussion following Mr Rushworth's talk, Professor Smallman suggested that Liverpool might be included in the list of Universities entitled to apply for grants under the W. T. Best Memorial Scholarship in view of W. T. Best's long association with the City as Organist of St, George's Hall.⁵⁵⁵

The efforts of the MMC to encourage and facilitate musical participation and interaction across Merseyside were positive. The fact that those involved in the sector felt it necessary to create such an organisation as the MMC reflect, generally, that music was becoming a diminishing industry and the practical musical knowledge and participation was on the decline. This organisation was setup with the intention of reversing the trend and providing a framework which would encourage the Merseyside population to engage with and participate in musical endeavours. James was central to the functioning of this organisation and this was reflected in many other of his duties carried out in the public sphere. The personalities and characters involved with the MMC were regular members of several of Liverpool's primary cultural institutions. For example, on the board of the Rushworth Trust was Bertram Benas, James Rushworth and later Basil Smallman; on the Board of the Bluecoat Arts Society was Stephen Gray and James Rushworth; on the board of the Philharmonic Society was Stephen Gray, Councillor Rathbone, Alderman Macmillan and Mr D. J. Lewis; on the board of Liverpool Youth Music Committee were James Rushworth and Philip Bailey; on the board of the Rodewald Concert Society was James Rushworth and Mr Perrett – all of those listed were on

⁵⁵⁴ Member letter, Correspondence, 23rd March, 1965. Available at LRO 780PHI/2/29/12

⁵⁵⁵ Merseyside Music Council, Minutes of fifty-fourth meeting of the above council held at the Gallery of Bluecoat Chambers on Wednesday, 7th April, 1965. Available at LRO 269 BEN/4/10

the committee of the MMC and they all held high ranking positions in their own right in their organisations and companies. What this shows is a spirit of collaboration, of collective efforts to work in the interest of the region and taking the time to step outside the boundaries of their own businesses, organisations and concerns to concentrate time, finance and administration in promoting Liverpool, encouraging musical participation and interaction and providing a framework which gave the populace access to music, culture and arts, generally. There was much crossover between the personalities and the organisations and the correspondence between the characters mentioned reflects a sense of goodwill, shared objectives and efforts to work together in the spirit of public service and in an effort to continue Liverpool's history as a musical and cultural city. In many ways this collective effort mirrors the efforts of Liverpool's commercial elites of bygone eras – those such as Roscoe and his band of merchant-scholars in the nineteenth century who made concerted efforts to reimagine Liverpool's cultural identity and attempt to reconstruct Liverpool's image from that of 'slave-city' to that of a cultural metropolis, the 'Florence of the North'. It could be suggested that Liverpool's cultural elites of the twentieth century tried to mirror that approach, with James Rushworth as their figurehead, the driving force behind the cultural mobilisation, and in this way continued William Roscoe's legacy of cultural contribution.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated how James assumed control of the Rushworth family business upon his father's death and continued to develop the business and adapt it to the new post-war age. He worked hard to continue the proud tradition of public, community and civic duties that his father had initiated. As well as inheriting several public roles with the Rodewald Society, the Bluecoat Arts Society, the Playhouse and Rotary, he also forged a reputation in his own right as a man of the arts who was devoted to and passionate about the cultural life of Merseyside. The short profiles of the cultural associations and organisations with which he was

connected illustrate several facts. Firstly, the fact that these committees were established and existed suggests that there was a prevalent atmosphere of cultural engagement amongst Liverpool's commercial elites which manifested itself in the formation and operation of collectives such as the MMC, the MAA and the LYMC. Secondly, they highlight a shared responsibility, a sense of civic duty that resulted in much duplication and crossover of committee membership, public and civic roles between the commercial and cultural elites of the city. As has been discussed, this collective of social elites, who represented the largest cultural organisations of the locality, with James as its figurehead, worked in collaboration to promote, finance and provide access to the arts, culture and education for the Liverpool populace. The likes of James Rushworth, Stephen Gray, Basil Smallman, Dr Kennett, Miss Van Mullem and Bertram Benas – who all devoted much time to the 'club-land' of twentieth century Liverpool – should be celebrated for their efforts to try and continue the tradition of cultural, musical and artistic engagement on Merseyside in the post-war period. In many ways their efforts to engender an atmosphere of cultural and musical appreciation and engagement is as crucial as the much-documented nineteenth century efforts of William Roscoe and his followers. It was Roscoe who began the process of transforming Liverpool's cultural identity but it was the Rushworth's who continued this ideal and built on its foundation in the twentieth century. It is important to note that the twentieth century cultural elites were operating in much harder economic times than their nineteenth century forebears, and as such their efforts should be respected and celebrated in equal, if not greater, terms. As the next chapter will show, James was carefully considering how to incorporate his sons into the company and take advantage of the fillip provided by the 'commercialisation of the Liverpool Sound', the Merseybeat era, and propel his business into the new age of records, albums, electric guitars and the cultural revolution.

Chapter Seven

The Swinging Sixties, Merseybeat, the Beatles and the Commercialisation of the Liverpool Sound

“There must be about a million pounds a year spent on the rock ‘n’ roll music industry on Merseyside – most of it comes from teenage fans who are fanatical about the groups and supporting them.”⁵⁵⁶

During the 1960s, the music scene in Liverpool was thriving. Still considered an important English seaport, Liverpool became the focal point of a US-UK cultural exchange that shaped local culture and tastes in music, art, poetry, fashion and youth culture. Arthur Marwick’s research on the 1960s provides an outlook on a period of social and cultural transformation.⁵⁵⁷ This period marked the end of ‘Victorianism’ and brought about liberal trends in social reform characterised by relaxation of attitudes and laws towards subjects such as abortion, divorce, and ushered in the abolition of capital punishment and the introduction of the contraceptive pill. The Cultural Revolution was characterised by the diffusion of relative prosperity across the class system – with increasing disposable income in the hands of the youth, working classes and poorer sections of society. On Merseyside, nowhere was this better exemplified than in the opening of Ford’s Halewood plant at Speke in 1963. This was complemented by widespread access to and availability of new technologies, communications and transport. Changes in art and music were characterised by new movements and styles influenced by contemporary issues (for example, the Vietnam War inspiring Jimi Hendrix ‘Machine Gun’) and new technologies (such as electric guitars, amplification systems and widespread affordable access to recording

⁵⁵⁶ Bill Harry, Editor and Founder of *Merseybeat* magazine (YouTube, ‘The Mersey Sound’ BBC Documentary August, 1963)

⁵⁵⁷ For detailed analysis of the proposed ‘Cultural Revolution’ see: Marwick, A., 1998. *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy and the United States, c.1958-1974*. (Oxford University Press: Oxford); Marwick, A., 1980. *Class: Image and Reality in Britain, France and the USA since 1930*. (Collins: London).

equipment) and new modes of consumption which brought about the development of new styles, such as pop-art, rock and roll music, radio and television. Marwick outlines how,

the changes effected by the war had scarcely worked themselves out when they were overtaken by another set of technological, economic, intellectual and political changes, often identified by such clichés as ‘post-industrial society’, affluence, ‘permissiveness’, ‘end of ideology’, ‘black power’, ‘student power’ and ‘participation’. This Cultural Revolution, which came into full flood in the 1960s, involved the diffusion of relative prosperity to sections of society which previously had never enjoyed more than the barest living standards; the widespread availability of new technologies, particularly in communications and transport; an attack of unprecedented breadth and intensity, on established social controls, traditional hierarchies and received assumptions.⁵⁵⁸

During the 1960s Liverpool was a thriving cultural and music metropolis that was riding the Mersey beat wave and basking in the glory of local musicians, bands and performers who were achieving success across the country and internationally. This was confirmed by the 16th edition of *British Hit Singles* (2003, Guinness World Records), which awarded Liverpool the title ‘World Capital of Pop’ because the city had produced more Number 1 singles than any other city in the world.⁵⁵⁹ The period between April 1963 and May 1964 was particularly successful for Liverpool bands, as ‘for 51 of the 60 weeks there was a Merseybeat record at number 1’.⁵⁶⁰ Why was Liverpool placed at the epicentre of the 1960s pop revolution? And what did it mean for Rushworths? And, more importantly, what was Rushworth’s role in the development of the new youth musical culture?

This chapter will focus on the 1960s development and modernisation of the Rushworth business. It will look at how the developments described in the previous chapter, such as the move from Islington to Whitechapel, impacted on the business structure and operations. The

⁵⁵⁸ Marwick, A., 1980. *Class: Image and Reality in Britain, France and the USA since 1930*. (Collins: London). p. 290

⁵⁵⁹ Cohen, S., 2007. *Decline, Renewal and the City in Popular Music Culture: Beyond the Beatles* (Ashgate: Aldershot). p. 34

⁵⁶⁰ Du Noyer, P., 2002. *Liverpool: Wondrous Place, Music from the Cavern to the Cream*. (Virgin Books: London). p. 61

sixties were an important and transitional decade for the business. As will be explained, the business was operating in a new commercial and cultural environment and this chapter will examine the impact of the so-called ‘Cultural Revolution’ on the business operation and format. Rushworths, traditionally associated with the classical repertoire, pianos and high-brow music, would shift their cultural identity, products, market and advertising to take advantage of a new demographic and the new opportunities that the popular music era brought with it. An important resource has been the oral histories provided by ex-staff and during this chapter sections of the interviews will be assessed to assist in explaining how Rushworths was not only a place where music and musical instruments were bought and sold, but how, as a result of its function as a music shop, became a centre of cultural exchange and played a prominent role in the development of Merseybeat and the commercialisation of the Liverpool Sound.

Liverpool and Rushworth’s during the 1960s

The incorporation of David and Alastair into the business, representing the fifth generation, occurred at a time when the business and the city were in a state of flux. The ‘invention’ of the teenager as a socio-economic group, the increase in disposable incomes and the commodification of consumer products all contributed to the modernisation and development of the Rushworth business, its product range and its services. As John Street explains,

We cannot understand either youth culture or popular music without seeing both as part of an economic arrangement whereby product (records and stars) is found a market (fans). This arrangement depends on a third element: demand. The fans have to want the product, and this means that the product has to be given a meaning and the consumers an identity ⁵⁶¹

This was a time of plenty in Liverpool and as Spencer Leigh explains,

⁵⁶¹ Street, J., 1991. ‘Youth Culture and the Emergence of Popular Music’. In, Gourvish, Y., and O’Day, A., *Britain Since 1945*. (Macmillan: Houndmills). p. 307

The population of Liverpool and its suburbs was over a million and maybe 20 per cent of the work force was on the docks, but employment was readily available in the 60s. As you will find out, many of the Merseybeat musicians had no qualms about leaving a job, certain they would find another when they wanted to... Liverpool was still the busiest port in the UK, and although the Dockers were known for industrial unease, it was one of the friendliest cities.⁵⁶²

Much of Liverpool's early domination of the British pop scene has been attributed to the close commercial links with America, and particularly New York. Jon Murden, in his examination of the cultural links between Liverpool and America, confirms that 'Liverpool [was] the most American of English cities – a transatlantic cultural interchange that many believe allowed the city to take the lead in British pop.'⁵⁶³ He provides analysis of the 'Cunard Yank' theory and provides further evidence of American influence on Liverpool's cultural identity by referring to Tony Lane, Ringo Starr and George Martin. Cunard Yanks was a term used to describe Liverpool's merchant seaman who would travel frequently between Liverpool and New York, bringing back new music, fashion, vernacular and cultural products. This insight provides evidence of the role of the port and trading links with America in the development of the local artists and performers such as the Beatles and Gerry Marsden, whilst also acknowledging the historical context of Liverpool musical influences by referring back to earlier artists such as Lita Roza, Michael Holliday, Frankie Vaughan, Billy Fury and Lonnie Donnegan⁵⁶⁴. Murden explains how Liverpool's American connection was not restricted to music and confirms that a local jazz and poetry scene was established with its own distinctive Liverpool Sound: 'At first they [artists, musicians] looked to London for inspiration and influences, however, it was only a matter of time before they began to look to America for ideas'.⁵⁶⁵ The concept of the socio-economic and cultural association between America and Liverpool has been well versed

⁵⁶² Leigh, S., 2004. *Twist and Shout: Merseybeat, Hamburg, The Cavern and the Beatles*. (Nirvana Books: Liverpool). p.6

⁵⁶³ Murden, J., 2007. "City of Change and Challenge: Liverpool since 1945". In, Belchem (ed) *Liverpool 800: Culture, Character and History*. (Liverpool University Press: Liverpool). p. 417

⁵⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 419

⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 427

in the seminal texts which cover the theme of Liverpool history and cultural development. This theme is continued by Phillips and Brown, who provide a first-hand account of a Liverpool adolescent female who recounted the links between the 1960s beat music and the sea:

Seafarers were bringing music into the city. We grew up with people making music. We personally knew some of the lads that were in these pop groups. They were from these areas. Richard Starkey [Ringo Starr] only lived down the road... Some of our families became known as the 'Cunard Yanks' [working on ships between Liverpool and New York] bringing music back from the States.⁵⁶⁶

However, Spencer Leigh provides an insight into life growing up with the Beatles and examines the Cunard Yank concept⁵⁶⁷ and provides evidence to dampen the link between Liverpool's merchant seaman and the proliferation of American music and produce on the local populace,

Much has been made of the influence of the Cunard Yanks on Merseybeat, but there is no evidence that they brought in rare rock 'n' roll records from America. Believe me, I have tried my best to find it. The Beatles never acknowledged the Cunard Yanks.⁵⁶⁸

Ringo Starr did, in fact, suggest that the Beatles were, 'lucky coming from Liverpool because it was a port and it seemed half of Liverpool was in the Merchant Navy. All these records were coming from America.'⁵⁶⁹ George Martin, record producer to not only the Beatles but other Merseybeat groups such as The Dakotas, Gerry and the Pacemakers and Billy J. Kramer is convinced that the 'Liverpool Sound' was a consequence of the links with America,

It was the result of combining all the elements of American pop – not just rock 'n' roll and rhythm and blues, but girl groups and Motown. The Beatles had half a dozen girl group covers on their

⁵⁶⁶ Milne, G., 2011. "Sailortown." In, Benbough-Jackson, M., and Davies, S., (ed) *Merseyside: Culture and Place*. (Cambridge Scholars Publishing: Newcastle upon Tyne). p. 231

⁵⁶⁷ For a recent insight into the Cunard Yank paradigm see: <http://www.theguardian.com/music/2015/jul/01/liverpool-merseybeat-cunard-yanks-sailors-taught-britain-to-rocknroll>. Also, a DVD titled, 'Liverpool's Cunard Yanks' provides first-hand testimony and insight into the role they played in the development of popular culture on Merseyside. *Liverpool Cunard Yanks* [DVD] 2007, (Souled Out Films).

⁵⁶⁸ Leigh, S., 2010. 'Growing up with the Beatles'. In, Leonard, M., and Strachan, R., 2010. *The Beat Goes On: Liverpool, Popular music and the changing city*. (Liverpool University Press: Liverpool).

⁵⁶⁹ Murden, J., 2007. "City of Change and Challenge: Liverpool since 1945". In, Belchem (ed) *Liverpool 800: Culture, Character and History*. (Liverpool University Press: Liverpool). p. 418

first two LPs; the Mersey sound of fellow performers ... depended on the American pop use of vocal harmonies.⁵⁷⁰

Andrew Lees provides an insight in to the early phases of the Beatles development, attributing some part in their style to influence of Lord Woodbine. ‘Woody’ was a Liverpool character who managed the New Cabaret Artistes Club on Upper Parliament Street, a venue often frequented by John Lennon and Paul McCartney. Lees claims that ‘there is no doubt that the seeds of many of their tunes drifted in on the Atlantic tides.’⁵⁷¹ He also describes the thriving live music scene in Liverpool in the 1960s. The vast numbers of live performing acts required to fill the music halls, ballrooms, cellars, clubs and bars would have provided much of business for Rushworths. As the company often proclaimed, they provided everything from a banjo string to a grand cathedral pipe organ and in this capacity as Liverpool’s leading music retailer, would have provided all the necessary equipment and instruments for the many bands playing in Liverpool’s music scene. Also, with the onset of Liverpool’s musical commercialisation, it would have provoked a barrage of budding young musicians to visit the store purchasing instruments through the hire purchase scheme employed by the firm. In 1963, Stan Gutteridge, a Director at Rushworths, made the following observation in regard to the impact of the Merseybeat movement,

Of course, most of this business is [funded by] hire purchase, but I would say over the last two years the general business of guitars, amplifiers and drums must have gone up five-fold.⁵⁷²

Ruth Finnegan explains the concept of music shops being a centre of cultural exchange. She provides a modern perspective on the role and function of ‘the local music shop’ in her book, *The Hidden Musicians*. Although the book provides case studies of the Milton Keynes music

⁵⁷⁰ Inglis, I., 2010. ‘Historical Approaches to Merseybeat: Delivery, Affinity and Diversity’. In, Leonard, M., and Strachan, R., 2010. *The Beat Goes On: Liverpool, Popular music and the changing city*. (Liverpool University Press: Liverpool). p. 18

⁵⁷¹ Lees, A., 2011. *The Hurricane Port: A Social History of Liverpool*. (Mainstream publishing Co: Edinburgh). pp. 139

⁵⁷² Stan Gutteridge (YouTube, ‘The Mersey Sound’ BBC Documentary August, 1963)

industry, the ideas and importance of local music scene are transferrable and adaptable to Rushworths and Liverpool. Finnegan provides an account of the role of the music shop on the 'local supply of goods and services that directly facilitate the musical activities of local practitioners'.⁵⁷³ It is interesting to analyse her description of the function of the local music shops in Milton Keynes and compare it with the vision of what a music firm should contribute to the local community and music scene, as outlined by in the writings and public lectures of William and James Rushworth. The importance attached to not only the retail of instrument and equipment but the social aspects of event promotion and advertisements, ticket sales, tuition, expert advice on all manner of music and performance related activities (such as production, stage managements, PA's and lighting) were all practised by Rushworths. It was a location for music practitioners to 'just chat to other music enthusiasts. Current gossip and news about local musicians and events were effectively passed on through the informal network of music shops.'⁵⁷⁴ Finnegan reinforces the importance of the music shop and the significant role they played in the musical life of their locality, which went over and above the sale of instruments, and extended itself to 'providing skills and services as well as equipment [...] they and their staff were part of the local music network.'⁵⁷⁵ It is possible to use this structure as a template to analyse the forms, structures and significance of Rushworths to Liverpool and to use the testimony and recollections of the local band members, promoters, venues and institutions as a basis to assess to the extent to which they conformed to this image and contributed to the success of local music practitioners.

The insight provided by Finnegan is reinforced by first-hand accounts of staff and customers who worked and shopped at Rushworths. For example, Peter Anyon began working at Rushworths during the 1960s was also a semi-professional guitarist who performed several

⁵⁷³ Finnegan, R., 1989. *The Hidden Musicians*. (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge). p. 273

⁵⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 275

⁵⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 277

times at the Cavern and in several bands during the Merseybeat era. He described his work with Rushworths as the ‘happiest days of his life’ adding that bands and performers were regular visitors to the store during this period and it was a sort of ‘day-time social club for local musicians, artists and performers to meet, discuss new techniques, sounds, music, bands, equipment and forthcoming events.’⁵⁷⁶ He added that he met with all the big-names of the era, referring to several meetings with George Harrison and many local proponents of the Merseybeat movement. Rushworth was one of the primary institutions of the day which lubricated all aspects of the musical life of the city, either through the supply of instruments, by the stocking and sale of records and by being a general meeting place for the local musical fraternity. Similarly, Alan Rotherham was part of successful Liverpool band from the 1950s/60s called *Duke Duval* (he claims they have 3 bricks adorned with their name in the cavern). He received tutoring as a school boy from Bob Hobbs, manager of the guitar section in Rushworths, and provides glowing insight into the role played by the firm in his development. His account seems to verify that of Anyon, by proclaiming that Rushworths was the place to be and was the ‘trendiest’ music store that provided the best instruments from across the globe. He explained that he purchased a Gibson guitar in 1958 from Rushworths for a price of £158 and he recently contacted Gibson to research the history of the instrument. According to Alan, the guitar was only the 5th legally sold Gibson guitar in England, a point which illustrates the fact that Rushworths were on the pulse and at the forefront of music retail.

Rushworth’s had over the course of the 1950s and 1960s become a primary retail site for the sale and purchase of vinyl LPs and later, tapes. James’ entrepreneurial ability was ever-present in his ability to move with the times, incorporate new products and new modes of music

⁵⁷⁶ Peter Anyon, unrecorded interview, 2013

consumption. At Rushworth's it was possible to listen to the music before buying it. This service was taken from Islington down to the Whitechapel store.

In an interview with three members of staff who worked at Rushworth's record department at various points in the late 1950s and 1960s, they described how commonplace it was for the Beatles to frequent the shop and request the playing of singles in the special private listening booths that Rushworths had on-site. Paul McCartney himself, in the *Beatles Anthology* series, confirms a popular anecdote which features in the opening episode,

My dad used to be a trumpet player himself and for my birthday he once bought me a trumpet from Rushworth & Dreaper's, one of the music stores in Liverpool ... but I quickly figured out that I wouldn't be able to sing with this thing stuck in my mouth, so I went back to the shop and traded it in for a guitar, and that was a Zenith, the first guitar I ever had.⁵⁷⁷

Richard Rushworth recalled a meeting with Paul McCartney which confirms his connection with the shop,

I was a member of the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Choir for four years (1990-1994). I sang in Sir Paul McCartney's 'Liverpool Oratorio'. Sir Paul used to come to some of the rehearsals and at the end of the final rehearsal before the first performance I spoke to Sir Paul and said I was a member of the Rushworth family. He said, "oh yes I remember Rushworths". He explained how he bought his first and other instruments there. He said, "so I bought my instruments from you and now you are singing for me."⁵⁷⁸

Jean Jones, Maureen Slater and Jane Swindells provided specific examples of Paul McCartney requesting the repeated play of a Coasters record whilst he hurriedly penned the chords and lyrics in preparation for the lunch-time concerts at the Cavern. When asked how she knew it was McCartney, Jean replied:

⁵⁷⁷ *The Beatles Anthology*, Disc 1, episode one, [DVD]

⁵⁷⁸ Richard Rushworth, email correspondence, 15 September 2015

Well, in the early days it was easy, when they came back from Hamburg they wore all leather and we used to think they looked quite funny ... I remember one day, someone said to me, “there’s Paul McCartney”, I said, Paul McCartney? Who’s he? ⁵⁷⁹

The fact that the Beatles were regular customers was verified by another member of staff who worked on the record department, Diana Mothershaw (nee Boden), who, as well as contributing an interview detailing her career at Rushworth’s, was generous enough to take the time to transcribe sections of her diary entries written during 1961-63. The diary entries provide an interesting and first-hand account of life, work, and pay on the Rushworth record department in the early 1960s. They provide detail of particular instances of celebrities and musicians who frequented the shop and provide an indication of the regularity and the relationship developed between the bands and performers and the shop and its staff. Perhaps the most interesting customers to regularly frequent the Rushworth record department were the Beatles. The following extracts provide some indication of the regularity and the relationship between Rushworth’s front-end staff and the local musical fraternity:

Thursday, 2nd August 1962: Brian [Epstein] had come in to the shop with Joe Brown, a popular stage and TV performer and recording star in early 1960s.

23rd August, 1962: Adam Faith, a popular local singer and actor, had come into the shop and spent around three-quarters of an hour buying records.

30th August 1962: Jean and Diana visited the Cavern for a lunch time session. Diana notes in her diary that the girls had ‘got a nod off Paul over the crowds. Later they came in (the shop) and what a laugh we had – Jean couldn’t stop shaking. I was laughing as we didn’t know what records they wanted.’

6th October 1962: Frank Ifield, an Australian singer who had a hit in the early 60s with ‘I Remember You’ was in the shop.

12th October 1962: The Beatles came in around 2.30 and they stopped and talked. John Lennon was fooling around, he’s a case! Brian Epstein brought the boys in to introduce them as a bit of PR for those of us who sold their records. John and Paul thought it was funny because we already

⁵⁷⁹ Jean Jones, recorded interview, 21st August 2013

knew them. John was falling about [laughing]. They said they were going to be interviewed on Radio Luxembourg (the only pop music radio station at the time) – it will be interesting to see if they get anywhere.⁵⁸⁰

The entries from Diana's diaries demonstrate that not only was Rushworths a central place of musical culture for local musicians, but the draw attracted the greatest stars to the shop when they were playing at local venues around Liverpool. It reinforces the image of Rushworths as a Liverpool institution that catered for the demands of the stars of the era. This had the knock-on effect of creating a cultural identity that could connect with the younger music followers and other local bands, which associated the Rushworth store with popular performers and bands.

In 1962 James Rushworth had arranged for two Gibson acoustic guitars to be flown in from Lyon & Healy in Chicago. A presentation was prepared with the *Liverpool Echo* invited to report on the events. James was shrewd enough to ensure that all publicity and marketing opportunities were emblazoned with the 'Rushworth' name. Jonathan Rushworth provide a recollection from the time,

I can remember my father coming home one evening and saying he'd met these two young people. He didn't necessarily like their style of music but he could understand why they were popular and he was confident 'they were going places'. He certainly recognised their talent and potential. The company had special Gibson guitars imported from Chicago for John Lennon and George Harrison.⁵⁸¹

Diana Mothershaw provides a different perspective of the events on the day of the Beatles guitar presentation,

One quiet day John came into the Record department by the Whitechapel entrance and I was just nearby. It was a quiet day (usually seemed to be so don't know whether they were skipping classes). He was on his own and wearing his brown, what we called his flasher, mac. He seemed

⁵⁸⁰ Diana Mothershaw, Diary Records 1961-63

⁵⁸¹ Jonathan Rushworth, recorded interview, 1st November 2013

rather self-conscious and told me that he was going to have his photo taken and said, 'I've got a hole in me pants.' I looked him up and down and asked, 'Where?' He turned round and flipped up the right side of his mac and showed me a frayed hole the size of a small coin on the top of his right buttock. I laughed and told him, 'They're not going to photograph your backside John, leave your mac on if you feel embarrassed'.

I can't recall seeing the results of the photo session around that time but only a few years ago I called into the much reduced store of Rushworth's and saw the blown up photo on the wall and was amused to see that John did indeed keep his mac on. When I bought a copy of the photo I was told that he had a hole his pants so he must have told other people about it - although I think I may well have been the only one who was actually shown it ... certainly the first one.'⁵⁸²

Again, the diaries indicate that the store was not simply a place where musicians would purchase a record, or an instrument, or guitar strings – but a place where they could socialise, where they knew the staff, and they could meet and interact with other musicians. Visiting Rushworth's was a central and important aspect of many of the local bands daily social exchanges and this reinforces the perspective of the firm as the leading centre of music in Liverpool. The nature, tone and content of the conversation reflects that the regularity with which the Beatles and other groups visited the Rushworth store enabled them to build fairly close, personal relationships with the staff. The pertinent point being made by providing the anecdotal evidence from ex-Rushworth's staff is not so much to provide a list of famous celebrities who frequented the shop, but more importantly it highlights the fact that Rushworths, during the formative years of the rise of the pop music and the rock n roll, was considered a primary site of cultural exchange. This was as a result of deliberate strategy, both in the short-term, for example, importing the Gibson's and arranging the photo-shoot, but also in the long-term, the acquisition of the socio-cultural capital accumulated by William and James over the decades which enabled the business to not only be at the forefront of musical

⁵⁸² Diana Mothershaw, Diary Records 1961-63

developments and shifts in musical tastes, but to also drive and promote them, ultimately, to the benefit of the business.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown how the affluence and prosperity of the locality can influence and inform local business practice and operations. In the case of Liverpool in the 1960s, the local economy appears to have experienced a temporary upturn which may have been a result of wages doubling in real terms⁵⁸³ and higher disposable incomes. This meant that parents were no longer having to rely on their children's contribution to the household income - this meant that teenagers, for the first time had money, control and agency. Rushworths had the financial, cultural and social capital to take advantage of the commodification and marketing to target the teen market, facilitate its increase and utilise their spending power.⁵⁸⁴ Liverpool, with its close commercial and cultural links with America, was seen to be at the forefront of the new wave of commercialisation. This was evident in music consumption more than any other local industry.

The style and framework of Rushworth's cultural contribution shifted during the 1960s. The Rushworth business were active agents in the explosion of Liverpool music which was attributed to increasing levels of affluence amongst the young, the invention of the 'teenager' and the advancement of technologies. From a musical perspective, Liverpool's historic links to America, the Cunard Yanks paradigm, the success of the Beatles, the development of rock 'n' roll and the cultural identity of Liverpool's young adolescent teenage crowd - all ensured that Rushworths had a steady flow of consumers and a buoyant local market in which to

⁵⁸³ The doubling of wages in real terms occurred during 1958-1966 – for detailed analysis see: Street, J., 1994 'Youth Culture'. In, Johnson, P., (ed.), *Twentieth Century Britain: Economic, Social and Cultural Change*. (Longman, Harlow)

⁵⁸⁴ The process of teenage commodification is explored more thoroughly in: Abrams, M., 1961. *Teenage Consumer Spending in 1959 (Part III): Middle Class and Working Class Boys and Girls*. (London Press Exchange: London).

operate. Rushworth's were contributing to the local cultural scene as a result of their dominance and contribution to the local music scene and their function as a musical instrument retailer. As David Rushworth explains, 'musicians flock to music shops like bees round a hive', this provided the social condition within which Rushworths could position themselves as a centre of cultural exchange. Of course, Rushworths stocked the biggest brands, the best equipment, offered flexible payments and returns policy, and sold second hand instruments to encourage customers in to the store, all demonstrating that they were actively facilitating the emergence and growth of the musical market during the rock and pop era. The previous generation, under William, was actively intending to influence culture by diversifying the company into the field of concert agents; by constructing the Rushworth Hall to encourage participation, appreciation and knowledge of music; by administering and sponsoring the Rushworth Festival of Musical and Verse; by writing, printing, publishing and distributing (free of charge) many thousands of concert and entertainment calendars and Teachers Notes; by acquiring and housing a collection of antique musical instruments that was designed to encourage musical appreciation and interest (and again, publishing and printing the accompanying musical instrument museum catalogue and giving it to customers free of charge). What this illustrates is an intention to make an definite cultural contribution, with the objective of facilitating the spread, interaction, enjoyment and participation in music. The format and approach of the 1960s Rushworth cultural contribution shifted to accommodate the new market, new technologies, new musical genres and new younger customers, through actions such as importing Gibson guitars, installing listening booths, providing flexible payment schemes and providing a welcoming image and approach to young musicians and bands. Ultimately, however, the approach and outlook was the same as earlier generations, which was to provide access to music for all sectors of the local class system, provide a range of all the latest products that reflects the latest tastes and styles of music and establish Rushworths at the forefront of any new musical

innovations and developments. It wasn't just that Rushworths provided guitars to three of the Beatles (Paul McCartney, John Lennon and George Harrison) that reinforced their cultural identity as the Liverpool centre of music (although this is a proud and unique distinction) but they were able to build on, and adapt, their long history, tradition and musical contribution to facilitate the emergence of a 'Liverpool Sound', the Merseybeat.

Importantly, the testimony and recollections of Anyon and Rotheram verify the perspectives of Finnegan, who extends the view of the local music shop as a cultural melting pot which promoted the exchange of ideas, gossip, equipment and contacts. This all verifies the recollections provided by the ex-staff of Rushworths and reinforces the image and perception of Rushworths (and the music shop, generally) as a centre of cultural exchange. Rushworths had facilitated the growth of the Merseybeat movement by providing access to records, music, instruments, equipment and amplifiers – whilst also acting as a grapevine centre for mature and professional musicians alike. The flexible payment schemes and hire purchase⁵⁸⁵ (as outlined by Stan Gutteridge) proved extremely profitable, but also had the dual effect of providing access to musical instruments to the poorer sectors of the local class system. This combined with the 'try before you buy' approach, the record listening booths so frequented by the Beatles, and flexible returns policy⁵⁸⁶ all showed the company's understanding of local tastes and local requirements. This meant that Rushworths facilitated the proliferation of music, engagement in music and appreciation of music, particularly amongst the youth, teenage and working classes of the region in both an economic sense and in a cultural sense. In this way Rushworth's facilitated the development of the local music scene.

⁵⁸⁵ Incidentally, the Beatles Gibson guitars imported from Chicago were paid for via the hire purchase scheme

⁵⁸⁶ Which benefitted Paul McCartney who returned his trumpet and exchanged it for a guitar.

The 1960s represented an important period in Rushworths development and several key periods of transition were experienced during this decade. The fifth generation, David and Alastair, were incorporated into the company – signalling the lengthy process of generational succession. The business was forced to relocate from Islington and adapt new premises at Whitechapel, with a new outlook, a new location, increased footfall, new products and a new commercial and technological environment. The antiques were sold during this decade which represented another break with the past and an emphasis on the forward thinking. It was also during this decade that James received his OBE and oversaw the redevelopment of the Playhouse Theatre. It was a busy decade for James; he oversaw the transformation of his enterprise and set the company off on a firm footing to embrace the new decade. Unfortunately, the fillip provided during the 1960s was short-lived and, as the next chapter will show, the 1970s triggered a period of difficult and terminal decline, both externally for the Liverpool City Region generally and internally for the Rushworth business, structure and operations.

Chapter Eight

Decline, Demise and Closure – The Slow End of the Rushworth Enterprise

Introduction

In a profile of James Rushworth, written by Joe Riley and published in the *Liverpool Echo* in 1988, James recalls a time when ‘you could pick up the phone and ask a friend to donate £10,000 to some appeal or other; What Liverpool’s lost are the head offices of companies. We all knew each other.’⁵⁸⁷ This declaration from James highlights the changing social and civic circles in which he socialised, and provides an example in miniature of the business difficulties that were on the horizon for the business. The Liverpool in which James had grown-up had now changed markedly, gone was the passion and pride in local initiatives; gone were the headquarters of large-scale local employers such as Cunard’s (who left Liverpool in 1967), and Tate & Lyle (plant closed in 1981). The large department stores which epitomised Liverpool’s affluence such as Cripps (closed in the early 1970s), Blackler’s (closed in 1988), and Cooper’s (closed in 1972) were now closed or on the verge of closure. Rushworth’s local competition in the musical instrument retail trade had dissipated during the preceding half century with businesses which were once household names, Hessay’s, Crane’s, Cramer & Lea, NEMS and, across the River Mersey, Ryall’s and Jones and Herbert Ellis, had either closed down, been declared bankrupt or absorbed into the Rushworth portfolio of business interests. Similarly, musical venues across the city were closing down at an increasingly rapid rate with Eric’s, the Wellington Rooms, the Lomax, the Cavern, the Flying Picket and the Olympia (to name but a few) all closing their doors at various points of the 1970s, 80s and 90s. Replacing the pub band and live music was a new wave of musical consumerism, reflected by new nightclubs, such as Cream, incorporating superstar celebrity DJ’s, whilst the pub band was replaced by a

⁵⁸⁷ *Liverpool Echo*, Wednesday, November 16, 1988, p. 7

combination of juke boxes and Karaoke machines. The obvious benefit of juke boxes to pub landlords was not only did they hand control over musical playlists to the customers, but most importantly, rather than have to pay for the cost of the band, they actually made money for the venue. The development of musical technology and the recorded medium had the knock-on effect of taking instruments out of musician's hands. The previous decades of live performance and musical engagement had dissipated and this had an obvious knock-on effect on Rushworths profitability.

David Rushworth began his career at Rushworths in 1970, after completing a BA honours degree in Social Studies at Durham and a one-year industry work experience on the shop-floor in the piano department at Harrods, London. He said that from his first day with his family business the main concern was always cash-flow, raising capital and 'putting out fires'. The period of David Rushworth's tenure in charge was one of difficult, stressful and almost constant struggle. This chapter will look at several issues related to David Rushworth's period in control of the Rushworth family business. The first section will provide an assessment of the condition of the business he inherited, including analysis of the financial performance and the changing structure of the organisation. Second will be an examination of the strategies of adaptation and adjustment and the efforts made by David to increase the profitability of the business and latterly to keep the company in existence. The final section will consider the impact that the financial difficulties faced by the business had on their efforts to make concerted and successful initiatives focussed on cultural contribution, musical appreciation and participation.

The factors which led to the decline and eventual closure of the Rushworths business can be categorised as internal and external. The internal aspects include the operations, the management structure, decision making processes and the strategies implemented to try and assist the business in remaining solvent, profitable and in existence. The external factors can

be linked to regional economic issues that resulted in a declining population, the mass exodus of industry from the Merseyside region, high unemployment and the declining function of the port of Liverpool in both passenger travel and cargo handling. In addition to this the local council, under the socialist and highly militant administration of Derek Hatton, found itself in conflict with the right-wing central government that, under Margaret Thatcher, had adopted a policy of allowing Merseyside to slip in to a state of ‘Managed Decline’. Both this policy and local government response to it arguably exacerbated the region’s severe problems and challenges. This chapter will first look at the issue of succession and the strategy implemented by James with regards to introducing and preparing his two eldest sons, David and Alastair, to join the company.

The Fifth Generation – David and Alastair’s incorporation into the business

Did James Rushworth have difficulty in transferring control of the family business over to the next generation? James Rushworth who despite relinquishing Managing Directorships to his sons formally in 1979, retained chairmanship of the firm until its closure in 1997. As late as 1988, at the age of 75, a feature on James, ‘The Music Man’ appeared in the *Liverpool Echo*, during which he explains that he ‘still enjoy[s] coming into the office. I have a weekly argument. It keeps me young. But you’ve got to learn to let your sons take over and do things their own way.’⁵⁸⁸ David Rushworth confirmed that James was making regular visits to his office at Whitechapel as late as the early-1990s and this ‘would have continued had it not been for the fact that his legs gave in forcing him into a wheelchair – he physically couldn’t get into the office anymore’.⁵⁸⁹ Jonathan recalled one instance during a phone call to James in which his father would explain that, ‘the boys [David and Alastair] need to realise that this business

⁵⁸⁸ *Liverpool Echo*, Wednesday, November 16, 1988, p. 7

⁵⁸⁹ David Rushworth, recorded interview, 3rd June 2015

is my life'.⁵⁹⁰ Whether James had difficulty letting go is open to debate, and whether he stifled or hampered the modernisation or transition of the business is difficult to quantify; however, it is clear that James not only had difficulty relinquishing control but also that he remained closely connected to the business until his physical ailments prevented his involvement. Holt and Popp make the observation that the nature of family firms results in them being both family relationships as well as business relationships, as such this presents its own difficulties and problems – especially when concerned with the process and planning for succession.⁵⁹¹

In the case of James Rushworth, whatever trouble he had in actually transferring control, he clearly had planned for succession and had a strategy in place to try and ensure smooth transition of the business on to his two sons. Jonathan Rushworth recalls that,

It was always assumed of course that David and Alastair would take over running the business as the eldest brothers but my father was very shrewd and he must have realised that the business wasn't big enough for 4 of us. He may have seen it getting smaller by then. I seem to remember him saying, David will run the retail side of the business, Alastair the organ building side and 'what are the twins going to do?' He suggested that Richard should be an accountant and me a lawyer.⁵⁹²

When asked if he ever felt left out or disgruntled by the fact he hadn't been offered a role within the family business, Jonathan replied,

No, I didn't, I accepted it and didn't question it because I'd presumably accepted that it wasn't big enough and I had never worked there. Perhaps if I'd worked there in the holidays then I'd have wanted to be more involved. Possibly at some stage I might have felt that I'd have liked to be a director but there was no jealousy towards David and Alastair and, after all, Alastair did that pretty tough training in Canada, having to speak French, going to Holland and having to speak Dutch, working on the factory floor in these big organ building factories. I realise now, looking back, that my father was absolutely right in not asking me to become a director. It was part of his

⁵⁹⁰ Jonathan Rushworth, unrecorded interview, 2014

⁵⁹¹ Popp and Holt make some interesting and relevant observations between succession, emotions and the family firm in; Holt, R., and Popp, A., 2013. 'Emotions, succession and the family firm: Josiah Wedgwood & Sons'. In, *Business History*, 55 (6), pp. 892-909

⁵⁹² Jonathan Rushworth, recorded interview, 1st November 2013

view that this was a commercial enterprise and he didn't want to be seen to appoint family members as non-executive directors. In any event they already had a lawyer on the board, Davy Pain, and I was pursuing my own career in London as a solicitor. Richard of course later joined the company as finance director.⁵⁹³

As already explained, the late sixties marked the period when James would introduce his two eldest sons, William David Crawford Rushworth⁵⁹⁴ and Alastair James Maynard Rushworth, into the family business, representing the fifth generation of continuous family control of the company. During this period of succession James adopted a 'sibling partnership' approach, similar to the succession strategy adopted during the first and second generation of the Rushworth business' development.⁵⁹⁵ Alastair would complete a challenging, rigorous and thorough industry training program which saw him complete a shop-floor apprenticeship within the Rushworth Organ Works for eighteenth-months before travelling to two organ works of international repute, Flentropp in Holland and Casavant-Freres in Canada. Alastair recalls of the time,

I have to be careful saying what people's decisions were - and things were always father's wish - but that's wrong because each individual must always have their own say. But my talents definitely lay in more technical matters - I was always more technically inclined, mechanically inclined, I was good with tools, laying things out, adapting myself, and there's no one more adaptable from a technical point of view than a pipe organ builder.⁵⁹⁶

It is clear that from an early age James had identified that Alastair, out of his two eldest sons, had the natural capacity and skill-set to become a master organ builder, and set about building a program for succession which would develop him into a master organ builder. In Holland Alastair worked for 'nearly two years' at the works of Dirk Flentropp in Amsterdam. Following this he travelled to Casavants-Freres in Canada for a further 15 months, where he would

⁵⁹³ Jonathan Rushworth, recorded interview, 1st November 2013

⁵⁹⁴ William was known throughout the business as 'Mr William' to maintain family tradition but similar to James, he was later known as 'David'.

⁵⁹⁵ See Literature Review Chapter One, p.26

⁵⁹⁶ Alastair Rushworth interview with John Hatfield, recorded, July 2006

develop his skills and expertise under the guidance of master organ builder, Larry Phelps. He would return to Rushworths in Liverpool as a qualified, experienced and confident Organ Builder. It was James, as a result of his contacts in the Federation of Master Organ Builders, who arranged for Alastair's international training. Alastair has explained the difficulties of this period during private interviews. He had to combat the fact that he didn't speak any Dutch, although he was quickly able to build up his vocabulary and converse with the Dutch family who housed him during his stay in Amsterdam. He faced similar problems in Canada, although he was much more engaged with the English speaking community. When speaking of his experience overseas, Alastair recalls the benefit of his international training, 'I was able to see how organ manufacture was conducted in the biggest organ works and bring this knowledge back with me to Liverpool'⁵⁹⁷. Alastair explained that,

I felt, as did father, his whole idea was that I could talk to anybody who was wanting an organ designed for any set of circumstances – not just limiting to a Parish church in the middle of Wales, who wanted a repair done, which we could do anyway ... but any new project or large re-build or whatever, we could approach and look the customer straight in the eye and say, 'we have absolutely no problem in designing or building that organ for you' – and indeed we did that.⁵⁹⁸

In this interesting recollection Alastair discusses not only the all-encompassing approach to organ building espoused by his father, but also the family approach to business – the insistence on the ability to look the customer 'straight in the eye' exemplifies the Rushworth approach to business and how the family values were transferred through the generations. The business was built on respectability, accountability and confidence in their ability to not only conduct the work and complete it in timely manner, but to conduct it well and to the highest specification and standard.

⁵⁹⁷ Alastair Rushworth, recorded interview, 29th April 2014

⁵⁹⁸ Alastair Rushworth interview with John Hatfield, recorded, July 2006

Alastair's training and experience would benefit the company in 1975 as the Great George Organ Works, again subject to a Compulsory Purchase Order by Liverpool Corporation, was demolished to make way for a new road and housing development. Alastair, in conjunction with James and Mr Moir, manager of the Organ Works, searched different sites across Liverpool, seeking suitable premises for the new manufactory. Premises were quickly found in St Anne Street, near the city centre, and coincidentally, within 100 yards of the first Rushworth family residence which they occupied upon their arrival in Liverpool in the 1840s at Birkett Street. Alastair was able to use his experience to setup the new factory according to his own design and approach, situating the drawing office, the metal works, the wood works and the electrical department in accordance with his own vision and modern organ manufacture requirements. He explained that James left him largely in control of this process. At this point, Alastair was already a respected figure in the organ building industry, as highlighted in a *Liverpool Daily Post* feature on the move to the new St Anne Street premises,

Mr Alastair Rushworth is already an acknowledged authority on pipe organs being both a member both of the Incorporated Society of Organ Builders and the Institute of Musical Instrument Technology [he would later serve a period as President at both of these Societies]. He was recently appointed editor for Great Britain and the Commonwealth of the International Society for Organ Builders publication 'I.S.O. Information'. He has also lectured to a number of organist associations and at the University of Liverpool on the subject of the classical organ.⁵⁹⁹

In 1966 David would join the business after spending three years at Durham University completing a B.A. honours degree in Social Sciences, a course covering psychology, politics, economics and law. Of his degree David noted, 'I struggled enormously at university and just scraped through. It didn't teach me much but it did teach me how to think... as all degrees do.' After the completion of his degree, James arranged for David to spend a further year at Harrods

⁵⁹⁹ *Liverpool Daily Post*, Tuesday, January 21st 1975

department store in London, working in the piano retail department and ‘learning in the trade’.

Reflecting on his time in Harrods David explained,

Oh it was amazing! First of all, I was in the record department; remember this was the height of records, a wonderful time! And then I went in to the piano department and this was ‘the’ piano department in London. I just did sales ... I remember I was so naïve. I asked the assistant buyer, the deputy manager, a nice chap called Richard Sharp, how he priced the second-hand uprights and grand? In those days I didn’t understand, but he said, we think of the highest price we dare charge and then we put a hundred pound on top. But that was Harrods and they could get it in those days, it was the height of the piano boom.⁶⁰⁰

David explained how he believed his father was eager to get him back to Liverpool following his time with Harrods,

I believe father was glad to have me back. When I was in London working for Harrods, the buyer there, they called department managers ‘buyers’ in those days, asked me if I wanted to become his successor. I remember I told father and he was horrified that I should even think about it or even consider it!⁶⁰¹

During interviews David has repeatedly highlighted that fact that he,

should have gone to Harvard Business School or a business school and got my MBA but as always with these things there was always a reason why I didn’t, got to do this, got to do the other, and so, I didn’t go. When we moved to Whitechapel we probably had over 100 staff ... I mean madness, crazy! Like I said last time we met – if I’d have been to business school I would’ve spotted the opportunity there and had the foresight to say, ‘well, we are not taking Islington down to Whitechapel, we are going to restructure the whole business and put it on one or two floors, not five!’ I mean five floors sounded terrific, wow, you know, ‘5 floors of music and all that sort of stuff’ – we should have scaled the whole thing down, and then we wouldn’t have had to sell the building, sell the freehold on the building, and we’d have had half the staff and we’d have made some decent money – simple in hindsight!⁶⁰²

⁶⁰⁰ David Rushworth, recorded interview, 3rd June 2015

⁶⁰¹ David Rushworth, recorded interview, 3rd June 2015

⁶⁰² David Rushworth, recorded interview, 10th September 2013

The fact that James adopted different succession approaches to his two eldest sons reflects that he was aware of his own limitations and strengths. Ken Stabb made the observation that ‘James wasn’t very practical’,

You know that Alastair went to Canada and Holland, he learned the craft, whereas James wasn’t practical, he didn’t have that. Oh yes, I remember David going to Harrods, and Alastair did the organ works ... it was always said that James’s idea was very good, but not all good ideas work out. David was retail, Alastair was organ works and Jonathan and Richard were lawyer and accountants because James hated professional fees ... But the twins never worked in the business, although Richard did latterly. David was more practical and front end, whilst James was more office based and aloof. David had to learn about televisions and radio etc ... if one of James’s friends would come in he couldn’t advise them about pianos but David could – David would get the Hoover out, so to speak!’⁶⁰³

James ensured that Alastair received the finest technical training in the field of master organ building from companies of international repute – providing him with the opportunity to learn the skills of his craft from the shop-floor up to management positions and ensuring that Alastair could fill the gaps in his own experience and expertise. James, like his father, William, had never been trained in the field of organ building, and whilst having a basic knowledge of costings, procedures, timeframes, materials and processes; he was reliant on industry specialists, his team of master organ builders, to maintain the standards, operations and reputation of the Rushworth organ works. Having a master organ builder as his son helped fill this gap and strengthen the family control of that arm of his enterprise.

For David, however, James took a different approach. David was not forced to read a degree in any business or retail based subject, nor was he sent to business school upon the completion of his university studies. Despite David being sent to work at Harrods to gain experience or learn his trade, James did not request reports on his progress or discuss what he had learned or how business was conducted, or marketing strategy or window displays or

⁶⁰³ Ken Stabb, recorded interview, 21st October 2013

costings. He was left largely to his own devices and it was never anticipated or expected that David would return to Rushworths in Liverpool with ideas on how to expand, modernise or increase the business. It could be the case that after sending David to University, and arranging for his work experience in Harrods, James believed that the remainder of his ‘apprenticeship’ with the business would be best served in the shadow of himself – much like he had with his own father. What is most evident is that James clearly knew the importance of succession and the benefits of his sons gaining industry experience away from the comfort of their family firm. The biggest difficulty resided in the fact that the period of overlap between the fourth and fifth generations was over thirty years (from around 1967 until 1997) and during this time James, despite allowing increasing responsibility to his sons, remained in control of the firm. However, in the opinion of Ken Stabb, the two generations worked well together,

They worked quite well together, there were disagreements because the young person always thinks he can do it better, but the business changed and that forced things to happen so they both had to adapt together, I suppose.⁶⁰⁴

In response to the question, ‘Did James stifle David?’ Ken replied,

No not particularly – not necessarily. I think James ran it very well, in his way. But technology changed so fast, in those days it was sheet music, pianos and that, and then all these new things came in and you don’t need as many staff.⁶⁰⁵

James made every effort to provide what he believed was the best possible training for his sons and under the partnership of James, David and Alastair (and later Richard) the company would continue to increase in size, scale and scope. The evidence suggests that the process of succession was carefully and strategically planned by James and he recognised the importance of preparing his sons to take the helm and move the business forward into the next phase of development. As Mary Rose suggests, this reflects James natural entrepreneurial ability and

⁶⁰⁴ Ken Stabb, recorded interview, 21st October 2013

⁶⁰⁵ Ken Stabb, recorded interview, 21st October 2013

his efforts to smooth the transition between the generations. It is important to note that the overlap between the generations was over 30 years so it is difficult demarcate the contributions and role played by the individual Rushworths during the fourth and fifth generations - they were definitely a partnership who worked together in collaboration in an effort to overcome the struggles they would face during the final decades of the company's existence.

The Economic Demise of Liverpool

Murden explains that Thatcher regarded Liverpool 'as expensive, inefficient and badly run – incapable of responding adequately, politically or administratively, to the scale of the problems it faced'.⁶⁰⁶ Papers revealed in 2011 that the Thatcher administration was urging a policy of allowing Liverpool to slip in to a state of 'managed decline'. Chancellor Geoffrey Howe insisting that spending public money on Merseyside would be like 'trying to make water flow uphill'.⁶⁰⁷ In 1982, the Daily Mirror stated, 'they should build a fence around Liverpool and charge admission. For sadly, it has become a 'showcase' of everything that has gone wrong in Britain's major cities'.⁶⁰⁸ As Du Noyer explains, 'the bourgeoisie was long gone; the town which once had more millionaires than any other outside London was now called 'the Bermuda triangle of British capitalism'.⁶⁰⁹ The so-called 'Thatcher Recession' of the early 1980s hit Liverpool particularly hard and with unemployment at twice the national average (it reached almost 40% in some districts⁶¹⁰) the cultural economy shrank as the consumer market collapsed. Culture was not high on the agenda of the national government, nor Liverpool Council, and the impact of this filtered down to music venues and music retail across the region as several high profile retail establishments, such as Crane's, Hussy's and NEMS music, all

⁶⁰⁶ Murden, J., 2007. "City of Change and Challenge: Liverpool since 1945". In, Belchem (ed) *Liverpool 800: Culture, Character and History*. (Liverpool University Press: Liverpool). p. 428

⁶⁰⁷ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-16361170>

⁶⁰⁸ *Daily Mirror*, 11 October 1982, cited in Lane, T., 1987. *Liverpool: Gateway to Empire*. p.11

⁶⁰⁹ Du Noyer, P., 2002. *Liverpool: Wondrous Place*. (Virgin: London). p.160

⁶¹⁰ Sykes, O., et al., 2013. 'A City Profile of Liverpool'. *Cities* (35). pp. 299-318

closed down. Similarly, some of Liverpool's famous music venues such as the Flying Picket, the Wellington Rooms, the Olympia, Eric's and the Cavern were all shut down at various periods during the 1970, 80 and 90s. Liverpool, once the city of the Merseybeat, was now considered a 'beaten city – the shock city' of post-industrial Britain.⁶¹¹

Some interesting statistics enable us to contextualise the difficult period of economic decline in Liverpool during the late 1970s and 1980s. Sheila Marriner highlights the onset of noticeable population decrease which, during the years 1921-1971, fell by around 25% from 805,100 to 610,100.⁶¹² Cohen highlights that in tandem with declining population (and a possible cause of it) was the increasing rate of unemployment, which in 1985 was 27%. As already noted, this was twice the national average, as it had also been in the aftermath of World War One. 53 per cent of those unemployed had been out of work for more than a year (compared to 39 per cent nationally). The situation was particularly acute amongst the young people of Liverpool, which, in 1986, was estimated to only have 13 per cent of 'economically active young in jobs [...] The national unemployment rate was also highest amongst young people but was no more than half that of Liverpool'⁶¹³. David Rushworth recalls discussing Liverpool's economic plight with a representative from Yamaha in Tokyo who was 'horrified' at the level of unemployment in Liverpool.⁶¹⁴ Jon Murden highlights that,

Between 1966 and 1967 no less than 350 factories in Liverpool closed or moved elsewhere, 40,000 jobs were lost and between 1971 and 1985 employment in the city fell by 33 per cent [...] between 1979 and 1981 the rate of job losses accelerated at a frightening level, employment in the city falling by a further 18 per cent. By early 1981, 20 per cent of the city's labour force was

⁶¹¹ Belchem, J., 2006. *Merseypride: Essays in Liverpool Exceptionalism* (2nd edition). (Liverpool University Press: Liverpool). Quoted in, Sykes, O., et al., 2013. 'A City Profile of Liverpool'. *Cities* (35). p.300

⁶¹² Marriner, S., 1982. *The Social and Economic Development of Merseyside*. (Croom Helm: London). p.143

⁶¹³ Cohen, S., 1991. *Rock Culture in Liverpool*. (Oxford University Press: Oxford). P.2-3

⁶¹⁴ David Rushworth, Recorded interview, 3rd June 2015

unemployed and it was reported that there were just 49 jobs on offer for the 13,505 youngsters registered unemployed.⁶¹⁵

Much research has been conducted on the economic plight of Liverpool during this period, with the decline of the port being precipitated by the opening of the European market as result of the amalgamation of the European Union resulting in the east coast ports of Felixstowe and Folkestone, working in tandem with London, to redirect the flow of imported and exported cargoes away from Liverpool – this resulted in the closure and decline of many of Liverpool’s docks which became derelict waste grounds. At the same time, the industries related to the operations of the port, the banking, finance, insurance and underwriting sectors, were impacted by the decline of the port. Similarly, the shipbuilding yards, and those who catered for repairs and maintenance, were also left devoid of contracts. The decline of the port in general was further provoked by the development of airline passenger travel. The once thriving Liverpool sailortown,⁶¹⁶ which had once been filled with pubs on every corner, each boasting a piano or an organ, and in many cases a music room, stage and salon, had been dissipated.

The work of Cohen highlights the impact of high unemployment, local economic decline and population decrease on musical engagement by suggesting that despite this turn of events, musical participation and engagement numbers remained fairly steady – particularly amongst the working class sector of Liverpool society. She refers to a study in the *Liverpool Echo* from early 1980 which ‘discovered the existence of more than one thousand’ bands on Merseyside.⁶¹⁷ Cohen makes use of contemporary studies which highlighted that ‘unemployment brings out the guitar in everyone’ or ‘large numbers of people seek to escape the boredom of the dole by forming bands and playing music’.⁶¹⁸ This raises the question: if

⁶¹⁵ Murden, J., 2007. “City of Change and Challenge: Liverpool since 1945”. In, Belchem (ed) *Liverpool 800: Culture, Character and History*. (Liverpool University Press: Liverpool). p. 428

⁶¹⁶ Milne, G., 2012. ‘Sailortown’. In, Davies and Benbough-Jackson (ed.), *Merseyside: Culture and Place*. Ch. 5

⁶¹⁷ Cohen, S., 1991. *Rock Culture in Liverpool*. (Oxford University Press: Oxford). P. 1

⁶¹⁸ Cohen, S., 1991. *Rock Culture in Liverpool*. (Oxford University Press: Oxford). p.3

there was so much engagement with music, a multitude of bands and performers, a prevalent local rock culture and a plethora of music venues and clubs, why did Rushworths fail to take advantage of this and maximise their profitability and maintain their very existence? David Rushworth has countered this position by explaining that musical participation figures usually remain steady during a recession. However, whereas in more affluent times musicians would require, for example, the latest guitar, the latest model, the newest colour and design, during a recession they are more likely to hang on to their old guitar or simply buy new strings, rather than a brand new instrument. Similarly, if a child's clarinet requires a new mouthpiece then they would buy that only, rather than a new instrument or an upgrade. Also, whilst new musical genres were emerging, such as the DIY approach championed by the Punk movement of the 1970s⁶¹⁹, providing practical advice on how to create music 'using only three chords', the uptake of professional and classical music tuition was not affordable, nor necessary amongst the large sector of Liverpool working classes. It must be noted that Punk also needed a very limited range of instruments. However, post-punk and the New Romantics all saw much heavier use of synthesisers and keyboards – *Orchestral Manoeuvres in the Dark* being a prominent local example. Cohen supports the notion that in Liverpool,

the majority of bands used second-hand gear or shared gear with other bands. A lot of it was bought on hire purchase which was generally paid off over a number of years, and there was usually some 'knock off' (stolen goods) in circulation.⁶²⁰

⁶¹⁹ For greater insight into the impact of DIY approach to music-making see: Dale, P., 2008. 'It was easy, it was cheap, so what? Reconsidering the DIY principle of punk and indie music'. In, *Popular Music History*, 3.2 (2008). pp.171-193

⁶²⁰ Cohen, S., 1991. *Rock Culture in Liverpool*. (Oxford University Press: Oxford). p.51

Year	Title of Census book	Table	Male	Female	Total
1891	1891 Census of England and Wales - Ages, Marital conditions, Birth place F20.44 3	Table 6 page xxix - Summary table Occupation Males and Females 10 years and upwards (Musician, Music Master)	19,495	19,111	38,606
1901	1901 Census of England and Wales - General Report F20.57 3	Table xxxv pages 186 and 187 - Occupation Males and Females 10 years and upwards (Musicians, Music Masters, Singers)	20,605	22,644	43,249
1911	1911 Census of England and Wales Volume X Part 1 - Occupations and Industries F20.67 3	Table 2 page 9 - Occupation Males and Females 10 years and upwards (Musicians, Music Masters, Singers)	22,844	24,272	47,116
1931	1931 Census Occupations Classification and Tables F20.94 3	Table 16 - Occupations of Males and Females aged 14 years and over (Musician Civilian)	19,612	6,268	25,880
		Table 16 - Occupations of Males and Females aged 14 years and over (Music Master/Teacher of Music)	4,881	17,754	17,759
1951	1951 Census Occupation Tables for England and Wales	Volume 9 Table 20 page 158 Selected Occupations with Status Aggregate tables (Teacher of Music)	2,749	8,807	11,556
		Volume 9 Table 20 page 158 Selected Occupations with Status Aggregate tables (Musician)	11,036	3,738	14,774
1961	1961 Census Occupations Classification Tables for England and Wales	Table 1 page 6 - Occupation by Status - Musician (Stage managers, actors, entertainers and musicians)	17,380	889	18,269
1971	1971 Census Economic Activity for England and Wales	Table 15 - Occupation by Sex and area of usual residence - Musician (Stage managers, actors, entertainers and musicians)	2,464	1,134	3,598
1981	1981 Census Economic Activity for England and Wales 10% sample only	Table 14 page 418 - Usual resident (economic activity) population in employment status and occupation groups (Actor, musicians, entertainers, stage managers)	-	-	2,500
1991	1991 Census Economic Activity for England and Wales 10% sample only	Table 4 - Volume 1 of 2 page 219 Occupation and Employment Status - Economic Activity persons aged 16 and over (Musicians)	-	-	2,096

Table 8.1: Data for people in England and Wales who recorded their occupation as Musician or Music Master on their Census form, 1981-1991.⁶²¹

⁶²¹ This table was kindly formulated and constructed, at my request, by the Office of National Statistics.

One of the problems faced by Rushworths was the declining number of professional musicians or numbers of the population that earned a living from being musicians or teaching music. Table 8.1 shows the falling number of musicians and music masters/teachers registered on the national census. The table clearly show that from a peak of over 47,000 in 1911 the number steadily declines so that by 1971 the figure is little over 3,500. Table 8.1 demonstrates that since 1911 the census returns highlight a noticeable trend of declining numbers of the population professionally or formally engaged in musicianship, either in a performance or educational capacity. This further illustrates the scale of the task faced by Rushworth in trying to operate within a smaller market.

More recently Cohen has analysed the relationships between ‘the music business, the city and urban regeneration.’⁶²² She provides an insight into the connections between music and the city, using Liverpool as a case study and discussing the difficulties of attempting to balance commerce with culture, and the disconnect between music practitioners, council led culture industry departments and official organisations such as the Merseyside Music Development Agency and Merseyside Music Industry Association. She provides a perspective on the concept of a ‘rhetoric of the local’ and ‘paying one’s dues’ which, although not directly linked to the music retail, provides areas of study which may be applied to the Rushworth music business. The concept of ‘paying one’s dues’ can be adapted to the case of Rushworths, as they cannot be accused of relinquishing their responsibility to the community and the city, nor did they abandon the city and relocate to the music metropolis of, for example, London, although presumably it would have been very competitive in London with many established dealers. Rushworths remained loyal to Liverpool, maybe even to their own detriment, and in this sense, more than paid their ‘dues’ to the city. Cohen’s work describes the bureaucratic and

⁶²² Cohen, S., 2002. “Paying One’s Dues: The Music Business, the City and Urban Regeneration”. In, Talbot (ed), *The Business of Music*, (Liverpool University Press: Liverpool). p. 263

organisational factions that were attempting to regenerate Liverpool's image as a musical city and trying to create an infrastructure that could manage, improve and facilitate the rise of local bands and keep local talent in the city and away from the bright lights of London. She explains the conflict in the council, the difficulty of operating in a city experiencing economic and industrial decline, with a local council denigrated by central government and many factions competing for their share of local cultural economy. She confronts the dialectic of commerce and culture and highlights the difficulty in merging the two. Cohen suggests that,

the existence of many [music] businesses were perennially threatened by the unpredictable nature of the commercial music market and by local economic decline, which resulted in a lack of investment in local music making.⁶²³

Cohen continues by discussing local council-led music initiatives and organisations devised with the objective of regenerating Liverpool's musical and cultural image and profitability. She points to the creation of the Liverpool Institute of Performing Arts and the development of organisations such as Merseyside Music Industry Association (established in 1993) and the Merseyside Music Development Agency (established in 1998) as examples local initiatives designed to maximise the prospects for local music practitioners and associated trades and industry. Perhaps, more important than the creation of such schemes, is the noticeable absence of any Rushworth presence on the boards and committees of these local organisations. For at least three generations the Rushworth family had been at the forefront of Liverpool's musical and cultural organisations and, as shown in previous chapters, if there was a music-related initiative, event, association or committee then invariably a Rushworth presence would be at the forefront. However, in the modern context, it appears that as the financial position of the family business was declining so too did the family's influence and contribution towards local

⁶²³ Ibid., p. 264

cultural initiatives. This could suggest that Rushworths cultural contribution and civic presence was intimately bound up with the success and profitability of the business.

David Rushworth has explained the difficulty he faced during his tenure as Managing Director of the firm in prolonging the existence of the firm and maintaining a level of profitability. One aspect of the contracting company structure and organisation was the amount of responsibility that was placed on David. His father, James, had at his disposal a collective body of skilled, experienced and respected departmental managers, some of whom had been brought into the business by his father, William – figures such as Major Leslie Pinfold, Stan Gutteridge, Norman Mullineux and Reg Goodrich, who had been with the company since the inter-war period. The experience and loyalty of these Executive Directors enabled James to leave the operations and management of his company, in some respects, largely in their hands, thus enabling him to commit much of his time and energy to the city, his societies and his public and civic responsibilities. Unfortunately, David was not afforded the same luxury. As these Directors and departmental managers retired, David was forced to absorb their responsibilities into his own job role. Part of the problem was that with a dwindling business and the lack of sufficiently skilled people in the area, he could not afford nor find people with the right skills, subject to a few exceptions. Of course, this then sets up a vicious cycle. A firm begins to contract, and as a result can't reinvest – for example, by hiring skilled and experienced staff – and so loses important competences and competitive advantage, and so contracts more. It becomes very hard to reverse. The difficulties of the period were accentuated by the aging and eventual retirement of James, who during the final decade of his Chairmanship took an increasingly distant back-seat role in the company. David was stretched in terms of workload and this had a stifling effect on the frequency and impact of his cultural contribution and on the effectiveness of his management. Whereas James had inherited a profitable and growing business and assumed numerous social and civic roles as a result of his father's involvement

in, and standing amongst, the Liverpool civic elites, David did not acquire the same cultural and social capital and he did not inherit a business that was as profitable or as central to the musical life of the city. This limited the contributions that David could make to the cultural life of the city – the survival of the family business took precedence over the accumulation of social and cultural capital, this in turn limited his ability to make sustained and concerted cultural contributions. However, this is not to say he made no attempts and he did follow in his father's footsteps on the boards of several organisations. David made several dedicated efforts to contribute to local cultural initiatives. However, the success and impact of his efforts were lessened by the fact that the business was not as profitable (and as a result could not finance cultural or musical initiatives) and the complexity and difficulty of his job role limited the time he could devote to the local cultural economy.

David Rushworth: The Cultural Contribution of the Fifth Generation

The concept of cultural contribution has been considered during the course of the thesis as the foundation upon which Rushworths were able to build their reputation and construct an identity for their musical enterprise. However, the format and success of the Rushworths cultural initiatives altered and shifted depending on numerous factors, including the demands of the local musical public, the profitability of the business, and the available budget they could devote in support of musical, cultural and community projects. The financial figures for the period from 1980-1997 show consistent and steady downturns in profits and, as a result, David was faced with the challenge of maintaining and securing the future existence of the business. In his own words, David has expressed that his focus was on 'putting out fires'⁶²⁴ within his organisation, whilst Jonathan Rushworth has indicated that he had been 'unsure how long the business could survive making such annual losses'.⁶²⁵ The fact that the business was failing,

⁶²⁴ David Rushworth, unrecorded interview, 2014

⁶²⁵ Jonathan Rushworth, unrecorded interview, 2014

the local consumer market was shrinking, the competition was increasing, modes of musical consumption and engagement were in a state of flux as a result of technological advancements, and the locality was in severe economic downturn, all contributed the dilution of Rushworths cultural contribution.

This is not to suggest that no effort was made to promote and encourage musical engagement across Merseyside. James Rushworth had made concerted efforts to introduce David into the civic and societal life of Liverpool. James himself had been introduced to Liverpool's cultural institutions and organisations by his own father, William, and in a similar vein David was incorporated to many of the organisations for which James sat on committees. For example, the Rushworth Trust, Liverpool Youth Music Association, Liverpool Rotary and the Music Retailers Association were some of the organisations in which David followed in his father's footsteps and held prominent positions.⁶²⁶

For example, David was on the committee for the Liverpool Music Festival, which was taken over by Liverpool City Council in 1977 after Rushworth ceased to sponsor, organise and administer the event. He was to remain on the board until 2005. Jason Dolman, who worked on the Council side of the Liverpool Music Festival from 1996, explained that the Rushworth family and business remained a prominent part of the Festival organisation with set-pieces, music stands and pianos⁶²⁷ provided free of charge by the company. Dolman highlighted that Rushworths would sponsor, purchase and present trophies during the festival and described David as 'one of the nicest men he has met.'⁶²⁸

⁶²⁶ David held the position of President of the Music Retailers Association and Liverpool Rotary; he was Treasurer of LYMC; he remains a Trustee of the Rushworth Trust

⁶²⁷ Free of charge but organisers had to arrange their own carriage and transport

⁶²⁸ Jason Dolman, unrecorded interview, 17th January 2014

Similarly, David was Chairman of the Liverpool Stores Committee, which was a collective of all the big retail store owners and managers in Liverpool city centre, including establishments, such as George Henry Lee, Marks and Spencer, Owen Owen and Lewis's. In David's words, the function of the stores committee was to oversee:

things such as making sure the streets were kept clean; we used to sort out the Christmas lights; parking; we used to have a city centre manager, a chap called Paul Rice, super bloke. And then, it went further, the big retail chains used to sponsor a city centre manager, we had a chap called Philip Green who was sponsored by Mark & Spencer and he put on circus's in the town and got Christmas lights organised – it was terrific. It then died because the calibre of person died and it finished. They [big retail stores] didn't have managers; they had people to run the shop like supervisors. In the old days these were high up executive men and that finished around 1995. It gradually wound down and then became involved with the chamber of commerce.⁶²⁹

The point David is making in the above statement relates to the closing of other locally owned businesses and the taking over of the high street by chain stores without local commitments. This was reflected in the priority of new store managers and national chain retail enterprises to focus primarily on profits and concerns within the business, rather than in the wider public and local community sphere.

David was also a founder of the Liverpool Music Teaching Scheme, which was organised in conjunction with local schools. This scheme represented a clear link with past generations of the Rushworths, such as James and before him, William, who devoted much time, finance and attention to providing access to music via the Music Teachers Association, acting as the Liverpool site for musical examinations and by organising orchestral concerts for children in conjunction with music festivals and competitions. All these activities were designed to facilitate the emergence of a new generation of musically-engaged Liverpool public. Through the Liverpool Music Teaching Scheme, the company would offer a package

⁶²⁹ David Rushworth, recorded interview, 10th September 2013

of musical instrument tuition and the hire (and eventual ownership) of a musical instrument.

This was paid at a fixed monthly rate via direct debit,

It [the Teaching Scheme] happened almost by accident ... that happened because there was a girl who attended University from St Helens and taught music for the local authority. She rang me and said, 'the teaching scheme, the peripatetic teaching scheme is closing down, finance reasons it got chopped, can't argue – what are you going to do about it?' - so out of that came the Rushworths teaching scheme, 2500 pupils, 120 schools, 70 key staff. The teaching scheme was luck that came our way that we capitalised on. It was philanthropic in a sense because we taught 2500 children to learn an instrument every year for 4 years; we gave them a concert at St Georges Hall or the Philharmonic. We did a package, I think it was, £10 per month over a year and they got lessons and the instrument in that package and we made them sign a banker's order – and they couldn't understand, bless them, why they had to pay in August when they weren't in school, so we quickly learnt to shorten it to 10 payments so it started in September and finished the end of June. I can remember coming back with orders for 30-40 instruments from each school – it was phenomenal. They [primary schools] were generally more receptive to the idea. And don't forget, this was a time when it wasn't exactly proper to charge for things in schools – it was all free school lunches and things in those days – so that's why they paid us and not the school, the school facilitated us going in.⁶³⁰

Whilst the opportunity to manage the Teaching Scheme may have emerged in an opportunistic manner – the ability of David and the company to pick up this initiative, organise and administer it, and ultimately, generate sales and orders from it, was all a product of his skill, experience and entrepreneurship. This reflects the advantage of Rushworths residual cultural capital that enabled the company to maximise the potential of this opportunity but also their reputation and historic links to the music teaching community in Liverpool that encouraged the initial contact with Rushworths in the first place. It began by accident, but ended as a targeted, strategic initiative designed to encourage musical participation and education; continue the family tradition of providing access to music performance amongst the young people of Liverpool; and also, as by-product, to generate sales for the company. The Teaching Scheme

⁶³⁰ David Rushworth, recorded interview, 10th September 2013

under David emphasises many of the Rushworth activities and its approach to cultural contribution – they were at once charitable but also with a keen business objective in mind. The family attitude to philanthropy always came with a commercial astuteness.⁶³¹

In the interests of music promotion, David organised several initiatives which were designed to provide access to musical instruments and musical tuition at a reduced rate. He was at the forefront of the peripatetic teaching scheme which in conjunction with other Rushworths initiatives, such as ‘Let the Children Play’ and ‘Let’s Make Music’, provided an outlet to enable young music pupils to showcase the fruits of their musical endeavours at some of Liverpool’s largest historic musical venues, such as St George’s Hall and the Philharmonic Hall. The next section will examine the business performance of the company and show how the financial difficulties encountered during the final decade not only inhibited the Rushworths ability to make cultural contributions but also to remain in business at all.

Rushworth Business Performance, 1979-2002

In 1979, at David Rushworth’s request, Richard Rushworth joined the family business as Finance Director. Richard had spent several years prior to this working in London as accountant to International Distillers and Vintners. Before this he had spent 18 months in Papua New Guinea on a VSO programme, having completed his accountancy training and qualification in Liverpool. Initially he was brought in on the retail side only, but soon, after the retirement of organ works accounts manager, Ted Moir, he took over as Finance Director for both arms of the business. In addition, he joined the board of the Rushworth Trust. Richard says of the period, ‘Sam Jones retired, the retail accountant, they got another man in called Alec Jaffrey but he couldn’t produce any of the figures and David said ‘do I want to join the firm’, so I did

⁶³¹ See Literature Review, Chapter One, page ??, for examples of differing approaches of business to philanthropy.

and I went to live in Chester – I was 29 ... The auditors said we had a Rolls-Royce accounting and costing system'.⁶³² Richard remained with the family firm until 1994 – during his fifteen years with the company he would see a period of upheaval and difficulty for the Rushworth business.

As early as 1982 the warning signs were appearing that the Rushworth business was facing financial difficulty. The bank statements from the retail arm of the company provide an indication that the business was stretched. Table 8.2 (below) shows the balance of the Rushworth Music House Limited (RMHL) closing bank account at the end of every second month between 31/3/1980 and 31/7/1984. The Midland Bank overdraft at this point had reached £250,000⁶³³ and, as we can see from the table, only on two occasions during the four-year period did the Rushworth Company get near to a positive credit balance, in January 1981 and January 1983. January is traditionally an annual high point for sales in musical instrument as a result of the boon provided by the Christmas period. The worst figures recorded during the period occur in March 1982. On 10th March 1982 the bank statements show a transfer of £90,000 from Rushworth & Dreaper (the Organ Works) to RMHL in what appears to be an attempt to bring the overdraft under control, away from its limit, and provide some breathing space for the company to operate. Since the days of the third generation, when William had merged the organ works and the retail arm under his sole control, the company had operated with a cross guaranteed bank account, with the credit facilities provided by the Midland Bank cross guaranteed by each arm of the business. So if the organ works was in difficulties, the retail side's figures could support them, and vice-versa. This also meant that the bank was more flexible in terms of the arrangements with the company. Rushworth and Dreaper owned their

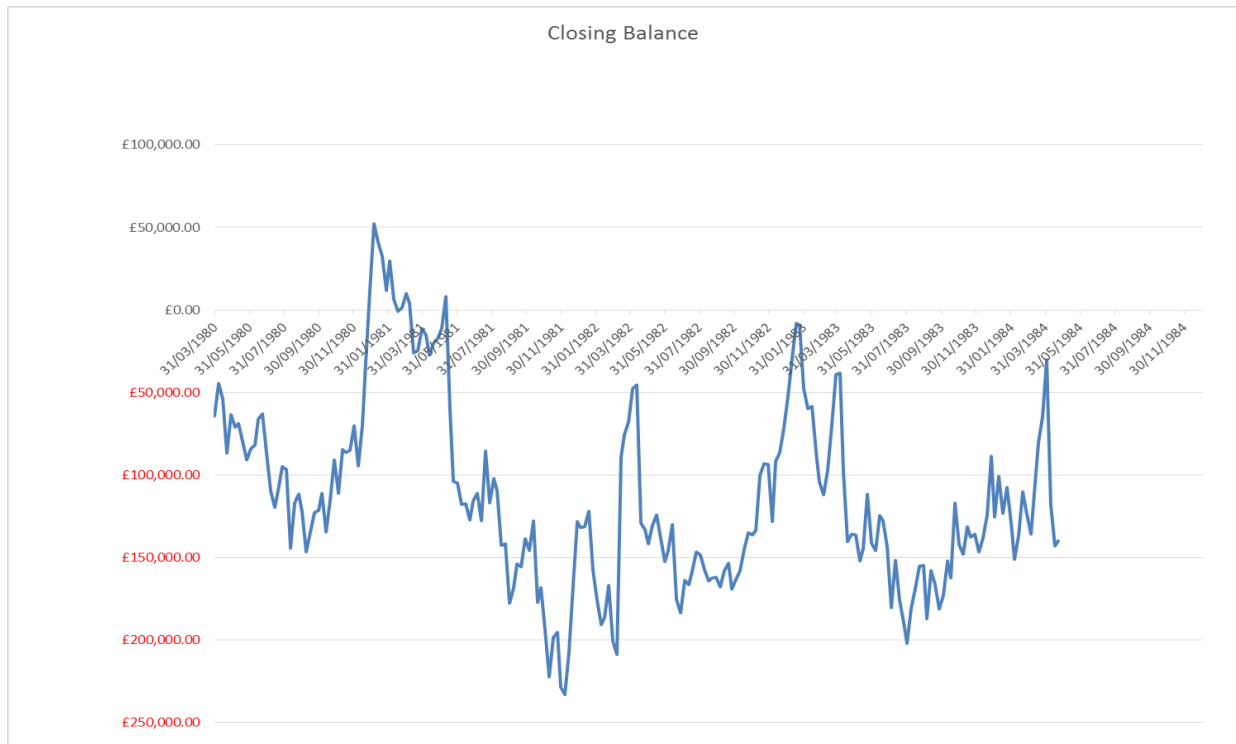
⁶³² Richard Rushworth, recorded interview, 16th December 2013

⁶³³ To provide some context, according to the Bank of England Inflation Calculator, £250,000 would equate to £717,737 in 2014 -

<http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/education/Pages/resources/inflationtools/calculator/flash/default.aspx>

own premises at St Anne Street and this gave the bank some comfort that the credit was secure and could be satisfied. Table 8.2 shows how during the period 1980-1984 the retail company's bank balance very rarely reached a positive position.

Table 8.2 – Bank Balances, March 1980 to July 1984 ⁶³⁴



Analysis of ‘Arthur Young Report and Business Plan’, 1987

In response to this poor performance and declining profitability the company worked tirelessly and invested much capital and time acquiring expert advice from many management consultancies, family members and accountancy firms. This section will examine one of those initiatives and look at the suggestions offered to try and halt the decline of the business. The following examination of the Arthur Young Report demonstrates that the Directors of

⁶³⁴ Table compiled using figures taken from Midland Bank Statements for Rushworth Music House Limited. I am grateful to Robin Makin for donating these bank statements, amongst other documentation, to the research. For further details of this see, <http://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/news/liverpool-news/historic-documents-discovered-former-rushworths-3339822>

Rushworths acted responsibly and carefully in identifying problems and trying to develop strategies to address and resolve them at an early stage. It is significant that the family were willing to look to outside financial specialists for advice. A failing of many family firms is that they become increasingly myopic. The strategy of turning to outside help is not uncommon in family business. A recent article has highlighted how the installation or consultation of an advisory board can ‘jump-start innovative thinking by infusing new perspectives into the family business’. The search for outside help can help navigate pitfalls and mitigate risk by utilising the expertise of specialist advisors who can assist in ‘showing families how to overcome inherent vulnerabilities and to navigate pitfalls that often plague family companies, such as sibling infighting and hidden agendas’.⁶³⁵ Outside help from specialist experts can be of benefit to family firms as they can provide candid feedback, they have no commitment to the corporate board or liability concerns which results in them maintaining an impartial position, whilst they can openly address sensitive issues and conflict within the business. Recent research has focussed on the implicit process behind family firms searching for outside help in an effort to improve the financial position of their business. The study of Strike provides insight into ‘how family firm advisors engage in subtle processes to guide and direct attention. At one level, the advice *role* can be subtle, which occurs when “nobody knows who I am”. At another level, the advice *process* can be subtle, which occurs when “nobody knows ... what I do”.’⁶³⁶ On 5th March 1987 the Chairman of Rushworth Music House, James Rushworth, requested Arthur Young (chartered accountants) to ‘produce a list of recommendations and suggestions to enable [the Rushworth retail business] to make important decisions regarding the future of [their] business activities’.⁶³⁷ This indicates that the management consultant were approached

⁶³⁵ Stautberg, S., and Stautberg, E., 2015. ‘Advisory boards can help family firms navigate pitfalls and mitigate risk’. *Family Business*, 26 (4). pp. 26-27

⁶³⁶ Strike, V, M., 2013. ‘The Most Trusted Advisor and the Subtle Advice Process in Family Firms’. *Family Business Review*, 26 (3). pp. 292-313

⁶³⁷ Arthur Young, Chartered Accountants, ‘Report and Business Plan’, April 1987, p. 1

with a specific role and objective in mind. It is clear that James knew who they were, he knew what they could do, and most importantly, being a trusted advisor, he knew exactly what he wanted them achieve. The fact that James had turned to outside help indicates that he was fully aware of the gravity of the financial situation and was eager to invest in seeking professional advice to recover the situation.

To this end Arthur Young produced a detailed report. The report was split into four sections: the first examines the financial position of the company; the second explores the general outlook; third analyses the alternatives; before a fourth and final section provides a multitude of different options and recommendations. One issue highlighted by the report is that of the rent at the Whitechapel premises. On 24th June 1970, James had overseen the ‘sale and leaseback’ of the Whitechapel premises to the company bankers, Midland Bank Executor and Trustee Company Limited. This involved the bank purchasing the Whitechapel premises from Rushworth & Dreaper [later when the company was divided the retail branch was renamed Rushworth Music House] and immediately leasing it back to the company for a term that was due to expire on 31st October 2016. At a later date, 7th March 1983, Hill Samuel & Co took over Midland Bank’s interest in the property. By October 1986, the lease was administered by Hill Samuel Property Unit Trust for which Hill Samuel Property Management Limited acted in discussions about rent increases.⁶³⁸ The implication of this arrangement was that Rushworths were tied into a long-term lease, with upward only rent reviews, which was managed by a London-based investment firm who presumably had no sentiment towards Rushworths function, their profitability, their history and place in the local community, or, later, the threat of impending closure. The report of Arthur Young highlights several issues with the lease, not least the fact that between 1985 and 1987 the rent had increased from £40,000 per year to

⁶³⁸ Jonathan Rushworth to Nicholas Wong, private email correspondence, 3/4/2015

£54,000 per year, a 35% increase. It is explained that the rent at Whitechapel was seen by the Rushworth Directors as the 'primary drain on the company's financial resources' and they 'believe[d] that the business could trade profitably and cash positively to provide working capital if a significant reduction in rent could be negotiated.' The report also indicates that this was an unlikely course of action, however, and other alternatives should be considered such as 'surrendering the lease of Whitechapel and moving the retail activity to a smaller site'. The Report indicates that Hill Samuel were willing to consider a surrender of the lease but only on four conditions which, at that time, were 'onerous' to the Rushworth company. The conditions were:

1. A reverse premium of £100,000
2. Vacant possession of all parts of the building
3. Completion of the surrender by June 24
4. Renegotiation of the terms of the head lease with Liverpool City Council.

The Arthur Young report makes reference to 'trading and cash flow' which outlines difficulties that the company was facing with regards to the draining of the firms working capital, 'In the absence of a substantial improvement in profitability it is unlikely that sufficient cash can be generated in the foreseeable future to maintain the business in its present form.' The report also confirms the bank's overdraft facility, which stood at £250,000, was 'secured by the banks conventional and floating charge supported by a cross guarantee given by Rushworth & Dreaper [the organ works]'. With regards to cash flow the Report makes the following gloomy prediction, 'if the group cannot generate increased profitability sufficient to finance working capital needs it is only a matter of time before available funds become insufficient to meet liabilities as they fall due'.

In terms of strategy and planning for the future, the options were simple and two-fold: either to surrender the lease to Hill Samuel and comply with Hill Samuel's conditions, or to remain in the Whitechapel premises and invest in the existing business to enhance profitability.

The Report makes reference to both Jonathan and Richard Rushworth, the former making ‘comments’ on 20th November 1986 on proposals which offered possible solutions to the company’s situation. Richard completed an exercise which demonstrated that moving premises could help make a substantial saving on the company overheads – however, this was not considered a reasonable proposition as a ‘reduction in sales of only 18% would eliminate the benefit of a move’. It was concluded that it was in the interests of the business to remain at its present location but steps are taken as necessary to improve cash generation.

The recommendations provided to improve the financial state of the business were outlined as follows,

1. Hive off Rushworth and Dreaper Ltd

This involved selling the Rushworth & Dreaper shares in RMHL to Alastair Rushworth

2. Hive Down Remote Shops

This involved the shops and their trading assets being transferred to a new subsidiary of RMHL

3. Reduction in working capital

A reduction of 15% in funds tied up in debtors and stock of RMHL will reduce the bank overdraft by approximately £140,000 and, over a full year, will save interest expense of approximately £16,500.

4. Generating funds from other sources of finance

This would involve using surplus capital in the Rushworth and Dreaper Staff Pension scheme to approve a loan to the company or to acquire and lease a property to the company. Another option was ‘Debt Factoring’ which could immediately reduce the bank overdraft facility.⁶³⁹

The Arthur Young Report continues by making recommendations for strategies to improve profitability. The report explains that ‘the interior of the Whitechapel retail sales area is not attractive to customers and the outside lacks appeal. The atmosphere in the lower floors is one of depression and low key selling.’⁶⁴⁰ This perspective on the Whitechapel store’s appearance was reinforced by Michael Talbot who suggested that during the 1950s and 60s

⁶³⁹ Much of this text has been paraphrased and edited from the original Arthur Young Report

⁶⁴⁰ Arthur Young Report, April 1987, p. 8

there was a ‘general untidiness about most music shops’, particularly classical score departments. Professor Talbot recalled visiting music shops in London, Oxford and Cambridge and suggests that endemic across all these stores were a ‘general dowdiness – a sort of genteel shabbiness’. He highlighted that this was also true of Rushworths, although he did finish by stating that, ‘one had a definite feeling that the shop wished to continue a form of merchandise display and relationship to customers unchanged from pre-war days’.⁶⁴¹ This strongly suggests that at some point the firm had stopped innovating and rather than leading the times was falling behind them.

The Arthur Young Report concurs with the opinion of Talbot (albeit that Talbot was referring to preceding decades) but does, however, go on to note that the location of the shop is ‘not ideal’ and that the ‘fabric of the building needs considerable repair and maintenance work and coupled with this a sum will need to be invested to enhance the appeal from the outside and to improve the attractiveness and display of goods for sale by use of modern marketing techniques’.⁶⁴² The report refers to an ‘Image Study’ conducted by R. O. Williams in June 1982 which reported that, ‘43% of customers visited the shop because of the reputation and 29% because of the convenience of location while 87% of customers interviewed associated musical instrument sales with the name.’ ‘These findings,’ the report goes on to say, ‘support our view that the Rushworth name is a valuable trading asset and should be exploited.’ The report advises that Rushworth’s should review their sales and promotional activity with the benefit of advice from specialists. The report provides an example; ‘the present policy being adopted is for selling prices of keyboards to be no more than those of the major competitor, Dixon’s, but it is doubtful whether the buying public are made sufficiently aware of this’. The report makes some final recommendations, ‘should the floors not used for retail be closed off

⁶⁴¹ Michael Talbot, unrecorded interview, 18th March 2015

⁶⁴² Arthur Young, April 1987, p. 8

to reduce costs, including possibly rates, by moving the administration function to St Anne Street? This will involve RMHL paying a commercial rent to R&D for the space occupied. Could the Chairman be paid from the pension fund by way of a pension? It should be possible to negotiate a rent holiday or temporary reduction with Hill Samuel in view of investment that is proposed be made which will enhance the value of the property.⁶⁴³

This indicates that the company was determined to find a route to survival and enhanced profitability. They sought professional and independent advice in order to help adapt to the new commercial environment, to explore strategies of adaptation and adjustment, to consider the strengths and advantages of their business model and reputation, and to consider the impact of image, the condition of the premises and approaches to advertisement, marketing and promotional activity. Not only did they research the financial stability of the company and search for options for the business, but the ‘Image Study’ conducted in 1982 also highlights the fact that they were concerned with appearance, modernisation, marketing and adapting their model to the demands of the local musical public. In addition to the two named reports, advice was also sought from Richard and Jonathan Rushworth as to options for restructuring and reorganisation. It is clear that all Directors were united in their understanding of the need to halt the decline the company and were desperate to adapt and readjust the business’ orientation. Despite the information gleaned from the reports and the research conducted into the Rushworths business it was difficult to act on any of these recommendations if the capital, profitability and banking facilities were not available to reinvest in the company. In 1984 a non-Executive Director of the company, Davy Pain, and accountant Donald Evans sent a letter to James summarising their thoughts on the company situation. In this letter the possibility of selling both the organ building and retail arms of the business as separate concerns is

⁶⁴³ Arthur Young Report, April 1987, p. 8

considered, with Alastair having the option of buying the organ building side. In this letter the retail arm of the company is described as ‘healthy’ although there were concerns about the Whitechapel lease. What this highlights is the fact that already by 1984 there was some concern about the company’s future commercial prospects and a willingness to address them.

The future structure, organisation and operation of the business was regularly addressed from the early 1980’s, when it was realised that the trading environment was difficult and internal matters, such as the terms of the lease and upward only rent reviews, had to be considered. There were at least three management consultants’ reports and advice was regularly sought and suggestions considered and where possible followed. This all shows a wish to consider the future and to develop the business in a responsible way that was sustainable.

Table 8.3 profits: Rushworth Music House Limited and Subsidiaries (including Organ Works)

Year ended 31st March	Profits/(Loss)
1983	16713
1984	19243
1985	(38509)
1986	22563
1987	29487
1988	60767
1989	26555

Table 8.4 profits: Rushworth & Dreaper (Organ Works) only

Year ended 31st March	Profits/(Loss)
1983	(2863)
1984	(6630)
1985	(31149)
1986	31182
1987	12232
1988	1885
1989	(15396)
1990	16728
1991	14716
1992	15106

1993	2428
1994	6682
1995	4737
1996	Unable to read
1997	(362377) ⁶⁴⁴
1998	(5892)

Despite the advice sought and received by the family in an attempt to halt the decline of the business, the company accounts show that the profitability continued to decline. The figures in Tables 8.3 and 8.4 are taken from the Annual Directors Reports compiled by Chartered Accounts, Pannell, Kerr and Forster. The Rushworth Music House and Subsidiaries Group consisted of both the retail and organ building arms of the company. The ‘Review of the Business’ describes the principal activities as ‘the selling of musical instruments of all descriptions, the tuning of pianos and the building, repairing and tuning of pipe organs’.⁶⁴⁵ The Annual Report provides a good insight into the functioning of the two arms of the business, as well as a breakdown of profits, outgoings, turnover and charitable contributions.

In 1985, it is determined that of a turnover total of £2,203,877; the Retail Side contributed £1,659,594 and the Organ Works £544,283. Under Interest Payable (on bank loans, overdrafts and other loans) it is highlighted that annually the group were paying £22,321 (in 1984 this figure was only £17,710).⁶⁴⁶ In 1989, the annual report, which was compiled by Sloan & Co Chartered Accountants, indicates that ‘to protect the individual trading operations, there will be a demerger of the present group into various companies throughout the year’.⁶⁴⁷ The 1990 annual report confirms that the ‘demerger’ had taken place, ‘in order to protect each trading operation the Rushworth Music House Limited Group of companies was demerged on 1 April 1989 with the formation of two new companies, Rushworth Music Limited and

⁶⁴⁴ figures after capital had been taken as a result of the liquidation of the retail side

⁶⁴⁵ Rushworth Music House and Subsidiaries, Annual Report, Year ended 31st March 1984, p.1

⁶⁴⁶ Rushworth Music House and Subsidiaries, Annual Report, Year ended 31st March 1985, p.9

⁶⁴⁷ Rushworth Music House and Subsidiaries, Annual Report, Year ended 31st March 1989, p.1

Rushworth & Dreaper (Holdings) Limited ... the trading operation remaining is that of the Liverpool shop only’⁶⁴⁸ Richard Rushworth confirmed during email correspondence the objectives and aims of this strategy:

[The demerger] was concerning the Whitechapel lease, the rent was nearly doubling every 5 years. We split the retail side into 2 companies. One was Whitechapel; the other was for all the branches. David and I did it, but it did not affect trading. Arthur Young were involved as advisers I think. It meant 2 sets of accounting records. We hoped that if the rent kept on increasing we would be structured in such a way to put the Whitechapel Company into liquidation and with it the liability of the lease. We could then carry on with the branches and start a new site in Liverpool which was not so expensive.⁶⁴⁹

The new company structure resulted in the Liverpool Whitechapel branch operations and accounts being isolated under the name, ‘Rushworth Music House Limited’, whilst the other branches at Chester, Llandudno, Llandudno, Bangor and the Isle of Man were grouped separately from Liverpool under the name, ‘Rushworth Music Limited’. Separate again was the organ works which was known as ‘Rushworths & Dreaper (Holdings) and subsidiaries’. Interestingly, the name Rushworth & Dreaper remained with the organ works despite the Dreaper business, name and reputation being historically associated with pianos and retail. This was because the pipe organs that had been built since the amalgamation of the Rushworth and Dreaper companies in 1902 had been adorned with plaques including the name ‘Rushworth & Dreaper’.

Table 8.5 profits: Rushworth Music House Limited – Liverpool, Whitechapel Branch

Year ended 31st March	Profits/(Loss)
1990	(57206)
1991	(98889)
1992	(52967)
1993	(6726)
1994	(1583)

⁶⁴⁸ Rushworth Music House and Subsidiaries, Annual Report, Year ended 31st March 1990, p.1

⁶⁴⁹ Richard Rushworth, email correspondence, 11/8/2015

Table 8.6 profits: Rushworth Music Limited – Chester, Llandudno, Bangor, and Isle of Mann Branches

Year ended 31st March	Profits/(Loss)
1990	3085
1991	11781
1992	(21683)
1993	7282
1994	3419

After the company had been restructured and the Whitechapel (RMHL) branch had been separated from the branch network (RML) and the Organ Works (R&D), we can see that the Liverpool HQ at Whitechapel posted a loss on the balance sheet every year between 1990 and 1995. In comparison, the retail branch network turned a profit in four out of the five years between 1990 and 1995. When we isolate the figures of the Organ Works we can see that that arm of the business posted a profit on the profit and loss accounts for nine out of ten years between 1986 and 1995. So whilst the branch network and the organ works were profitable, the Whitechapel branch was posting consistent losses. This indicates that the problems were largely regional and confined to the Liverpool branch. As the next section will show, increased competition locally was causing Rushworths to close down departments as they could no longer compete with nationwide chains of non-music specific retail stores.

The Rushworth family sought and received specialist advice in an attempt to reverse the decline and improve the financial condition of the company. The board considered all suggestions and recommendations very carefully and discussions were held between the Rushworth Directors along with the bank manager, legal advisors and accountants. After due consideration the alternatives and strategies suggested by, for example, Arthur Young, were considered not practicable, appropriate nor financially viable at the time the recommendations were made. However, one policy that was pursued was the sub-letting of large sections of the ground floor at Whitechapel in an attempt to cover some of the increasing rents.

1980s – Increased Competition

The musical landscape had changed and whereas in earlier eras the piano had been the staple retail product sold by Rushworths, the market had been levelled by the advancement of technology. The early 1980s had seen the introduction of the Casio Keyboard, one of the biggest selling items during the Christmas season in which it was launched. As with most musical innovations, Rushworths were at the forefront of the introduction of the Casio keyboard to the Liverpool market:

then the portable keyboard came in, Casio were the first, and that was by accident – it was one of those things that happened, they had this calculator and put a few keys on the end of it and the rest is history! Yamaha overtook them. And I think I told you in the early 1990s we were the 7th biggest distributor of electric keyboards in the UK including the multiples. I remember we had a special counter on the ground floor and we had 3 people working on it.⁶⁵⁰

David Rushworth recalls how the ‘queues were round the block [to buy Casio keyboards] – we couldn’t get enough stock in quickly enough!’⁶⁵¹ However, the following Christmas, David prepared for the anticipated onrush of customers desperate to purchase the Casio keyboard, ‘we stocked thousands, but the hoards never came. We came to realise that the Keyboards which we had introduced to the city were now being sold by non-music shops, such as Argos, Dixons and George Henry Lee.’⁶⁵² David highlights how customers would come into Rushworths, with the keyboard which had been purchased elsewhere, for practical advice on how to use them. This advice that could not be provided by the non-music or electrical goods retailer who were able to sell the keyboards at a much reduced price as they were national chain stores who could order and buy in huge quantities and sell at a lower retail price to customers. ‘We couldn’t compete,’ explained David. Similarly, he was able to explain the difficulties he faced in the

⁶⁵⁰ David Rushworth, recorded interview, 10th September 2013

⁶⁵¹ David Rushworth, recorded interview, 10th September 2013

⁶⁵² David Rushworth, recorded interview, 10th September 2013

retail of LPs and later, CDs: ‘We were buying from the distributor at a price higher than HMV and Virgin were selling to the customers. They were able to buy a million copies of the latest number one album, whilst we would only purchase one hundred – we couldn’t compete’.⁶⁵³

Richard expressed a similar viewpoint,

when I was there we got rid of records because we couldn’t compete with HMV, they were big in those days, and Virgin. We didn’t have the buying power – our stock wasn’t as large and they had 50 or 100 shops and we had two or three. So we were buying, I don’t, know, maybe 20,000 stock a year and they were buying 20 million. So they could say to the producers gives us an extra 10 per cent, 20 per cent discount and we will cut prices. And when Comet first started we were selling radio and television – we had just packed up television when I arrived. When Comet arrived we had a massive television department, we had a radio workshop where we could repair them. But it got to the stage where Comet were selling them cheaper than we could buy them! And we had no chance because they buy millions of these things and we couldn’t compete with them. So we were in and out of different businesses. It was the very small things [such as keyboards] that they [non music shops] sold, we used to try and stop Yamaha and people selling in these shops but they wouldn’t. We had Argos selling them and Toys ‘r’ Us selling them and it was very difficult to compete but they never sold trumpets or drums – it was too messy for them. People used to come in, find out the keyboard they want and then go off to Argos and buy it. It made us very annoyed. We used to argue, ‘well ok, but we can show you how to use it.’ And sometimes people would come in with a keyboard and say ‘I’ve bought this elsewhere, can you show me how to use it!’ we weren’t very happy about that. We always tried to stop the chains but we couldn’t.⁶⁵⁴

This demonstrates clearly the difficulties of the period in which Rushworth’s were operating. The increasing competition from national chain stores was squeezing Rushworths, and many other local and regional businesses, out of the market, leading to the closure of several departments as demand decreased and the customers chose to shop elsewhere in search of lower prices. The abolition of Resale Price Maintenance some years earlier was a blow to the Rushworth business as manufacturers could no longer restrict the price at which retailers sold their products. This added to the difficulties faced by the business, which were compounded

⁶⁵³ David Rushworth, unrecorded interview, 2014

⁶⁵⁴ Richard Rushworth, recorded interview, 16th December 2013

by the difficulties the company was facing as a result of financially poorer local populace in search of the cheapest prices and the growth of nationwide chains that could provide lower retail prices as a result of the quantity of products they were able to purchase from the suppliers. It meant that small family-run enterprises could not compete and lost a large proportion of the local consumer market.

The Closure of Rushworth Music House and Rushworth Music Limited

On 3rd June 1997, Midland Bank invited David Rushworth to appoint administrative receivers to oversee the sale of the business and assets. It was announced in the *Financial Times* on 10th June 1997.⁶⁵⁵ The *Liverpool Echo* reported, with the front-page headline ‘Rushworth’s Sad Note: Music Store Calls in Receivers’, adding that ‘Liverpool’s famous music house Rushworth’s went into receivership today after 168 years. The family business that sold guitars to the Beatles had to give up the fight to continue in light of difficult trading conditions. It is now up to receivers whether to keep the shops open and try and sell them as a going concern.’⁶⁵⁶ In the *Daily Post*, Trevor Birch, one of two administrative receivers appointed by accountancy firm, Ernst & Young, explained:

I think they have been under pressure for some time, particularly given the competition from retailers such as WH Smith and Virgin Megastore. They have made cutbacks and reduced overheads but it has not been enough. We are looking to sell the shops as a going concern, either individually or as a group. But if no purchasers are found then, unfortunately, the stores will close.⁶⁵⁷

The news was greeted across Liverpool with much dismay and concern. In the *Daily Post*, Peter Stoney, then of the University of Liverpool, said:

⁶⁵⁵ *Financial Times*, Tuesday June 10 1997, p.16

⁶⁵⁶ *Liverpool Echo*, Wednesday June 4, 1997, p.1

⁶⁵⁷ *Daily Post*, Thursday June 5, 1997, p.3

It appears that the city is in a shambles at the moment and we need to get someone involved who can take the situation by the scruff of the neck. The whole strategy for the city centre appears to be a dog's breakfast. Copperas Hill [the closure of Royal Mail site at Copperas Hill costing 800 local jobs] appears to be another nail in the coffin for Liverpool.⁶⁵⁸

David Wade-Smith, Chairman of Liverpool Stores Committee and Managing Director of Wade Smith, a Liverpool designer fashion retail establishment commented, 'this news is a blow for all independent retailers in Liverpool. It is further evidence of the need to form a city centre development agency.'⁶⁵⁹ In 2005, Wade-Smith would suffer the same fate as Rushworth. David recalls the difficulties of the period,

It was constant the whole time. That's what we lived with the whole time [the threat of closure]. We always just scraped through. I remember at the Annual General Meetings, father or I would announce, 'We've got through another year; we've survived another year'. But there was always the worry about the Bank, the whole time. I remember one time our accountant Sam Jones made a muck-up with the Tax or the Purchase Tax, I can't remember which, but it meant we hadn't paid it. And we didn't have the money to pay it. So father went to see John [the Manager] at Midland Bank and he said, 'don't worry, we will just extend the overdraft'. But the overdraft never came down, we struggled to get it down, and we never could – because we just didn't have the spare capacity.⁶⁶⁰

The gravity of the situation was clearly recognised by the Rushworth family, who installed one of the company accountants to the board which represented a non-familial board member. Colin Lewis, the firm accountant, attended the board meetings latterly after Davy Pain, the firm's solicitor, had retired. David indicated that board meetings and strategy were discussed on at least a monthly basis. In attendance at these meetings were Rushworth family members David, Alastair, Richard, James as well as Davy Pain or, latterly, Colin Lewis. David suggests

⁶⁵⁸ *Daily Post*, Friday June 6, 1997

⁶⁵⁹ *Daily Post*, Thursday June 5, 1997, p.3

⁶⁶⁰ David Rushworth, recorded interview, 3rd June 2015

that Colin Lewis thought they were ‘mad’ to keep going, ‘he thought we were sinking and weren’t facing up to the facts – and he was right!’⁶⁶¹

Opening of ‘new’ Rushworth business: ‘Rushworths of Liverpool’

The process of administrative receivership had apparently brought to an end the Rushworth retail organisation, including the branch network. However, this did not signal the end of the retail arm of the business. Within weeks David had bought the business back from the receivers and opened up in part of the same site under a new trading name of ‘Rushworths of Liverpool’. The new company opened on the Friday 25th July 1997. The Rushworth reprieve was a result of negotiations carried out between Liverpool Council, Rushworths and North-West developers Stramangate Properties. It was announced in the *Daily Post* that ‘Stramangate will refurbish the city centre building accommodating the long established shop on the upper floors. Smaller retail units will stay on the ground floor and a prestigious new entrance for Rushworths will be incorporated into the design.’ Deputy Chairman of the council’s land management committee, Councillor Peter Coventry, said, ‘the Council has agreed a property deal which will, hopefully, allow this very famous shop to remain in existence. It has worked very closely with our developers and Rushworths and I am delighted with the outcome. This clearly demonstrates that the business community has confidence in investing in Liverpool and that is good news.’⁶⁶²

The administrative receivership of the retail company also had an impact on the organ building company. This company, which Alastair ran, had accumulated large cash reserves that were taken by the bank on the appointment of administrative receivers over the retail arm of the business. This was due to the company operating with cross guaranteed bank accounts

⁶⁶¹ David Rushworth, recorded interview, 3rd June 2015

⁶⁶² *Daily Post*, Saturday July 5 1997, p.7

whereby the debts to the bank of one company in the enterprise were guaranteed by the others. The Rushworth family have indicated that James, and the other directors were keen to separate the bank accounts and rid the group of the cross guarantee but the bank would never agree, a refusal due, at least in part, to the fact that the organ works owned their own premises at St Anne Street. A letter from James to David, after the first closure of the business explains the situation and the impact it had had on the finances of the organ works,

However, as you are aware all this [the retail business closure] is at great expense to others, especially to Alastair at Rushworth & Dreaper [the organ works] – his bank credit of £200,000 was taken immediately and he had to find the outstanding balance of £145,000 and pay interest in the meantime. He has raised:

Merseyside Special Investment Fund	£70,000
Jonathan Rushworth	£45,000
Alastair Rushworth	£13,000
Richard Rushworth	£11,000
James Rushworth	£6,000
	£145,000

I now write to confirm my request to you – Rushworths of Liverpool Ltd – to make this group of expenses to Alastair – Rushworth & Dreaper Ltd – as soon as possible, good out of your profits.⁶⁶³

What this letter demonstrates is the efforts and lengths the family would go to ensure the survival of the company. It also highlights the complexity of the situation, how hard it could be to unravel and its potential to generate conflict, even within the family. Family business always involves emotions and is often very challenging. Jonathan Rushworth contributed the largest amount into Rushworth & Dreaper, the company of which Alastair was Managing Director, in order to keep it going. He recalled the period,

Alastair had accumulated a large amount of cash reserves in the organ building company, Rushworth & Dreaper Limited, which he ran as Managing Director. Due to the cross group

⁶⁶³ James Rushworth to David Rushworth, Private Letter, 18th October 1997

guarantees in favour of the bank, that cash was taken by the bank after it appointed administrative receivers over the retail part of the business. Rushworth & Dreaper therefore needed working capital in order to continue in business. The family were keen to do what we could to support Alastair and his company. Peter Bendall put together a proposal which he discussed with a few members of the family and I naturally discussed this with Alastair before I committed funds to the proposal. I and other members of the family, including Alastair, agreed to contribute and the funds were put in by way of additional share capital. I did not really expect any return. It was done to try to save the organ building part of the family business given its reputation and expertise and to give it the chance to continue and, in particular, to help Alastair personally. He also managed to raise funds from the MSIF. Although he was under considerable pressure at the time and we all sympathised with this, he was very grateful. So far as I was concerned this was part of the tradition of a family business and I was delighted to help, as were other members of the family who were able to do so; it was family support. It was only later that I realised that this made me the majority shareholder in the company. I was never a director nor had any say in the running of the company.⁶⁶⁴

David recalls the difficulties of the period, highlighting the impact it had on the personal relationship with Alastair,

Alastair was understandably cross – that’s why he blames me, with some justification, for the failure of the organ works. The bank took his cash when my business went bust and left him in debt.⁶⁶⁵

Literature on the concept of tension on family firms tends to focus the potential to lead to the cessation of the enterprise. It has been asserted that ‘the tension, conflict and relationship problems that all families experience are likely to be intensified for families in business because they work so closely with the ones they love. Family disputes can overshadow work, even when the business appears to continue operating normally. An understanding of how tension and conflict can be managed in family business is important given family businesses’ role in generating future entrepreneurship’.⁶⁶⁶ However, despite the difficulties encountered by the

⁶⁶⁴ Jonathan Rushworth, recorded interview, 1st November 2013

⁶⁶⁵ David Rushworth, recorded interview, 3rd June 2015

⁶⁶⁶ Moores, K., and Barrett, M., 2005. ‘Understanding tensions and conflict: a phases of learning approach to family business’. Proceedings of the Enterprise and Innovation Conference Waikato: University of Waikato.

Rushworth family, both financially and emotionally, as a result of the closure of the retail arm of the family enterprise, it appears that the family rallied together in support of Alastair by helping to clear the debt placed upon the organ works and David by providing practical advice on the reopening of the retail arm.

The administrative receivership of Rushworth Music House Limited (Liverpool Whitechapel branch) and Rushworth Music Ltd (the Rushworth branch network at Llandudno, Bangor, and Isle of Man) did not spell the death-knell for the Rushworth retail enterprise. After no buyers were found for the Rushworth enterprise, David Rushworth bought the stock from the receivers and setup a new company, Rushworths of Liverpool Limited, operating from part of the Whitechapel building, although a much more scaled down model. The re-launched business began with a surprising sense of optimism. David recalled the re-emergence,

When we went bust the first time [in 1997] I sat with the accountant and we looked at the figures and said 'there's a one-million-pound business here'. Surely with the right overhead and back-up we can make it work? And that's why we started again. We were open again within a week or so. We bought the stock back from the receiver at a much reduced price.⁶⁶⁷

A new business plan was devised highlighting the source of the failure of the previous enterprise and explaining what would be different about the Rushworth retail business in its new guise. The business plan explains,

in recent years the company has suffered from the inheritance of a building that was too large for its current trading needs. The excessive overhead costs combined with poor financial controls in general resulted in trading losses and the company went into receivership on 3rd June 1997. The main reason for the failure of the company can be summarised as follows:

- a) Excessive overhead costs
- b) Inadequate controls over the School Music Scheme
- c) Poor financial controls in general

⁶⁶⁷ David Rushworth, recorded interview, 3rd June 2015

A new company has been formed which will take advantage of a substantially reconstructed overhead base. In particular, the causes of the failure of the business have been addressed taking the following actions:

- i) Significant reduction in rent, rates and insurance by relocating from the ground floor at Whitechapel as part of a redevelopment scheme
- ii) Disposal of the School Music Scheme
- iii) The employment of an experienced financial director.⁶⁶⁸

A letter from James to David expressed the family's thoughts on the new business:

Dear David, we are full of admiration for the way in which you have picked yourself up – got a new company – negotiated with sundry people – and opened back in business all within 2 months of the administrator taking over. Excellent and good to know that trade is good too.⁶⁶⁹

David had opened up a streamlined new business, operating with only seven staff (including himself). They had reduced overheads and had a new approach to stock and the market in which they were operating; 'the goods sold are mainly medium range in price to supply beginners and first upgraders. The company supplies a significant number of second hand items for which there is a strong demand and a good profit margin'.⁶⁷⁰ However, a feature on the new business published in the *Daily Post* highlighted that Rushworth's of Liverpool was operating in an increasing volatile market. In the article David explained:

Even five years ago, the retail value of the musical instrument business in this country, including printed music, was £300 million. That is less than Whiskas cat food, Marks and Spencer's yoghurt or the value of bananas sold in the United Kingdom. Then there were a thousand music shops. Now there are 800. It is a shrinking market. Times change. The days are long gone when every home had a piano. Organs have gone out of pubs. We have karaoke instead of bands and when education needs to save money these days' music in schools is top of the hit list... the tough times continue. The market continues to go down.⁶⁷¹

⁶⁶⁸ Rushworth Business Plan, June 1997. Provided by Rushworth family in support of research.

⁶⁶⁹ James Rushworth to David Rushworth, private letter, 18th October 1997

⁶⁷⁰ Rushworth Business Plan, June 1997. Provided by Rushworth family in support of research.

⁶⁷¹ *Daily Post*, Thursday October 15, 1998, p.9

This article was published in October 1998; by June 2000 the Rushworth retail business had closed its doors for good. David confirms that two key factors led to the ultimate closure of the business, the first being the new landlord's decision to surround the building with scaffolding during redevelopment, giving the impression that the shop was shut. Secondly, David highlights the opening of a competitive regional music shop chain in Liverpool during the same period. He intimates that this company aggressively undercut Rushworth's prices, to the extent that, for example, an instrument may be priced at £100 in their Manchester store but in Liverpool it would be as low as £60, in a deliberate attempt to stifle Rushworth's business and undercut their price.⁶⁷² When combined with the changing modes of music consumption, new technologies which were creating new forms of musical engagement and the effect of a struggling local economy, it is difficult to see how the Rushworth retail enterprise could have continued to operate in any format. David said of the period,

Everybody said I was mad [to reopen]. I remember Jonathan looking at the figures and he said, 'there's no headroom' – it was very very tight. I still think it was the right decision at the time and I still think it would have worked if the new landlord [Stramangate], who put the deal together with the City to buy the [Whitechapel] building, which me and Richard couldn't do, hadn't surrounded the building with scaffolding, so it looked as though we were shut. And then the competitors came to town, with unlimited money and said, 'we are going to close you down'.⁶⁷³

This signalled the final closure of the Rushworth retail enterprise, a family firm that had lasted for five generations of continuous family control. The retail operation which had been initiated by Edwin Rushworth of the second generation in the 1840s had come to an end and with it a significant part of Liverpool's musical and cultural history. David said of the final closure,

You were just numb ... what the hell are we going to do now? Mother had to pay the last few months on the mortgage for us because we didn't have any money. I tried to get jobs – I spent 3 months sitting at the table trying to get jobs and got absolutely nothing at all. So I rang Richard

⁶⁷² David Rushworth, recorded interview, 3rd June 2015

⁶⁷³ David Rushworth, recorded interview, 3rd June 2015

Webb [managing Director of InterMusic] and said, ‘you’ve got no one on the road for you – let me do it’.⁶⁷⁴

And so, David was re-employed as a travelling salesman, doing 1000 miles on the road a week selling musical instruments. He would remain in this position for fourteen years until his retirement in 2014.

The organ works would continue to operate for another two years before finally closing down in 2002; coincidentally, the same year in which James Rushworth passed away aged 89. Alastair Rushworth attributed the closure of the Organ Works to the cancellation of a contract with the Italian Ministry of Arts and Culture,

It was a whopping commission. It would have been our biggest contract ever - £500,000 with the Ministry of Arts and Culture, an Italian government department, for their headquarters in a beautifully restored monastic building on the banks of the River Tiber in Rome. We were all ready to start but, at the 11th hour, the first payment still hadn’t come through. The starting date had been fixed for a month ahead, the design had been accepted and the accommodation for the staff had been sorted out. Two-thirds of the half million was ready for deposit. Two-thirds of the half million pounds was out of the window. A contract like that was going to take all our skills and staff, so we had been telling our potential customers in the UK, ‘sorry we can’t see you for another year do come back and we will keep in touch with you’. We just had nothing else to do. It was a disaster, a tragedy that we weren’t able to carry out the Italian organ, especially as we had a flood of orders coming in from Nigeria for cathedral organs.⁶⁷⁵

In another interview Alastair explained how the Italian government’s decision to renege on the Rushworth contract was not without precedent, as a similar situation had arisen with Cammell Laird ship builders in 2001, another five generation Merseyside family business,

When people ask what happened [to the Organ Works], I say do you remember Cammell Laird’s the ship builders in Birkenhead? They were doing a big project on a cruise liner called the Costa Classica for the Italian government and after completing the building of an 18 storey mid-section and all fittings and furnishings – you could see it built from the Dock Road [in Liverpool] - new

⁶⁷⁴ David Rushworth, recorded interview, 3rd June 2015

⁶⁷⁵ *Daily Post*, Thursday August 4, 2005. p.10

owners came in said ‘no’, pulled the plug on the deal – and put Cammell Laird’s out of business. That’s what put us out of business, the Italian’s suddenly saying ‘no’.⁶⁷⁶⁶⁷⁷

When he recalled his feelings when the business closed Alastair explained,

There wasn’t much of a build-up, there was a little suspicion and then you immediately had to do so much so you don’t actually believe what’s happening. But when you find yourself talking to liquidators you realise the end is nigh and you’ve just got to take it on the chin and get on with it. Actually, the people you need to consider are your creditors, they’re the ones who are suffering, whether they’re shareholders or people who have supplied us with goods – those bills might not be met!⁶⁷⁸

This signalled the end of the pipe organ building branch of the Rushworth enterprise. The organ works, which had once employed 100 organ builders nationwide, had been reduced to twelve, and eventually was forced out of business. The legacy of the Rushworth organ building enterprise still exists in some of the biggest churches, cathedrals and schools in Liverpool, the UK and across South and West Africa. The Rushworth name is still remembered fondly across Merseyside and the Rushworth Foundation has been established by Jonathan Rushworth to perpetuate the legacy and heritage of the family business and all it stood for in Liverpool and to sponsor educational, musical and cultural events. The Rushworth Trust continues to provide grants in the interest of music and David Rushworth continues as a Trustee for the charity as well as a governor of Knotty Ash Primary School, continuing the Rushworth tradition of public service.

⁶⁷⁶ Extract transcribed from interview kindly contributed by John Hatfield, with Alastair Rushworth, on 2nd July 2006

⁶⁷⁷ For further details of the Cammell Laird-Costa Classica episode see: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/4489411/The-straw-that-broke-Cammell.html>

⁶⁷⁸ John Hatfield interview with Alastair Rushworth, recorded, 2nd July 2006

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the key factors contributing to the closure of the Rushworth enterprise. It has outlined the strategies of adaptation and adjustment the company undertook, including restructuring, downsizing and seeking expert business advice from independent accountants and other advisors. The increasing competition from nationwide chains such as Dixons, Comet, Virgin, WH Smith and large music chain stores contributed to squeezing the market, lowering prices and lessening demand – which impacted on Rushworth’s profitability and market. The shift in musical tastes and consumption, with the coming of digital music and computer software again caused the market to shrink and demand to contract. This combined with other external factors such as a struggling local economy, high unemployment, the decline of the port and related industries, and the modernisation of entertainment, recreation and leisure which all served to decrease the social and cultural importance of music as television, radio, computers and video games swallowed the consumer market. The rigidity of the Whitechapel lease, which included upward-only rent reviews, despite tumbling profits, and the company’s inability to terminate the lease further contributed to the failure of the business. The failure to keep within the bank overdraft combined with falling profits provoked Midland Bank into action and forced the company into administrative receivership – which had the effect of seizing the Organ Works cash reserves as a result of the cross-guaranteed banking facility. The failure of the organ works was a result of the reduction of capital following the collapse of the retail side and the failure of the organ contract with the Italian government.

Most evident in this chapter is the responsible and well-considered approach of the family in response to the financial difficulties they were facing. Much time, effort and finance was devoted to acquiring the best, professional advice from a multitude of sources in an attempt to find solutions to the problems they were facing during the final decades. This extended to

family members providing personal capital in an effort to save the business from failing at an earlier point.

What we can see here is that the forces that contributed to the closure of the Rushworth business were a mesh of internal and external factors. Internal being summarised as the financial controls, stock levels, the sale and lease back of the Whitechapel premises, the terms of the lease and the cross-guarantee of the bank accounts. Whilst externally there were increasing competition, a struggling local economy, the collapse of the Italian organ contract and shifting modes of music consumption and musical engagement. It was a situation that the Rushworth family, despite their experience and expertise, could not control or manage effectively and rectify – this led to the failure and closure of a historic Liverpool family firm that existed for five generations and almost 170 years. What this chapter has established is that there was little the family could have done to save the business in light of the difficulties encountered by the declining condition of the local economy, the declining musical market and the appearance of increasingly aggressive and resourceful national competition.

Conclusion

The Rushworth family music business was at the heart of Liverpool's musical community and indeed of the wider community of the city as a whole for a period of over 150 years. This thesis has provided a unique insight into the structure, operations and cultural contribution of a musical instrument retail enterprise that underwent several periods of development and diversification during the five generations of its existence. The symbiotic relationship between commerce and culture has formed a central element in the construction of this thesis. This connection has been made visible through the lens of the Rushworth musical family firm. The thesis has demonstrated that the socio-economic condition of Liverpool impacted on the profitability of the business, shaping its development; but, at the same time, it has also shown how the firm and the family worked to shape their immediate socio-economic environment. The cultural economy, the city, the community and family businesses worked together to reinforce and complement one another.

This symbiotic or reciprocal relationship provides a framework for the development of a 'virtuous versus vicious' cycle model. The virtuous cycle covers the growth and prosperity of the local economy, which enabled businesses to generate larger profits as a result of the greater levels of affluence and disposable incomes, thus leading to increased demand and a larger consumer market in which to operate. This provided the capital requirements upon which family firms such as Rushworths (who have a vested interest in their locality) can make cultural contributions to the city, to the general benefit of both the business and the community. However, during times of economic downturn and hardship (such as in Liverpool during the 1980s) the process moved in reverse; the struggling local economy led to a shrinking customer base with lower levels of disposable income and reduced consumer spending. This led to decreased profitability for the company and necessitated an increasingly introspective approach

with regards to the community, with the result that along with other locally-rooted family firms Rushworths, struggled to survive and its cultural contributions became less effective. This phase formed a vicious cycle.

This thesis has thus provided a framework that can be applied and adopted to survey the social and cultural impact of family firms in different regions around the country whereby an assessment can be made of the ability, frequency and inclination to make contributions to their locality, driven by a desire to immerse themselves in their cultural economy and, in turn, generate greater profits for their enterprise. The Rushworth family, throughout their history, constantly adapted their business model and operations to stimulate and cater for the musical demands and requirements of the local populace. They worked to shape and provoke demand rather than simply respond to it. Several factors influenced their business structure including economic factors, such as the condition of the wider regional economy, which impacted upon the development of a local consumer market in which the company could operate. This combined with cultural factors, such as the social structure of the populace and their ability, and more importantly their inclination to engage in musical participation as a form of recreation, leisure and entertainment. The central point is that the profitability and success of the business and the general wealth and economic condition of the city were inextricably linked. The local consumer market relied on the levels of disposable income amongst the populace and on the success of the port and its related industries. This brings us back to the central theme of culture, commerce and the city - the clear symbiosis between Rushworths' cultural contribution and the economic stability of Liverpool illustrated by the link between the rise and fall of the Rushworth business and the rise and fall of the Liverpool economy.

We have examined the details of how these processes unfolded. For example, an important feature of the Rushworth family business approach was their commitment to reinvesting their profits in providing facilities and services designed to provide access to music.

This increased the size of the market in which they were operating, whilst simultaneously increasing their social and cultural capital, which added credence and authority to their musical enterprises. The Rushworths actively encouraged and promoted an atmosphere of musical appreciation and this was reflected in the range of services, attractions, products, facilities, festivals and competitions they provided, organised and administered. They were more than a musical retail establishment; they developed into the centre of music in Liverpool.

Further, this thesis has demonstrated that culture in a ‘highbrow’ sense flourishes where there is the requisite and sufficient commerce to support it. This is because participating in, and interaction with, high-culture required investment and education at all stages. For example, concert attendance required tickets or subscription; learning a musical instrument required tuition, sheet music and equipment; attracting high-profile performers to Liverpool in Rushworth’s capacity as concert agents required investment from the company, who were in turn reliant on music consumers with disposable incomes to pay for tickets and attend events. In Rushworths case, there was little point in financing a ‘Festival of Music and Verse’ if there was no local interest or support from the community, music teachers, local schools and students. Similarly, there was little point investing in a 200-seat concert hall if there was no musical public willing to attend events there or if the public could not afford to attend events/performances there. This reveals that the proactive approach, innovations and facilities of the Rushworths were inseparable from the market and demands of the musical public, and these were reliant on the condition of the regional economy. The condition of the economy enabled the company to drive music consumption and production in Liverpool. They adopted inventive and entrepreneurial approaches to their business model by introducing new products, catering for new musical styles and embracing new technologies that gave rise to new modes of music consumption and new instruments for music production. This illustrates how Rushworths created the environment in which they flourished. They were in a position to

achieve this as a result of the financial circumstance and profitability of the business, which was reinforced by the family's status, reputation and civic image. The entrepreneurship of the Rushworth family was demonstrated by their clear and planned strategies for succession. These were crucial in ensuring the smooth transition of the business through the generations and contributed greatly to the longevity of the company. It was the family's success in managing succession that enabled them to continue to break the maxim of 'rags to riches and back again'. If they had not managed succession correctly then everything else they did right would have counted for nothing – it was a crucial aspect of their success.

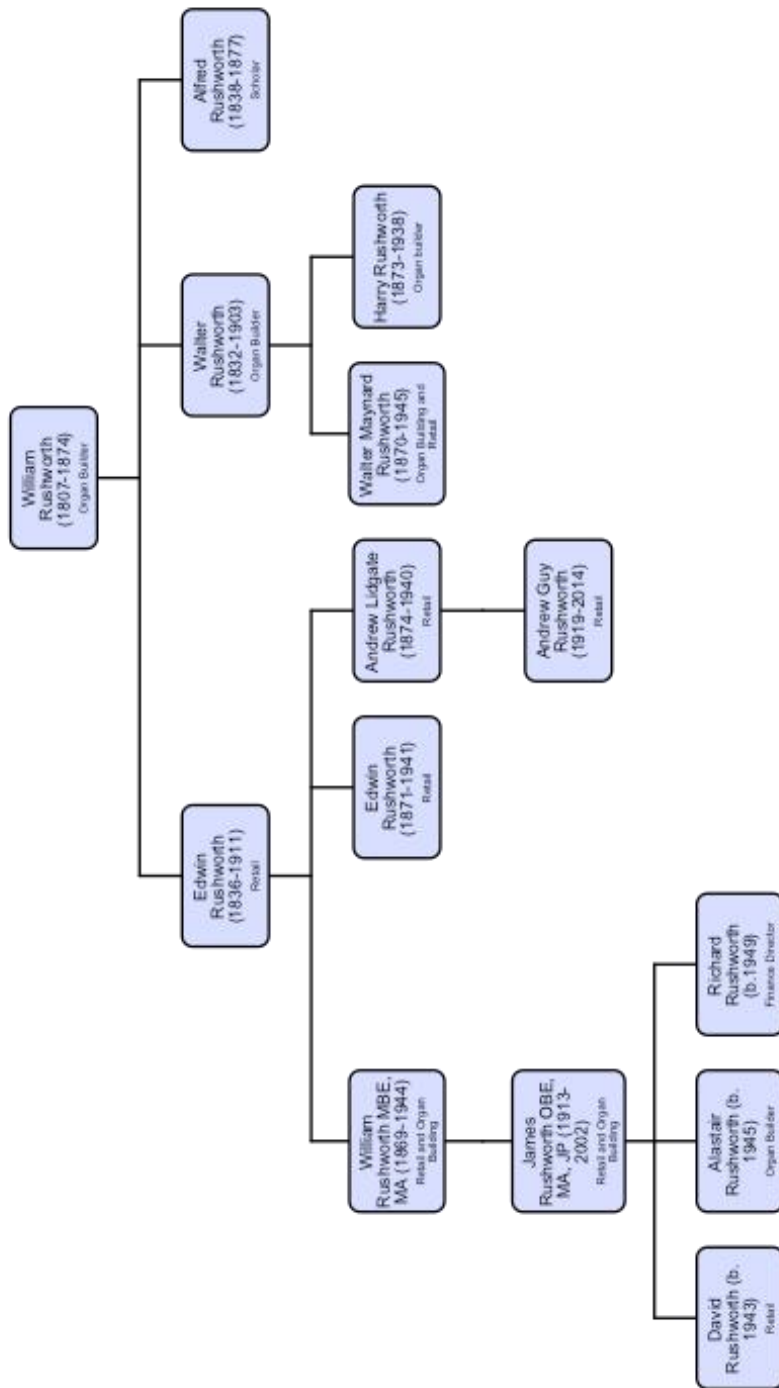
The Rushworths were able to take advantage of the company's increasing profitability, particularly during the third and fourth generations, to support public-orientated services and initiatives. This resulted in the accumulation of social and cultural capital for the Rushworth family. This increased the goodwill and reputation of the business and enabled the Directors of the firm to move into the public sphere and increase their influence amongst Liverpool's civic elites. This took the form of entry into the upper echelons of Liverpool's 'clubland' and further reinforced the company's image, brand, respectability and reputation. This provided another outlet which enabled the Rushworths to serve the public by creating an environment that was mutually beneficial to both the business and the community. This again reinforces the reciprocal nature of the relationship between commerce and culture. In the Rushworths case, by the late nineteenth century, when the business had acquired sufficient profits and the personalities had the necessary social and cultural capital to influence the cultural economy, the city was then able to provide the network and framework of social, cultural and artistic institutions and organisations through which the family could realise their vision of a cultured, respectable and musically engaged society. This approach would service the musical, artistic and cultural community and ultimately benefit the commercial enterprise.

From a business perspective, this thesis has demonstrated the ebbs and flows of a retail establishment and family firm, highlighting how the Rushworths managed to take advantage of commercial opportunities and develop their entrepreneurship to benefit from changes in technology, musical instruments, and modes of reception and consumption. The history of the Rushworth business has exemplified how family firms can fall victim to the downturn in fortunes of the local economy and the impact of the growth of national chain stores with larger buying power and bigger margins. The specifics of the Rushworths case have provided a case study in the responsible efforts of the directors to confront the difficulties faced by the business and the investments made in receiving management and financial advice from professional specialist firms. Overall, this research has illustrated that despite the best efforts of the Rushworth family to reverse the decline of the company, the external forces of failing local economy, increasing overheads, and increasing competition resulted in the unmanageable and irretrievable situation that ultimately resulted in the company's failure and closure.

The thesis has provided a comprehensive and detailed account of the development growth and decline of the Rushworth business, with a particular emphasis on how the local economic condition impacted upon the family's cultural contribution. There are nevertheless aspects of the company and family history that lay beyond the scope of the thesis but offer productive avenues for future research. One theme that emerged during the research, for example, was the role played by the Rushworth women in the development of the company and the support they provided for the Rushworth Company leaders, suggesting the need for further investigation into gender and family businesses. Other potentially topics include an examination of the role that religion played in the morals, ethics and business practices during the final three generations of the Rushworth Company; and an examination the in-house staff benefits and company policy and approach into employee welfare and how these services reflected the 'family' aspect of the firm. Research on the latter could involve investigation into

factors within the family firm that resulted in many of the staff remaining at the company for over twenty-five, and in some cases fifty years. The history of the Organ Building arm of the family firm could also be investigated, detailing its growth and development, including details of the organs that were built and the quantities and frequency of work completed. This could focus on key areas such as the Rushworth innovations in organ construction and modernisation or the strategy of sending pipe organs overseas to Europe and Africa. Finally, further research could provide insights into the relationship between metropolitan suppliers and manufacturers, such as Broadwood and Sons, and provincial retailers, such as Rushworths, which extended far beyond the purely commercial and into close personal relationships and friendships that were mutually beneficial for all parties. Nonetheless, despite the areas future research, this thesis has been able to provide is a comprehensive family business history which exemplifies the symbiotic nature of the relationship between commerce and culture and the reciprocal connection between the family firm and its local commercial and cultural context.

Appendix I



Rushworth Music Business Family Tree

Appendix II

List of interviewees and contributors throughout the Research

Interviewee Name	Connection to Research	Date of interview	Location	Recorded or unrecorded	Format	Questions sent beforehand
Jane Swindells, Jean Jones, Maureen and Brian Slater	Employees (record department)	21/8/2013	Jane's House	Recorded	Group interview	No
Charlie Southern and Jane Swindells	Employee (post room and record department)	5/12/2013	Charlie's House	Unrecorded	Group	No
Bill Duncan	Son of organ builder	9/11/2012	Roman Catholic Cathedral Cafe	Unrecorded	Private interview	No
Ken Springer	Employee (organ builder)	12/11/2012	Roman Catholic Cathedral Cafe	Recorded	Private interview	No
Diana Mothershaw	Employee (record department)	14/08/2013	Diana's House	Recorded	Private Interview	No
Pamela Parkinson	Employee (Antiques)	8/6/2013	Pamela's House	Recorded	Private Interview	No
Arthur Spencer Boland	Professional Secretary of MRA – during David Rushworth's term as President	10/2/2014	Arthur's House	Unrecorded	Private interview	No
John Rogers	Supplier (Boosey & Hawkes)	11/2/2014	Costa Coffee (London)	Unrecorded	Private	No
Jason Dolman	Council Staff – Liverpool Music Festival	17/1/2014	Liverpool Echo Café	Unrecorded	Private interview	No
Peter Anyon	Employee (guitar department)	26/7/2012	Roman Catholic Cathedral Cafe	Unrecorded	Private interview	No
Alan Rotherham	Band Member of 'Duke Duval' - customer	25/11/2011	n/a	Unrecorded	Telephone interview (twice)	No
Geoff Cowie	Customer	20/1/2014	My Office (University of Liverpool)	Recorded	Private interview	No
Kenneth Jones	Customer	14/8/2013	Kenneth's House	Recorded	Private Interview	No
Ken Stabb	Employee (piano department – workshop, sales and management)	21/10/2013	Ken's House	Recorded	Private interview	No

John Perry	Liverpool Youth Music Committee	24/1/2014	My Office (University of Liverpool)	Recorded	Private Interview	No
Professor Michael Talbot	Trustee Rushworth Trust	21/1/2014	My Office (University of Liverpool)	Recorded	Private Interview	No
Philip Taylor	Organist/customer	22/1/2014	My Office (University of Liverpool)	Recorded	Private Interview	No
Frank Doran	Associate	6/12/2011	Liverpool Athenaeum	Unrecorded	Private Interview	No
Maurice Eglinton	Organ Builder/Family friend	1/6/2013	Maurice House	Unrecorded	Private Interview	No
Doreen Grey	James Rushworth PA	20/11/2012	The Ship Pub Hotel	Unrecorded	Private Interview	No
Andrew 'Guy' Rushworth	Family/Employee/Director	11/5/2012	Guy's Nursing Home	Unrecorded	Private Interview	No
Betty Rushworth-Smith	Family	6/2/2014	Betty's House	Recorded	Private Interview	No
Tricia and Alan Wilson	Family	9/4/2013	Tricia and Alan House	Unrecorded	Private Interview	No
Brian Crawford	Family	5/2/2014	Brian's House	Unrecorded	Private Interview	No
Andrew Rushworth	Family	20/3/2015	Malmaison Hotel	Unrecorded	Private interview	No
Catherine Sandow	Family	20/3/2015	Malmaison Hotel	Unrecorded	Private interview	No
Alastair Rushworth	Family/Organ Builder/Director	22/4/2014 to 6/5/2014	Alastair's home	Recorded	Private interview	Yes
David Rushworth	Family/Retail/Director	10/9/2013 and 3/6/2015	My Office (University of Liverpool)	Recorded	Private Interview	Yes
Richard Rushworth	Family/Finance Director	16/12/2013	My Office (University of Liverpool)	Recorded	Private Interview	Yes
Jonathan Rushworth	Family	1/11/2013	My Office (University of Liverpool)	Recorded	Private Interview	Yes
Gary Reddin	Employee (guitar department)	21/11/2011	N/A	Recorded	Email exchange	No

Liam Corcoran	Customer	21/11/2011	N/A	Recorded	Email exchange	No
David Rogers	Employee (organ tuner)	21/11/2011	N/A	Recorded	Email exchange	No
Andrew Dwyer	Employee (drum Department)	22/11/2011	N/A	Recorded	Email exchange	No
Hilary Chambers	Daughter of Employee (Arthur Chambers - piano workshop/tuner)	22/11/2011	N/A	Recorded	Email exchange	No
Kenneth Roberts	Employee (organ builder)	23/11/2011	N/A	Recorded	Email exchange	No
Jeanne Schuard Fox	Daughter of Employee (James Schuard - organ builder)	21/11/2011	N/A	Recorded	Email exchange	No
Pam Cotterell	Daughter of Employees (father, Harold Cotterell in general office; mother, Amy Wilkinson, in secretary to Mrs Titherington, Concert Manager)	26/11/2011	N/A	Recorded	Email exchange	No
Alan Harrison	Music Teacher/Organist	3/12/2011	N/A	Recorded	Email exchange	No
Michael (Phoenix Violins)	Violin Maker	1/15/2011	N/A	Recorded	Email exchange	No
Neil Atherton	Son of Employee (Derek Atherton)	5/12/2011	N/A	Recorded	Email exchange	No
Steve Philips	Beatles Fanzine Writer	13/7/2012	N/A	Recorded	Email exchange	No
Luke McDonough	Organ Builder	16/7/2012	N/A	Recorded	Email exchange	No
William Taylor	Employee (radio engineer)	17/7/2012	N/A	Recorded	Email exchange	No
Alan Williams	Employee (piano workshop)	19/7/2012	N/A	Recorded	Email exchange	No
Marjorie Bennett	Customer and participant in Rushworth Festival	21/11/2011	N/A	Recorded	Email exchange	No
Chris Hirons	Employee (sales assistant)	22/11/2012	N/A	Recorded	Email exchange	No
James Brady	Employee (Keyboards and Synthesizer Department)	30/6/2013	N/A	Recorded	Email exchange	No
Sandra Parr	Daughter of Employee (Bill Parr)	6/1/2014	N/A	Recorded	Email exchange	No
Cherry Ann Knott	Granddaughter of Rushworth family seamstress	31/5/2014	N/A	Recorded	Email exchange	No

Appendix III

Example of interview questions and questionnaire:

Topics, Discussion areas and Interview questions for Alastair to consider in advance of trip to Brisbane

Note: These are just general areas for discussion –this is simply so we can have some focused discussion around these areas.

On top of the areas I have identified and outlined, Alastair is free to contribute and discuss anything he deems relevant and important to the research of the business and the family history. Obviously, Alastair reserves the right to refuse to discuss or expand on any topics which he feels are not necessary or not under his remit. If I think of any more areas, I will be sure to send you amendments and inclusions as and when they come to me.

1. Childhood/early memories

- Early memories, school, childhood, family life, family holidays
- Living with the business in the background – as a child did he feel proud to be a Rushworth?
- Was he aware of the scale and scope and importance of the business?
- Was aware of Grandfather's (William 1869-1944) legacy? His achievements, distinctions and contribution to the business and the cultural and musical life of the City?
- How was his relationship with his father? How did he feel when his father told him that he was to train in the field of organ building and become Managing Director of the Organ Works? Was he grateful, scared, proud, and honoured? Was it imposed or did he have a say?
- Can he recall any 'old wives tales', mythology, folk-lore, family tales?

2. Training/Development

- What can you tell me about his early years at Great George Street Organ Works? Who did he work under? Who was his 'Master'? How was he received by the established managers?
- Does he remember any colleagues (Bill Duncan, Ken Springer, Jack Jones, Ted Moir)? Did he establish any friendships?
- How was the business performing and profiting when he entered the business?
- What can he tell me about his training? Can he remember his time in Holland and Canada...? Dr Flentropp etc...?

- Can he recall his first organ built? His best and biggest organ? Can he tell me about Mold Parish Church and the pioneering techniques used in the organ construction?

3. Career, Achievements, Distinctions

- Can he tell me about the relocation from Great George Street to St Anne's Street? What was the impact? Were the premises better? What were locational factors... why St Anne's Street? What did this site have that others didn't? Did he look at any other sites? What were the main considerations/factors in determining location of new site? Was it access to raw materials? Access to Port or Road/Rail networks? Was it City Centre location?
- What can he tell me about his interaction with British Organ Institute? How was his period as President of the Federation of Master Organ Builders? What were his duties? How did he receive this position/distinction? Was his father proud? Did it have any impact on the business?
- What can he tell me about his time on the University of Liverpool Council/committee (I think it was the food and drinks/wine committee)?
- Can he tell me about his period as trustee of Rushworth Trust?
- Can he tell me about any of Liverpool's cultural and commercial elites...? For example, Basil Smallman (Head of School of Music at the University of Liverpool); Bertram Benas (A Liverpool Jewish businessman and cultural elite); Stephen Gray (General Manager of the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic)?

4. The Organ Works

- How did he acquire contracts and generate business in S. Africa, Nigeria and Ghana? How did he feel about going out to these places?
- What can he tell me about the downturn in trade and the organ building industry, generally? Was it a slow demise, or fast and noticeable? When did he first notice difficulties? What were the causes...? Was it the decline in church construction? Was it the introduction of electric organs (Hammonds, for example)?
- Did he notice that he had stopped making new organs and most worked obtained was either renovations or tunings?
- Was he involved in the take-over of other Organ Building companies? For example, J. J. Binns; Compton Pipe Organs; Sweetland of Bath?
- Was he involved in the opening of branches in London, Bristol, Leeds, Kendal, Glasgow, and Edinburgh etc...?
- Can he tell me about how the organ works operated? How many staff employed? How long would it take to construct an organ? Where did he source and obtain his raw materials?

- Was there a particular contract or organ that he built that gave him great pleasure or pride in his work and achievement?
- The much publicised Italian deal – what happened? What went wrong? Was it recoverable?
- The closure of the business – any thoughts, memories, perspectives, recollections, reasons, factors?

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LRO 942.7215 Lists of associations and institutions

LRO 942.7215 Lists of charitable institutions and societies

LRO 706.8 REP Liverpool Art Studies Association

LRO 367 SAI St Anne's Citizen Institute

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