

**THE MANAGEMENT AND GOVERNMENT OF SCOTTISH SOCIETY**

**AS REFLECTED IN**

**CLACKMANNANSHIRE**

**“THE SMA’ BURGH 1832 - 1870”**

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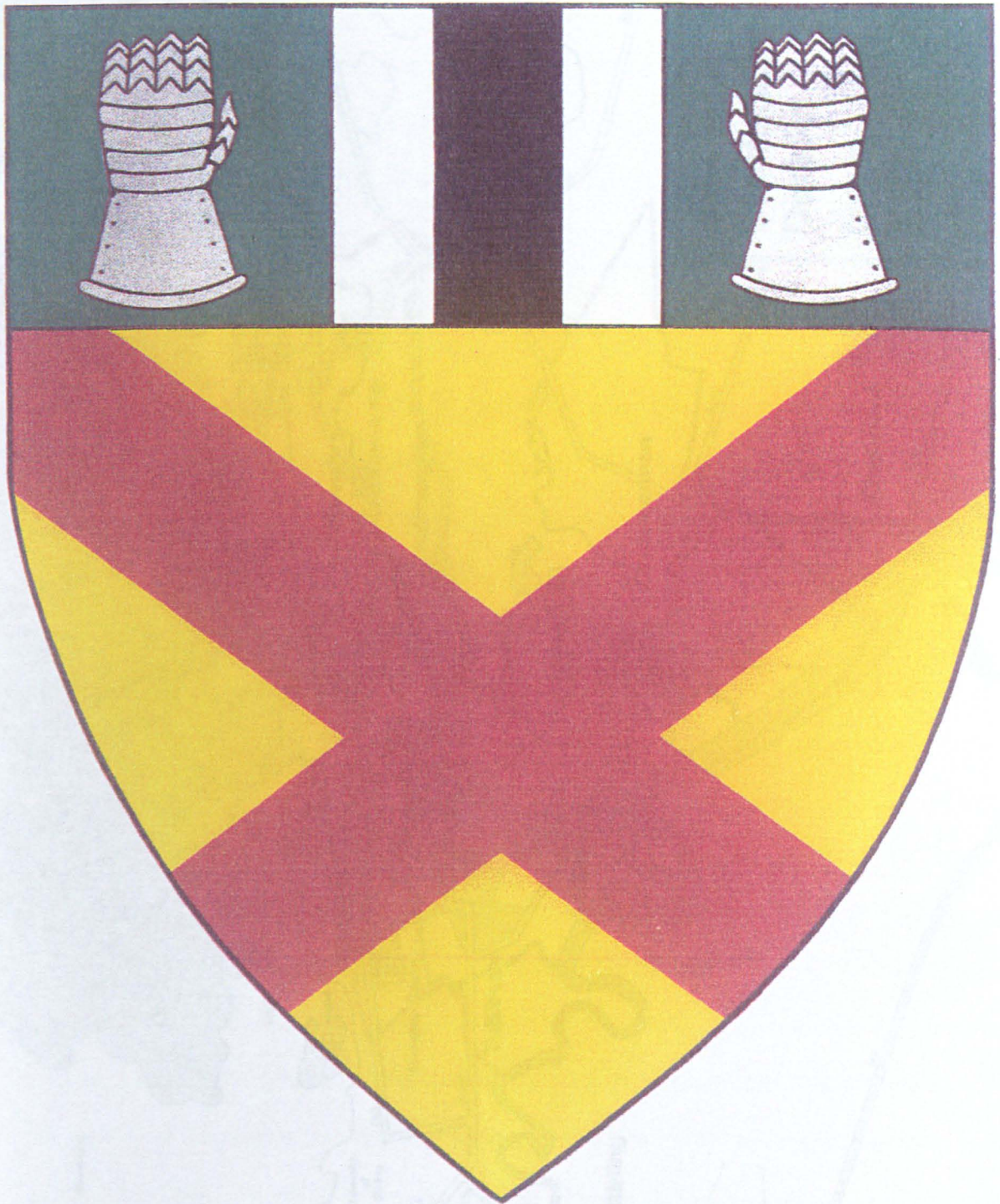
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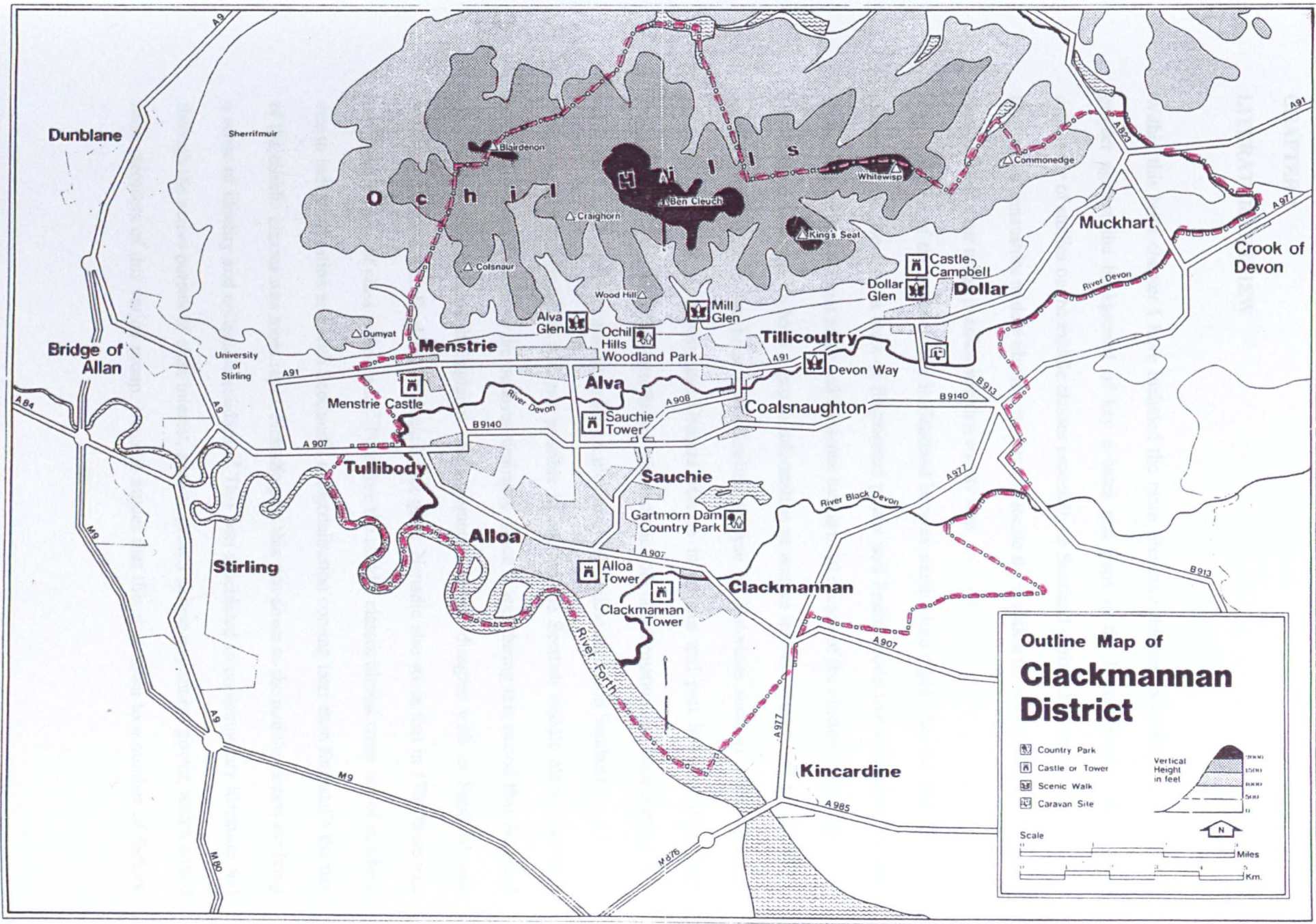
## **Abbreviations.**

CDL: Clackmannan District Libraries.







CLACKMANNAN COUNTY COUNCIL

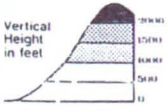





### Outline Map of Clackmannan District

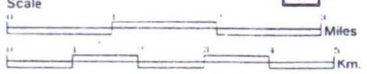
-  Country Park
-  Castle or Tower
-  Scenic Walk
-  Caravan Site

Vertical Height in feet





Scale



## CHAPTER 1

### LITERATURE REVIEW

Within this brief chapter I have included the main literature that has been used to situate the project against the background of key debates and gaps in the historiography. There is a deficiency of studies on the middle classes especially in Scotland during this period. In looking at the Clackmannanshire middle classes, we have to locate them within the wider context of Britain, Scotland and their urban position within a county seat.

The evolution of the middle class in Scotland became much more rapid after the 1832 Reform Act and their rise from a state of fragmented power and limited collective identity in the mid eighteenth century to great unity and influence by the third decade of the nineteenth century.

In Scotland as stated we have a gap in information or studies into the growth and power of the middle classes. There has been some detailed analyse by historians such as Stana Nenadic, Richard Trainor, R. J. Morris and Graeme Morton in articles and part histories, also Tony Dickson on Paisley gives us the traditional Marxist lines of class formation and class conflict. We will use all of the above as a basis to form a picture of the middle classes in Scotland.

Stana Nenadic believes that it is not possible to explore the Scottish middle class other than within a British context nor he believes desirable, since it was during this period that Scotland was socially integrated with England<sup>1</sup>. An argument I would disagree with as Scotland was politically aligned with England but socially not quite. Nenadic also states that in 1760 there was no tangible sense of class in Scotland.<sup>2</sup> Therefore the middle classes almost came out of nowhere due to industrialisation and with Scotland's industrialisation coming later than England's the rise of the middle classes was more rapid. Nenadic puts this rise down to the middle classes evolving a sense of identity and collective solidarity.<sup>3</sup> This was articulated in contemporary literature and through the active pursuit of class interest, such as greater access to political power, which united most elements of this varied group. Nenadic argues that this was down to a number of factors.

Geographical location, especially in the lowlands which concentrated the population and made it easier for the dissemination of information being enhanced which was vital to the understanding of class. Ideas, common interests and grievances can be articulated widely which contributed to a critique of political and economic status which enhanced their sense of identity.

The rise of consumerism with the availability and display of material possessions was stimulated by the middle classes and also contributed to the formation of class identity.<sup>4</sup> A key of this consumerism being the home, the central institution of the nineteenth century and the notion of separate spheres, woman should occupy a private, home based sphere, men a public sphere of work. Since the ability to maintain a non-working wife was an index of wealth and consequently of status, separate spheres became a central and unifying aspect of middle class values. The early nineteenth century saw a substantial renegotiation of the subordination of gender around a culture of domesticity. This culture was initially an expression of the ambition of the middle classes to assert differences but by mid century was a formidable influence on all social classes.<sup>5</sup> This can be seen in more detail in Eleanor Gordon's study of, *The Economic Role of Middle Class Woman in Victorian Glasgow*.<sup>6</sup>

Of course another aspect of consumerism which brought the middle classes together and distanced it from the working classes was the fear of the poor, since the poor were a threat to property and possessions and that considerable resources were invested by the middle classes through local government and the church in construction of mechanisms to control the poor, which was also used in defining a middle class identity in Britain. This is well documented in Clackmannanshire.

Other factors that Nenadic argues helped to form a sense of middle class identity which was unique to Scotland, were the desire for cultural assimilation with England which was significant and demonstrated in the disdain of 'Scotticisms' and the pursuit of English idiom in speech and literature among those with intellectual aspirations, or in the conscious revision of aspects of the

past, such as Jacobinism<sup>7</sup>, in a romantic and non-threatening form. These were the essential elements in the making of the middle classes.

R.J. Morris has argued that British towns were 'substantially the creation of their middle class, and in turn provided the theatre within which the middle class sought, extended, expressed and defended their power'.<sup>8</sup> The debate is around the spread and intensification of capitalist relationships and whether this created certain types of social identity? Is there a long term process of 'civilisation' in which perhaps towns and cities are implicated? Do the social and cultural processes of modernity exist which the accumulation of wealth and knowledge lead to a rational individualistic society? How far do traditions of law market relationships and certain institutional practice produce a 'civil society?' When the middle class elite and their intellectual allies tried to understand the urban places in which they lived and worked it was in the language of class<sup>9</sup>.

Civil society involved the increasing range of society activity which was free of the prescriptive relationships of family or of the state, free of the tyranny of cousins and the tyranny of the state<sup>10</sup>. (Civil society is a difficult concept to grasp and it is only now beginning to receive historical attention, see J Harris, *Civil Society in British History*.)<sup>11</sup>

Civil society allowed plurality in the conflicts and bargaining that took place. The growth of civil society in British towns allowed the negotiation of such conflicts as an increasingly rule based process in which the process itself became a touchstone of the legitimacy and general acceptance of any resolution reached. It was a process which allowed dominance without homogeneity<sup>12</sup>.

(However there can not be much paternalism discussion when one class is making the rules),

The British city was a middle class place in terms of culture, government, property ownership and social authority,<sup>13</sup> which the towns in Clackmannanshire reflected.

Some towns were better than others at creating an expanding and stable civil society. Medium sized towns which had no tradition of coherent local government or a weak structure of mediating voluntary organisation were especially vulnerable to breakdown of law and order. This usually meant industrial towns with an experience of rapid growth in the early nineteenth century but no

traditions of incorporation<sup>14</sup>. Clackmannanshire has proved to be an exception to this as after the Chartist agitation the middle classes took more and more control over the county using both force and coercion.

At the same time urban places in Britain were changing their social identity; during the nineteenth century British towns were middle class<sup>15</sup>. Each town being affected by its own political history and tradition and the leadership of its radicals, who challenged established structures of power. The elites also sought to conciliate and suppress the radicals by a variety of voluntary, ideological and main force based means<sup>16</sup>. The dominant agencies used were local government, the local media, where print culture was vital through news papers and periodicals,<sup>17</sup> with Clackmannanshire being well served with institutions of education, local media, culture and philanthropy.

This produced three overlapping phases in the relationship of culture and structure. The first saw a rapid expansion of 'civil society'. This allowed a dominance of municipal culture with identity and pride being based upon the achievements of local government led by selected members of the local economic professional elite<sup>18</sup>

Towns were therefore the frontier of capitalism and modernity. Capitalism, which is a system of social and economic relationship, defined by private ownership, the search for profit and a cash economy. Once the town was created in both its material and cultural sense the city became an object of contest within the middle class and between classes.<sup>19</sup> Before the mid 1970s, the historians gave central place to the politics, and to the relationships, consciousness and culture of social class. From the late 70s, this emphasis was being supplemented by the identities and structures of gender and nationalism, religion and ethnicity<sup>20</sup>.

In looking at Alloa the population alone increased from 4,500 to 12,000, not only internally but also with an influx of economic migrants from other areas of the country and Ireland. With the economic change complete in the county the middle classes attempted to reform existing institutions and attempted to clean up what it perceived to be a rough and raw society which

emerged from the preceding thirty years of rapid economic change, As F. M. Thomson states 'they the middle classes wanted to fashion the elements of a new society in step with the appearance of its material and human components.'<sup>21</sup>

There is general agreement that, between the late eighteenth and nineteenth century and about 1870 the middle class developed rapidly within, and exercised considerable influence over British towns, especially in provincial industrial areas. This was the middle class which played important roles in the repeal of the Corn Laws, the reform of the municipal corporations and the rise of a network of thriving urban institutions with prominent roles for prosperous businessmen. Yet some historians such as Gerrard and F.M. Thompson believe that, even in this part of the period and in the local arena, the influence of middle class leaders was limited by internal divisions, the impact of landed elites and the intractability of the working class.<sup>22</sup> From this point of view, on the national stage the middle class impact was even more constrained, not only by the persistent power of traditional governing elites but also by a deep division between the urban middle class, on the one hand, and its relativity larger, better off equivalent in London, this synopsis has been proposed by W.D. Rubinstein and M.J. Weiner.<sup>23</sup>

There is even more support from historians such as M. Savage, C.H. Lee and G. Ingham, for the view that from the late nineteenth century, urban provincial middle class elites faced increasing incursions in the local arena from central government and an insurgent working class. With the national position of the provincial urban middle class more dependent on industry and less closely tied to finance, commerce, land and the professions than was its metropolitan equivalent and may have declined more rapidly. Richard Trainor in his article, '*The middle classes*', does not demonstrate the impact of the middle classes but instead asks how did they influence and sustain their power in relation to an influential aristocracy and an increasingly well organised working class?

Mike Savage has suggested that, analysis of place is central to investigation of class formation, a concept which in turn provides a useful way of avoiding both a structural and solely cultural, approaches to the vexed but crucial subject of class.<sup>24</sup>

However the evidence from Clackmannanshire demonstrates that the middle class were very little influenced by the landed classes in the county, trade unions or working class organisations, what we do have is hegemony especially within the towns and an accommodation with the landed elites.

Historians are pretty well unanimous in the reason for parliamentary reform in 1832 and the mass popular reform that achieved it, being the fundamental changes made to Britain's Protestant constitution in 1828 and 1829 which gave civil rights to Protestant dissenters and Roman Catholics which split the Tory party that had held the reins of power largely undisturbed, for forty years.

A revolution in France, in 1830 avoided the excesses of the 1790s, and gave the lie to those who argued that political reform and bloody social revolution were but two sides of the same coin. Wellington's speech in Parliament in 1830 where he stood up in the House of Lords and delivered his ill advised eulogy on the British constitution and denied that the people desired any reform, moved reform to the top of the agenda.

The historical arguments are now bound round the aspect of popular politics during the crises. Gordon Pentland has pointed out that this dearth is even more pronounced in Scottish historiography, where work on the reform question has tended to focus on the temporary aspects of parliamentary reform and its results.<sup>25</sup> Pentland in his article *Scotland and the Creation of a National Reform Movement* argues that a four nation approach to the reform crisis should be taken, which he also expands on in his new book. He backs this up with the use of Nancy LoPatin's comprehensive study of 'Political Unions' in England, which made a comprehensive case for the importance of pressure from without during the reform crisis, also highlighting the influence of Daniel O'Connell and the Catholic Association on the mass politics that developed in

England, which leads him to the four nation approach to the reform crisis. One of his main arguments being that the enormous linguistic and visual appeal of Union, which rather than being a simple motif, was a key aim of the popular reform movement in Scotland. Pentland also argues that one of the most powerful ways that the reformers could maintain unity was presenting themselves as a 'national movement', appealing to a language of patriotism that pitted their own actions against the machinations of a narrow faction.<sup>26</sup>

Linda Colley's work tries to underline that the reform movement was a pan British one, which justified itself in appealing to one of patriotism. However it has to be considered in the context of a four nation approach whether there are different national contexts, which would affect the ways in which reformers made their demands and articulated their patriotism, which in turn might create different national identities and conceptions of patriotism. Pentlands main argument was that in 'Scotland reform claims could be couched in the language of 'popular constitutionalism', which offered reformers a largely English narrative of liberty. Scottish radicals and reformers embraced a language that conferred that a powerful and legitimising appeal to patriotism and was well suited to a context in which they demanded access to English liberties. This demonstrates that this idiom was remarkably flexible and that episodes from Scottish history could be written into it to render it a more genuinely British discourse.

However one of his main arguments in looking at the language used by reformers and radicals that the reform movement in Scotland is best characterised using Graeme Morton's phrase, as a 'unionist-nationalist one, describing a movement that was unionist or British in calling for greater access to English liberties, in order to remedy the peculiar infirmities of the Scottish political system. At the same time, however, it was nationalist or Scottish in making this appeal and mobilising its constituency by using national symbols and traditions'.<sup>27</sup> One point of caution in the use of the terms, 'Unionism' and 'Scottish nationalism' is that these terms were not current at the time and are a retrospective application of 20<sup>th</sup> century ideas.



Scots were therefore clamouring not for restoration of the rights of Britons but for access to them, access that had been denied in 1707. Pentland also argues that Scottish historians of popular politics have implicitly recognised the importance of constitutional arguments, but few have investigated how this language was used in the Scottish context to create a mass movement and to demand political reform, which we will look at in this study. However what emerges in Clackmannanshire is that the pro-reformers use Scottish icons such as Bruce, Wallace and Burns, whereas anti-reformers use English history to back their claims.

The Clackmannanshire middle classes came from literally nowhere in 1832 to total domination by 1867, but nowhere has it been detailed in any other area of Scotland or Britain that this domination came about as fast and as inclusive as in Clackmannanshire.

Within four years of the Reform Act, the years 1836-7 there was a period of intense industrial unrest in the West of Scotland among cotton workers, building workers, miners and iron workers. For some of the middle classes it renewed fear about stirring up mass discontent and set back the hopes of those who had been working to maintain an alliance between middle class and working class reformers.<sup>28</sup>

The beginning of the Chartist period in Scotland is believed to have started about the 10<sup>th</sup> April 1838, when a group who had been associated with the 1832 political unions, met in Glasgow to invite the Birmingham reformer Thomas Attwood to Scotland. Attwood's associates held meetings throughout Scotland spreading the message of a new campaign for universal suffrage and a Scotland wide movement was launched.<sup>29</sup>

Working class radical activists were struggling to find a discourse which made sense of the post-1832 situation. Blaming the aristocracy remained attractive. The Whigs were also being blamed having abandoned the principles for which they seemed to have stood in 1832 and had a design to subvert the democratic principles of the constitution. However quite a few of the radicals were now blaming the middle classes directly as a result of the bitterness in industrial relations and a growing sense of betrayal by the middle class was also encouraging yet a different perspective.<sup>30</sup>

In 1841 the *Circular* was asserting that in countries where a few nobles and aristocrats constitute the ruling class, the condition of the producers is infinitely preferable to those under the liberals of France and England.<sup>31</sup>

The Chartists especially resented the assumption that morality and social stratification were linked, which was a major point made by the middle class press. It was suggested that the middle class belief that wealth is a term somewhat synonymous with honesty and intelligence made it difficult for them to conceive of 'how the hard working man, who has nothing to subsist on but what he earns by the sweat of his brow should not have the same rights as themselves'.<sup>32</sup>

Another aspect was the temperance issues which the Chartist leaders were great believers off. Hamish Fraser states, that working class temperance and the founding of the temperance movement in 1828, 'was not a question as it is often presented, of the working class succumbing to essentially middle class mores. It was always predominately a working class movement'<sup>33</sup>. However in Clackmannanshire the temperance movements were mainly run by the middle classes especially by the Patons who frowned on its employees who drank and would not employ people who had worked for the brewers in the area. In this endeavor middle class philanthropists and the state built on foundations established in the 1830s and 1840s among the skilled workers and Chartists.<sup>34</sup> Which would suggest that due to Clackmannanshire's later development it was the middle classes who took up the baton on temperance, in their promotion of acceptable and respectable behavior and an obvious starting point in the process of remolding working class culture was the reform of drinking habits

Some of the Chartists leaders were starting to take an anti-middle class stance such as the ACU in Aberdeen, and in Scotland as a whole there was the feeling among Chartists that little was to be gained by union with doubtful reformers.<sup>35</sup> As for the middle classes the abolition of the Corn Laws were more important, which divided the radicals on both sides.

In Clackmannanshire the middle classes along with the landed classes in the county came down hard on Chartist agitation with the local press also stirring up propaganda against the Chartists in

the area,. The same press who had backed the Reform Act agitation in 1832 with such enthusiasm and support for the miners and the textile workers which would belie Hamish Fraser's statement 'that one does not get the same sense of betrayal by the middle class after 1832, which was a factor in the class nature of some English Chartism'.<sup>36</sup> W.W. Knox probably sums it up when he comments that by the 1848 the confrontational stance of the Chartists alienated the supporters of franchise extension in the middle classes, perhaps this was because during the 1848 revolutions the challenge to property had become more apparent as the numbers of disaffected young, unskilled operatives and Irish overwhelmed the respected radical artisans. The Lord Provost of Edinburgh<sup>37</sup> expressed the fears of the middle classes in granting the vote to this section of society. For details of Chartism in Scotland see A. Wilson's *The Chartists Movement in Scotland*, who is a pioneer in this field.<sup>38</sup>

The challenge to capital was clear and the middle classes closed ranks with the rest of private property, including their traditional enemies the landowning class who joined in an alliance of property and therefore made it harder for working class radicals to exploit the differences within the two groupings.<sup>39</sup>

Manufacturing in Clackmannanshire was a major player in the county's wealth and manufactures were often regarded as the principal agents of modernisation and entrepreneurship and are viewed as a crucial element in the formation of the middle classes. Stana Nenadic argues that in numbers, wealth and power manufacturers were a relatively small element of the middle class in cities that had a large commitment to manufacturing activity and a large factory workforce and they were not as influential in the creation of the middle class, with this persistent and influential myth of the dominant manufacture, would leave us to believe.<sup>40</sup> In Clackmannanshire this was certainly no myth, employers such as the Patons and the Youngers held great sway, especially in Alloa.

Close observation of the characteristics of businessmen, the dominant group within the middle class, reveals that those engaged in manufacturing pursuits were not especially numerous, not particularly wealthy, and did not occupy a numerically large role in powerful civic institutions or

voluntary societies. However this directly contradicts the prominent role that historians have generally attributed to this group and with the emphasis commonly given to their emergence as the new representatives of the middle classes during the period of early industrialisation, and the frequent inference that they were dominant in numbers, wealth and power.<sup>41</sup>

In effect the manufacture had come to be identified in certain quarters as a democratic hero, the agent of positive social and political changes who had challenged the power of a narrow elite, and this occurred in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, however Alloa's industrialisation was later in time, but in this aspect the manufactures became more powerful, more quickly and by this domination had more control over their workers.

However the fascination of the middle classes with manufacture was that the owner had a close relationship with a large industrial workforce, a group that lay beyond the normal range of social contacts and cultural understanding of the middle classes. From the second decade of the nineteenth century major manufactures were regarded by the middle classes, and particularly by the powerful elites who controlled urban institutions, as occupying a significant position in urban society because they were seen as the arbiters of social relationship with the factory. In the eyes of the middle classes, manufacturers possessed moral authority.<sup>42</sup> This was mainly because the most pressing problems of city life were thought to be linked to the growth of the industrial workforce at a time when contacts between the classes was diminishing and the perceived problems that beset the urban cities and towns. One of the major problems in the period was the crisis that developed in Paisley in 1842 which involved the government taking direct action, this issue raises the question, was the Paisley crisis critical in the influence of future government policy in Scotland and did it effect or influence wider changes in the institutions of social control. Dickson and Clarke's statement that 'there are clear indications that at particular times between 1790 and 1850, the fears of the authorities concerning working class unrest in Scotland were entirely justified. It is however, difficult to evaluate where and at what times these fears were well founded if historians start from the assumptions that societies are well ordered and stable

entities'.<sup>43</sup> In Clackmannanshire the use of social control can be seen to control the excesses of the working class and a large part of the workforce.

Also these years saw the growth of many secular voluntary associations dedicated to the welfare of the working population, whose primary, not overt according to Nenadic, purpose was to establish an arena in which to negotiate urban relationships and that such associations were trying to create a form of institutionalised paternalism to replace the personnel paternalism that seemed impossible in a city.<sup>44</sup> In the words of Samuel Smiles, perhaps the greatest individual perpetrator of the myth of the dominant manufacture as described by Nenandic 'employers can do a great deal towards promoting habits of thrifts, prudence and sobriety amongst their workforce.'<sup>45</sup> The manufacturers and their situation conveyed a particular set of significant images which commanded the attention of the urban middle classes because they exemplified values that were present in the middle class as a whole. Industry was important to national wealth and employment and, by negotiating relationship between the classes through his role as employer, by interpreting the thoughts and behaviours of the working class, and by seeking to influence and control the working population within the workplace, the manufacturer helped to ensure the stability of middle class communities, those exceptional individuals who achieved renown in the mid nineteenth century in addition to being men of wealth and innovation, some were also known as moral pioneers, philanthropists, and factor paternalists.

Patrick Joyce in his study of the Lancashire cotton industry has convincingly demonstrated how a paternalistic strategy was used by employers to obtain the social adhesion of the workforce. Joyce argued that the implication of paternalism by employers was fundamental to understanding the stabilisation of class relations in the mid Victorian period. As employers moved away from a policy of confrontation a civic ethos emerged which stressed the virtues of philanthropy and rewarded the recognition of labour.<sup>46</sup> The potential which the labour-capital relationship might have for conflict and radical political challenge was often mediated by a variety of paternalist

employee strategies which, though based on older traditions of social relationships, were strategies which were renewed and thrived in urban environments.

Paternalism was a hard assertion of authority. Some of the bitterest industrial conflicts of the century arose from the breakdown of such strategies. It was a bargain which ensured the stability of an often low paid labour force and should not be confused with benevolence<sup>47</sup>. The paternalism of the Patons family fits well with Joyce's convincing view and the assertion by Joe Melling 'that the cases of welfare at this time were based on rational cost benefits or had an overt strategic purpose.'<sup>48</sup>

In Clackmannanshire the Patons are a prime example of a company wielding great influence in a small town and surrounding villages. They had a near monopoly in the labour market in Clackmannanshire; they also controlled housing in the area, which helped increase their influence over their employees. This was similar to the policy of tied housing used by the mine owners and farmers in the county. Through acts of public benevolence they were able to extend the workplace authority beyond the factory, with paternalism used as a beneficial strategy in controlling their employees. This of course was designed to increase workers dependency on the employer. Just as W.W. Knox informs us of a similar case in Paisley with Coates, 'that their antenna reached beyond the factory gates, to enmesh a whole community of workers in a social matrix welded together by a mixture of material and ideological support'.<sup>49</sup> As In Paisley the Paton dynasty donated the Alloa Town Hall and many other buildings. The opening of the Town Hall was preceded by a great procession to mark the inauguration, which symbolized the economic and social power of the Patons within their community.

Also practitioners of the 'New economic history' have concluded that the classical industrial revolution was not an event that gave rise to major discontinuities in the economic sphere,<sup>50</sup> again this is a broad brush statement and does not do justice to the economic changes that took place in small towns in Scotland and was certainly not the case in Clackmannanshire by a long shot.

Where I would agree with Nenadic is that the manufacturers have to be recognised for the importance of the cultural implications of industrial developments as the impact, especially in Alloa, was considerable. Towns in Clackmannanshire came late to the development of local government and therefore the large manufacturers found it easier to influence them and the services that they provided.

The time period of the dissertation leaves towns like Alloa in the area totally under the control of the middle classes, unlike some cities and towns in Britain where sectarian tensions between non conformist and conformist and Tory and Liberal agenda's could cause rifts within the middle class elites, but these were not evident to any great extent in Clackmannanshire nor was the influence of aristocratic estates which could often produce sharp conflicts with middle class leaders.<sup>51</sup>

The debate within historical circles re- middle class elites within towns, is that by the 1830s and 1840s some historians have detected a 'liberalisation' of urban leadership with wealthy businessmen, persistently active in civil affairs, they dramatically expanded local institutions and services and by the later nineteenth century these leaders evidently enjoyed considerable support from working men as well as the cooperation of lesser members of the middle class.<sup>52</sup> Other writers are less impressed with the social standing and expansionist policies and impact of Victorian elites who they believed had become less wealthy from the 1860s. Where the leaders of civic organisations found their activities restricted by partisan and sectarian tensions, limited financial resources and the restlessness of working men's institutions. The elites also faced interventions from important businessmen, neighbouring members of the landed elite and central government. From this point of view, urban leaders enjoyed only a couple of brief periods of influence, one disrupted during the early Victorian period with its social unrest and the other, during the later period, due to the increasing power of Whitehall and the working classes<sup>53</sup>. However in Clackmannanshire these were periods where the middle classes took complete control of the towns, they used the Chartist agitation to spread fear and contempt for the working

classes which brought the middle classes into a more coherent class and in the second part of the era they were able to take complete control of the new town councils which were elected by their own class, which would confirm Trainer's argument that 'even allowing for the inroads of outside forces, the local elites concessions by the turn of the century, within the vastly enlarged framework of organised influence, had eroded the margins rather than the core of their power'.<sup>54</sup>

Where I agree with Trainor is that the higher echelons of the urban hierarchy acquired both basic and optional improvements more quickly and fully than did other localities, with the pace of progress being most dramatic in the smallest and newest towns.<sup>55</sup> Where Alloa had been a backward town in the 1830s by the 1870s it was far more like those of Paisley and Glasgow.

The middle class elites in the area remained formidable rivals in the workplace as well as in civic life. The emerging working class movement in Alloa had a major job on its hands to try and break down their influence and control. With great civil influence and economic power in the area the middle classes therefore had a significant role in shaping social change in Victorian Clackmannanshire.

Where did this middle class come from in Alloa? In the 1830s they were a small percentage in the area but with the rise of commercialism and industry, as Nenadic points out, the movement between land and towns, which was paralleled by social interaction, was not, of course, exclusive to the rich. The phenomenon was widespread and it smoothed the evolutionary path of the middle class as a whole and was an important element in the creation of links between town and country side and cemented the influence of towns in their rural hinterlands.<sup>56</sup>

However one of the major pointers to who the middle class in Clackmannanshire were. comes from a reform meeting that took place during the 1867 reform agitation, where in trying to get support for working class representation in a motion, a speaker declared that 'why should you deprive the working men from a vote, as looking around the hall he informed them, that not so long ago they were from that class'<sup>57</sup>.



Upward mobility from the lower orders to the middle classes, particularly into the craft nascent industries and shopkeeping and the movement from weaver to small master and petty capitalist, such as, a yarn dealer or cotton master, was relatively easy as was the movement from salesman to shopkeeper. The capital requirement of most businesses was small and the opportunities great with the earlier restrictions on economic activity falling fast. Social mobility was possible and there are sufficient examples of those who had generated the myth of self made man. Once the individual was embarked on the path of upward mobility, through economic enterprise or in some cases through education were all used for retaining and enhancing status, and for proclaiming class membership. Other aspects were also brought into play, such as having the correct friends and social contacts, belonging to appropriate institutions such as the church and voluntary societies and making a good marriage for themselves and their children.<sup>58</sup>

Nenadic states that class identities appear to be more fragile and mutable than was once believed, and the middle classes were an especially volatile and shifting group in his study of Glasgow, and although he acknowledges that at certain moments in time, in response to significant events or circumstances which pose threats to their political or property interests, or generated pride in their achievements, there could be little doubt that the middle classes in Glasgow, as elsewhere, did articulate a strong sense of collective interest. But whether this represented a coherent class identity is less certain.<sup>59</sup> However in Clackmannanshire we have all the major players in organisations which in a small area would make it far easier to cement a middle class bond, such as the Masonic order, which was a key social network for the middle classes.<sup>60</sup> In Clackmannanshire the Volunteer Regiments were also a popular, jingoistic, middle class response to fears of French invasion and also reflected a pervasive dissatisfaction with the aristocratic mismanagement of the army.<sup>61</sup> In Clackmannanshire the volunteer movement did not exactly welcome or make it easy for the working class to join.

Religion in Scotland for a large majority of the population played a major part in the lives of people from all classes; religion had exercised a longer and more powerful grip on the conscious

of the workers in Scotland than in England, with higher levels of membership and attendance throughout the nineteenth century. This helped the middle classes in its pursuit of hegemony in Clackmannanshire. W.W. Knox argues that as a consequence of the stress on literacy and education by a Calvinist dominated social theology, the tradition of auto-didacticism and self improvement was entrenched in the working class and the labour movement from an early stage with the labour movement in adopting the moral concerns of Calvinism hence the powerful influence of temperance,<sup>62</sup> which the middle classes used to their full potential in Clackmannanshire to coerce the working classes into their sphere of influence and was especially used by the Patons.

The disruption in the Church of Scotland in 1843 was the cause of major changes in Scottish life especially in aspects of education and politics. The Disruption did not only split the Church, the events of this decade marked a stage in the loss of the traditions and distinctiveness of Scottish life. The agitation for parliamentary reform which gained a partial success in the Reform Act of 1832 and the popular appeal of Chartism showed that the minds of men had ceased to look for guidance from the old national institutions and were turning to Parliament, centralised government and the bureaucracy associated with such centralised agencies.<sup>63</sup> Everything was declared simply subordinate to Parliament. There now could be no superior theory of law, because the law was simply what had been passed by Parliament. If the intrusionists had won, this would have defined parliamentary sovereignty as non absolute.<sup>64</sup>

It was, therefore, from a vantage point of considerable security and elevation that the minister's of the Church of Scotland engaged in the practical operation of poor relief. Added to this, that in the majority of parishes, minister's owed their charge to the exercise of patronage by the local heritor or landowner, the position of privilege created by education and income has to be borne in mind when considering the attitudes of the Scottish clergy to poverty, pauperism and poor relief.<sup>65</sup>

Government now took over the role of administrator of the Poor Law in the country. However, what was evident was that the minister, once an administrator, an arm of the state, a prop of the social order before the schism, was now becoming just a pastor and preacher.<sup>66</sup>

Education was changed for ever in Scotland with the managing of education eventually coming under governmental control through local authorities, collimating with the 1872 Education Act.

The main achievement of the 1872 Act was secondary schooling for the middle classes, as R.D. Anderson argued that the Scottish secondary school system which emerged during the second half of the Victorian period both unified the middle class and accentuated its social distinctions.<sup>67</sup>

W. W. Knox argued that schools were not only transmitters of literacy and numeracy skills, but also agents of discipline and order. The habits installed in children were designed to make them amenable to the discipline of work, the rhythm of the factory and workshop as well as the authority above them.<sup>68</sup>

Education during this period was not just about the three R's. The attack by the middle classes was not only on the cultural aspects of the working classes, but it now involved how working class children were to be educated by middle class teachers, who were not just teaching religious tracts or what had been deemed fit by the local minister but were now preparing, particularly male children for work in the expanding industrialised society in which the vast majority of management was middle class. Therefore the teaching of discipline and the need to respect their betters was a prime ingredient for a disciplined capitalist society as seen from a middle class vision.

Stana Nenadic's statement that the Victorian middle classes, and in particular those living in the big commercial and industrial cities, were self promoters and self aggrandisers on a scale that had not been equalled before or since.

*They hid behind public and private rituals; they built their values around myths in order to accommodate the profound ambiguities that were the normal experience of family, of relationships with other social groups and of economic life in a largely unregulated and pitiless*

*business city. Self inflation, by individuals or by social groups, usually means one thing- a sense of fragile identity, of insecurity, of much gained, but much more too loose. This was a reality of the middle classes in Victorian Glasgow.*<sup>69</sup>

This certainly does not come across in Clackmannanshire where they came across as an assured and confident group who had confidence in their own abilities and moral conceptions in Victorian Clackmannanshire. This I would suggest was because Clackmannanshire was an ideal size for the exertion of control unlike Glasgow, where people moved in great numbers, although towns such as Alloa were increasing in size it was possible to accommodate this with a smaller population.

What must be remembered that during this period the majority of the population in Scotland even at the high point of urbanisation lived in a rural or small town environment and as such, this study is more typical of the Scottish experience than that of the four big cities?

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- <sup>1</sup> Stana Nenadic., The Rise of the Urban Middle Classes, People and Society in Scotland, Volume 1, (Edinburgh, 1988), p. 109
  - <sup>2</sup> Ibid. p.118
  - <sup>3</sup> Ibid. p.120
  - <sup>4</sup> Ibid. p.121
  - <sup>5</sup> Ibid. p.403
  - <sup>6</sup> Eleanor Gordon., The Economic Role of Middle Class Woman in Victorian Glasgow, Woman's History Review, Volume 9 No 4, (December 2000), p.798-814
  - <sup>7</sup> Stana Nenadic., Urban Middle Classes, p.122.
  - <sup>8</sup> Richard Trainor., The Middle Class, The Cambridge Urban History Volume III ,1840-1950, (Cambridge 2000), p.673
  - <sup>9</sup> R.J.Morris., Structure, Culture and Society in British Towns, The Cambridge Urban History, Volume III, 1840-1950, (Cambridge 2000), p.409
  - <sup>10</sup> Ibid. p.410
  - <sup>11</sup> J. Harris., Civil Society in British History, (Oxford, 2003)
  - <sup>12</sup> R.J. Morris, Structure, Culture and Society, p.410
  - <sup>13</sup> Ibid. p.411
  - <sup>14</sup> Ibid. p.412
  - <sup>15</sup> Ibid. p.418
  - <sup>16</sup> Ibid. p.425
  - <sup>17</sup> Ibid. p.403
  - <sup>18</sup> Ibid. p.425
  - <sup>19</sup> Ibid. p.398
  - <sup>20</sup> Ibid. p.399
  - <sup>21</sup> F. M. Thompson., The Rise of Respectable Society, (London, 1988),p.28
  - <sup>22</sup> Richard Trainor., The Middle Class, p.675.
  - <sup>23</sup> Ibid. p. 675
  - <sup>24</sup> Ibid. p. 673
  - <sup>25</sup> Gordon Pentland., Scotland and the Creation of National Reform Movement, The Historical Journal, 48, 4 (2005), p.1000

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- <sup>26</sup> Ibid. p.1000
- <sup>27</sup> Ibid. p.1001
- <sup>28</sup> W. Hamish Fraser., Scottish Popular Politics, From Radicalism to Labour, (Edinburgh 2000), p.52
- <sup>29</sup> Ibid. p.54
- <sup>30</sup> Ibid. p.55
- <sup>31</sup> Ibid. p.55
- <sup>32</sup> Ibid. p.56
- <sup>33</sup> Ibid. p.74
- <sup>34</sup> W. W. Knox., Industrial Nation, Work Culture and Society in Scotland, 1800-Present, (Edinburgh, 1999) p.95
- <sup>35</sup> Ibid. p.71
- <sup>36</sup> Fraser., Scottish Popular Politics, p.67
- <sup>37</sup> W.W. Knox, Industrial Nation, p.74
- <sup>38</sup> A. Wilson., The Chartist Movement in Scotland, (Manchester, 1970)
- <sup>39</sup> W.W. Knox., Industrial Nation, p.74
- <sup>40</sup> Stana Nenadic., Businessmen, the Urban Middle Classes, and the 'Dominance' of Manufacturers in nineteenth century Britain, Economic History Review, XLIV, I (1991), p.66
- <sup>41</sup> Ibid. p.67
- <sup>42</sup> Ibid. p.75
- <sup>43</sup> Dickson T. & T. Clarke., Social Concern and Social Control in Nineteenth Century Scotland 3), Paisley 1841-43 Scottish Historical Review Vol 179 (1986), p.13
- <sup>44</sup> Stana Nenadic., Businessmen, the Urban Middle Classes Ibid, p.80
- <sup>45</sup> Ibid. p.81
- <sup>46</sup> W. W. Knox., Industrial Nation, p.107
- <sup>47</sup> Ibid. p.406
- <sup>48</sup> Ibid. p.108
- <sup>49</sup> Ibid. p.109
- <sup>50</sup> Ibid. p.82
- <sup>51</sup> Richard Trainor., Urban elites in Victorian Britain. Urban History Year book, (1985), p.8
- <sup>52</sup> Ibid. p1, For example: J. Foster, class struggle and the Industrial Revolution 1774;DFraser, power and authority in the Victorian City (1979); E.P. Hennock, Fit and Proper Persons (1973); P. Joyce, Work Society and Politics (1980)
- <sup>53</sup> Ibid. p1 see, for instance: A. F. Cook, Reading 1835-1930: a community power study (PhD thesis, University of Reading, 1970); M. J. Daunton, Coal Metropolis: Cardiff 1870-1914 (1977); J. Garrard, Leadership and Power in Victorian industrial towns 1830- 80 (1983) Rubinstein, Wealth, elites and class structure of modern Britain, Past and Present LXXV1(1977)
- <sup>54</sup> Ibid. p.12
- <sup>55</sup> Ibid. p.10
- <sup>56</sup> Stana Nenadic., The Rise of the Urban Middle Classes, p.117
- <sup>57</sup> Alloa Journal, 17<sup>th</sup> February 1866
- <sup>58</sup> Stana Nenadic., The Rise of the Urban Middle Classes, p.117
- <sup>59</sup> Stana Nandic., The Victorian Middle Classes, Glasgow vol II, 1830-1912, Editors, W. Hamish Fraser and Irene Maver. (Manchester 1996), p.266
- <sup>60</sup> Ibid. p.290.
- <sup>61</sup> Ibid. p.289.
- <sup>62</sup> W. W. Knox., Industrial Nation, p.21
- <sup>63</sup> Andrew L. Drummond and James Bullock., The Scottish Church 1688-1843, (Edinburgh, 1975),p.4
- <sup>64</sup> Stewart Brown and Michael Fry., Scotland in the Age of Disruption, (Edinburgh, 1993),p.41
- <sup>65</sup> Ibid. p. 95
- <sup>66</sup> Michael Fry., Patronage and Principle, A Political History of Modern Scotland, (Aberdeen 1982), p.52
- <sup>67</sup> Stana Nenadic., The rise of the Urban Middle Classes, p.122
- <sup>68</sup> Knox, Industrial Nation, p.100
- <sup>69</sup> Nenadic., The Victorian Middle Classes, p.295.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE 1832 REFORM ACT AND ITS IMPACT ON ELECTIONS IN SCOTLAND

This chapter will look at the impact the 1832 Reform Act on elections; compare the social difference between the old electorate and the reformed electorate and who was now eligible to vote. We will consider whether the new voting system was just as corrupt as the old and whether the balance of power of parliamentary representation changed. The major findings in this chapter show that the Whigs and the middle classes in Clackmannanshire never had any intention of giving the franchise to the working classes. This then gives the middle class elites a launching pad to take over the local institutions in the county.

In looking at this period in Clackmannanshire we can see the cracks of class division appearing and W.W. Knox's statement 'that class is a story of power, relationships and exploitation which brought about the main factors of class division'<sup>1</sup> start to develop. With class division developing this leads us into the start of Gramsci's theory on hegemony, with the middle classes looking to secure legitimacy for their domination. We can also see Halloran's argument on the media's function through the newspapers, giving direction in new attitudes and forms of behaviour to make them socially acceptable modes of conduct which then becomes public opinion,<sup>2</sup> pushed of course by the middle class ownership of the press in the area.

We will also look at Gordon Pentlands arguments that a four nation approach to the reform crisis should be taken with reference to what he describes as the enormous linguistic appeal of union which he believes was a key aim of popular reform with the reformers appeal to a language of patriotism, with the Scottish reformers using episodes of Scottish history which could be written into their patriotism to render it a more genuinely British discourse.<sup>3</sup> We will also investigate if the use of Graeme Morton's phrase of a 'unionist nationalist' one to describe a movement that was nationalist and British in its appeal for reform applies in the county.

The passing of the Reform Act was the climax of a campaign by the Whigs to gain parliamentary control from the Tories, however by doing this they had inadvertently set off a series of events which has had a major impact on the structure of British society through to the present which turned Britain into the most class divided society in Europe.

## **1 THE PRE- 1832 ELECTORAL SYSTEM**

The majority of people in Clackmannanshire and Scotland greeted the 1832 Reform Act with jubilation, in Clackmannanshire, “all the trades assembled on a sunny morning in August with flags, banners and bands, with music to walk in procession to celebrate the passing of the first Reform Bill.”<sup>4</sup> In Dollar there was a dance at the Breakers Knowe and a great procession around by Rackmill, Dollarbeg, Blairingone and Vicairs Bridge. In Alva there was also a great celebration, where James Johnstone the local Laird donated an ox to be roasted at the festivities, although he had opposed the Bill.<sup>5</sup> However, the question remains did the Reform Bill change the representatives who governed and managed Scotland to any great significance during the period 1832 to 1869, or was this a false dawn?

In Scotland before the Reform Act of 1832, parliamentary representation was conducted in two ways, through the burghs and through the counties. The Burgh Councils were self-electing oligarchies who chose a member for Parliament and sent to Westminster a third of Scotland’s parliamentary representatives. Many of these burghs were, or had been bankrupt while others were riddled with corruption and could be remote from the areas of economic growth. For example, Aberdeen had been declared bankrupt in 1817. This came after mounting frustration at the lack of information on the town’s finances which had emerged from the closed town council, run by the Hadden family and their business associates.<sup>6</sup> The burgesses in the guildry blamed the secret junta of the town council, acting with responsibility to no one but themselves. Another example can be found in Paisley, when in 1816, there had been widespread riots when the town

council proposed to sell off the superiority of the town. Later that year the burgesses in Montrose petitioned for the right to elect their own deacon, plus two councillors and the right to see the annual accounts from the town. This was granted by the town council and ratified by the Convention of Royal Burghs, as was the decision to select magistrates by a secret ballot rather by open voting. However when this resulted in a vote against the dominant ruling clique on the council the matter was taken to the Court of Session, who declared the whole process illegal. Dundee was another city which had a similar ruling clique under Provost Riddoch for almost forty years.<sup>7</sup> The counties operated differently but no less abominably, though it could be said that they constituted the open part of the system, since the burghs were all closed operations through self-election.<sup>8</sup>

In 1820 the nominal voting power throughout Scotland for the counties was 2,889 because of notional vote carrying freeholds, although the actual voting power was well below that. This was because the system allowed one person to have multiple votes, either by his land holding or by his ability to buy the votes. Voters in the burghs numbered 1,350, thus giving a voting population of 4,239, which returned forty five MPs to represent Scotland.<sup>9</sup> A vote was an item of property and could be sold, thus making votes an investment, as compensation for their prospective loss was demanded in Parliament during the debates on reform.<sup>10</sup> This system of voting in the country therefore relied heavily on patronage and a government could govern the country by using the patronage at its disposal. Patronage was exchanged for the support of MPs and of electors; however it has to be remembered that MPs received no salary.

A major example of the use of patronage in Clackmannanshire was during the 1790s. Henry Dundas was a past master at availing himself of the opportunities furnished by such patronage arrangements, and could count on the loyalty of three-quarters of the forty five MPs who represented Scotland at that time.<sup>11</sup> However one seat, which caused difficulty for Dundas to control, was Clackmannanshire, as can be seen in the parliamentary election for the area in 1806. Dundas was still trying to manipulate and control politics in Scotland, even after proceedings had



begun against him in 1805 which led to his impeachment for peculation in 1806. Even with the death of William Pitt (Prime Minister) in that year, who was his most potent supporter, he still tried to keep his grasp on power. His power had been weakened by the peculation charges but he was acquitted and survived. He was far from being finished and remained the major power within Scotland until his death in 1811.

The county was closely contested between two candidates, the Honourable George Abercromby and Major Robert Dundas. The conflict in fact was between Lord Dundas and the Abercromby family. The election in the county shows us the close connection between politics and revenue patronage which made it difficult for superiors in the public sector to discipline officers who stepped out of line, even when an officer was actually dismissed he would fight to be reinstated by pulling political strings.

This brings us to the story of Robert Carrick,<sup>12</sup> the collector of taxes at Inverness who was removed from his job when an anonymous letter was received by the Board of Commissioners, advising them that all the excise supervisors in Scotland systematically maintained false diaries recording their activities. Carrick blamed this letter on a junior officer who was envious of his position. The charge however that Carrick in his official record had claimed to be in places which he had not visited was never denied by him. His demise was swift from the heights of a collectorship to the ranks of a common gauger. Carrick did have friends among the voting freeholders and they moved to his aid. Their resolve was strengthened by the reinstatement of the other four officers who had been demoted at the same time; however these four had all been friends of Lord Melville (Henry Dundas). Carrick however did bring political pressure into play in Clackmannanshire, as his brother in law was a Mr Glassford of Tillicoultry, a Glasgow merchant whose votes would determine the outcome of the parliamentary election of 1806 in Clackmannanshire.

The political situation in the county was evenly divided, Glassford had control over two votes which if they went Dundas's way would give him seven votes to Abercromby's eight, however if

two other areas were brought into the constituency, Easter and Western Kennet, this would give Dundas a nine to eight lead. This was the scheme Lord Dundas had planned to enable him to win the seat. Dundas was fully aware of Glassford's importance to his political interests in the county and had taken steps to try and oblige him in a matter relating to his West Indian business interests, but Glassford was also fully aware of his position in the political sphere and intended to use it to secure his brother in law's reinstatement. Glassford had declared his intention of supporting Lord Dundas, however when he was visited by Alexander Bruce of Kennet who was managing the election for Lord Dundas, he found that unless his brother in law was reinstated he would vote for Abercromby. It was reported that Glassford was completing the work of preparing nominal votes, his lawyer lacked experience in this field and was being helped by the agent of Lord Dundas, who clearly thought of him as an ally. On August the 6<sup>th</sup> Glassford made it quite plain that he meant what he had said about his price for support and denied that he was in any way pledged to Lord Dundas.

Charles Innes an experienced lawyer who advised Lord Dundas in political matters had no doubt about the desirability of acting to meet Glassford's wishes, pointing out that Carrick had not been dismissed for malversation, which would have made reinstatement a difficult matter, this was not a case of public or professional misconduct. However through neglect or inattention, Abercromby defeated Major Dundas, and by the time of the election, Glassford had manufactured three votes. It may be surmised that Lord Dundas's failure to secure the reinstatement of the collector for Inverness was seen by Glassford as neglect, which justified him in remaining friendly with Abercromby. It was a close contest, as can be seen in correspondence from a William Handyside to Lord Dundas, which indicated that it was obvious from his conversation that Mr Glassford and Abercromby often met and hunted together and voting against him was rather uphill work. At the same time if his brother in law was reinstated to his former position 'we think he will still go with us.'<sup>13</sup> Incidents like this led Norman Gash to comment, 'That from 1707 to 1832, Scotland resembled one vast rotten burgh.'<sup>14</sup>

Parliamentary seats were rarely nomination seats in Scotland and, as stated previously, only one third of these lay in the hands of the burgh oligarchies. However in the counties there was more of a process of influence, purchase and reward than could be obtained in the burghs, as previously indicated. A key factor was that of feudal superiorities which while divorced from the ownership of land, continued to attract a vote. In 1831 half the county voters were so called 'parchment barons',<sup>15</sup> arising from ancient rights and land valuations decided during the reign of Charles II (1660-1685). The superiorities, which were based on these land valuations, not only attracted a vote, but also could be split up in order to attract additional votes. The distinction in Scots Law between the beneficial interest and in effect the superiority meant that the first could be relinquished by someone who retained the second and with it the associated franchise. Unlike the English system, the Scottish voting qualifications in terms of land had not been devalued.<sup>16</sup> This made the county electorate in Scotland relatively small and therefore easier to manipulate, as was seen in Clackmannanshire, which had only sixteen county voters in the pre 1832 reform election.<sup>17</sup> These superiorities were traded and people such as attorneys would acquire them for the purpose of speculation. The younger sons of middle class families also made acquisition, as did the nominees of major landowners. These votes when bought were then used as a means of gaining patronage in the form of appointments, engagements, sinecures, colonial posts, military commissions etc, from those whom they would then favour with their vote.

By 1782 two groups were pressing for political reform, many of the smaller landowners in the counties were calling for an end to the device which allowed proprietors of great estates to grant life rents to their friends, creating so called faggot voters, by this means the voters of the real independent freeholders were in effect annihilated. The Court of Session in 1768 attempted to block faggot voters; however the House of Lords revised the ruling, with the result that the number of factious voters was actually increasing<sup>18</sup>. The 1832 Scottish Reform Act outlawed the practice, stating that the principle of bare superiority as a franchise condition should be dropped and in this and other ways it was hoped to help clean up the practice of patronage in Scotland.<sup>19</sup>

One of the main problems with the 1832 Act, as argued by William Ferguson for example, was that Jeffrey and Cockburn, the main architects of the Act in Scotland, failed to come to grips with the Feudal Law of Scotland. Jeffrey was made Dean of Faculty of Advocates in 1829; and was appointed Lord Advocate for Scotland (1830-34) He was then elected as an MP in 1831 and was responsible with Henry Cockburn, for the drafting of the Scottish Reform Bill. As a consequence of this failure the Act was wildly inconsistent with what was then the law regulating rights in land and other forms of property, and this made possible another era of political corruption, marked now by the oppression of tenants who qualified for the vote. The Act gave tenants the vote without the safeguard of the secret ballot; therefore leaving them open to coercion from their landlords because of the adoption of the English system of open nominations and polls. Soon the magnates were mustering their cohorts and voting was done very much by estates.

The tenant who defied his landlord was subject to all sorts of pressures, which in some instances culminated in the expiry of his lease with summary eviction. These malpractices, Ferguson would argue, became widespread in the Scottish counties and were in evidence at the first reformed election. In support of his argument, examples can be found that the Reform Act did not put to an end to the manufacturing of votes. For example in Ross-shire in the spring of 1834 Alexander Mackenzie of Millbank was busy estimating the number of £50 leases that could be granted on the estates of Strathconan and Strathgarvie, which were, then up for sale. The estates were valued at £3,500, which he considered to be a bargain; especially the eighteen votes that could be made from the estate, and of course the patronage that could be gained.<sup>20</sup>

The buying up of votes can also be seen with the Tory Duke of Buccleuch, who had his friends purchase ninety two small freeholds in Selkirkshire, there by increasing his own voting strength.<sup>21</sup>

The faulty draughtsmanship of the Reform Bill in 1832 therefore left untouched the legal entitlement of the owner of the superiority in a property to break down his rights into £10 units of value and to assign these to nominees, who were then entitled to vote. This device was used by the Tories in the South East of Scotland, Roxburgh, Peebles, Selkirk, East and West Midlothian,

to build up voting strength. As late as 1879 W.E. Gladstone the former Liberal Prime Minister could write 'I am safe in Midlothian unless they contrive a further and larger number of faggot voters'.<sup>22</sup> However, Karl Miller argued that Cockburn was one of the Whigs who believed that reform should go so far and no further. 'The great thing is to avoid radicalism,'<sup>23</sup> Cockburn wrote to Kennedy at the time of the Bill. He also believed that democracy was unacceptable to the public and that the demands for it were hopelessly premature. This thinking lay in his conviction that wealth was sense and sense only came in terms of rateable value,<sup>24</sup> therefore it could be claimed that Cockburn knew what he was doing when drafting the Reform Act.

## **2. THE OLD CLACKMANNANSHIRE ELECTORATE.**

Prior to 1832 the county of Clackmannanshire had alternated with the county of Kinross in having a Member of Parliament. The Reform Act made a joint constituency of the two counties, augmented with detached areas of Perthshire and Stirlingshire. Before 1832 there had been only 16 voters in Clackmannanshire and 21 in Kinross, of the 16 voters in Clackmannanshire in 1831 the identity of 15 can be confirmed. These were as follows:-

Rt. Hon. James Abercromby, Hon George Ralph Abercromby, Alexander Buchanan of Arnprior, Sir Patrick Murray, Dart of Ochertyre, John Mowbray of Cambus, Robert Bruce of Kennet, Hugh Bruce Advocate, William Bruce Wine Merchant, Leith, Hon. and Rev. Archibald Cathcart, Hon. Alexander Abercromby of Birkenbog, Robert Jameson of West Grange, William Clark of Dollarbeg, Robert Wardlaw Ramsay of Tillicoultry.<sup>25</sup>

This list represented the senior families of the county, notably the Bruces and Abercromby's. The Rt. Hon James Abercromby, First Baron of Dunfermline was a Member of Parliament and became a Whig Minister (Master of the Mint). He went on to become The Speaker in the Reformed House of Commons (1835-39) and was elected to that post by a majority of ten over Martin Sutton.<sup>26</sup> Educated for the Bar, he was the MP for Midhurst and Calne in the Unreformed

Parliament and was one of the two Edinburgh MPs, (Jeffrey being the other one in the first Reformed Parliament). He also took a prominent part in Scottish business and was the Chief Baron of the Exchequer of Scotland from 1830 to 1832 and was a good friend of Henry Cockburn. George Ralph Abercromby, Second Baron of Abercromby, was a Lieutenant Colonel in the army and was Lord Lieutenant of the County of Clackmannanshire and also served on the committee of The Commissioners of Supply.<sup>27</sup>

The Bruce family was the most important resident landed proprietors in the Parish of Clackmannan and were descended from Robert the Bruce, with Clackmannan being for many generations the Seat of the Chief of the Bruce clan in Scotland. However Henry Bruce, the last Laird of Clackmannan, died in 1772 and with him the direct line of the ancient family.<sup>28</sup> Robert Bruce of Kennet also served on the Committee of the Commissioners of Supply in Clackmannanshire and was the former MP for the county (1820-1824) and had been the Conservative candidate in Clackmannanshire's first Reformed Election.

The vast majority of the Members of Parliament through this period in Clackmannanshire had all come from military backgrounds, Bruce, Adam and the Abercromby's, all these families having military traditions.

### **3. THE HOPES OF A NEW DECADE.**

The *Stirling Journal* in its first edition of 1831, gave us a reflection on the year 1830, summing up what it believed to be the main issues for the new decade. This gives us a good starting point in this study of Clackmannanshire in trying to find out who is governing and managing Scottish society during this period.

The editors opening remark,

*there are times and reasons in history of national, as well as in that of individuals that mark their transition from what they once were, to what they either now are or as likely soon to become.*

*These epochs in fact are nearly as numerous in the one sense as in other and though the*

*prospects of the individual are utterly insignificant in comparison with those of the species to which he belongs it is frequently not altogether unprofitable to compare great things with small, more especially which we see that the same general rules are equally applicable to the relations in which both stand to each other and society at large.*<sup>29</sup>

In looking at this statement there seemed to be a belief at least in some quarters that the state and its institutions will only survive if there is a partnership between it and society as a whole. The editorial informed us of a great change which had come over the spirit of European nations during 1830 with the dethronement of dynasties and the election of popular institutions on the continent of Europe.

In Britain, readers were reminded that the revolution in public opinion, which had been shown during 1830, started with a mass of time worn prejudices that had been consigned to oblivion without any one sign of regret. This was the result of the triumphs of a new popular feeling which the editor believed had taken place within the precincts of the council rooms and the corporation assemblies, which in the past had been notorious for years as scenes of 'venality and corruption'.<sup>30</sup> This gave an impetus to the public's mind by the new found expectations. The political status of the middle classes of society he argued must be raised and their voice allowed to be heard in the formation and administration of those laws, which affect their vital interests. The newspaper also asked whether the year 1830, will become one of the most memorable of landmarks 'in the ocean of time and as a token to posterity as one of the most important transitions which had taken place in the history of man in his collective capacity'.<sup>31</sup>

What appears to the newspaper to be the most important feature in the politics of 1830 was the attempt by the government in its ruling of the country to be wholly and solely for the benefit of the nation as a whole. The cry was for 'reform' and this meant reform of the House of Commons by changing the electoral system of voting for MPs. It was thought by many, claimed the editor, especially the expanding middle classes that an unreformed Parliament would not pass the necessary laws for the welfare of the country, and this would be a degree of 'self denial as would

devotion to the public weal.<sup>32</sup> The editor also stated that great proof of the necessity of these laws was that even those in opposing them were induced to admit the propriety of reforming the House of Commons whose first act, when reformed, would be the destruction of those monopolies which were against a general system of free trade. The belief that the political agenda had been altered, with the general principle granted that no ministry could exist in Britain whose great object was not the well being of the nation. Also with this principle in mind it was astonishing how quickly the most formidable objects which had clogged the chance of improvement were removed. With the economy under the auspices of a reformed House of Commons, the editor believed this would affect savings of which neither Earl Gray or the Duke of Wellington could dream of.

The editorial also goes on to tell us of the splendid triumph at home with the change of political thinking and the discussions on reform, but it had also been mixed with as he described 'the evil of such a malignant nature and that 1830 would form one of the blackest, as well as the brightest pages in the annals of the country'.<sup>33</sup> The blackest he was referring to was the suffering of the peasantry, which he believed had been driven to the systematic commission of crime, because their means of subsistence was eroded, with the result that the poor did not have the means to earn a living.

The government's reaction was to send out special commissions to hang and banish incendiaries (arsonists) and machine breakers, however what was worse in the editor's eyes was that this action did not obtain any security whatsoever against the return of 'such evils' which the commission was supposed to remove.

In the same year the farmers, especially in England, had evolved a daring and determined hostility to the system and turned a blind eye to the deeds of the arsonists around them, because they believed that these temporary losses would eventually lead to prominent gains with the 'abatement of tithes, taxes and the poor rate, which would follow in the footsteps of much mental suffering.'<sup>34</sup>



The editorial concluded with the statement that,

*we have only to say that our columns shall always be open to fair and impartial commentary on our own articles, and that how ever much we may err in judgement we shall yield to no one in devoted attachment to our patriotic King and constitution, and it shall be our aim while advocating the rights of the people never to lose sight of the true interests of the aristocracy.*<sup>35</sup>

What was evident from the editor's comments is that there was now a prominent and articulate middle class that was putting reform at the top of its political agenda and in the Stirling and Clackmannanshire area it had gained support for reform from their local newspaper which was pushing the values of the middle classes.

This push for more middle class representation in the running of the country's institutions was being picked up by the newspapers. A wealthy merchant Thomas McGrugger writing as Zenco in the *Caledonian Mercury*, called for an end to the choosing of MPs by the closed town councils 'what right, then have we to boast of a Parliament, to boast of freedom! To boast of being our own legislators, can that legislative be called ours in which we have no voice.'<sup>36</sup> However what he did want was in his own words

*the dregs of the populace disqualified by a natural ignorance and hebetude, which render them unfit to be their own directors, and therefore must be directed by others. But men in the middle ranks of life who generally constitute the majority of every free community cannot be excluded from a voice in the appointment of their representatives, because they would deny them the right to self government, for which they are qualified by their knowledge and extent of property, which must give them a weight in every free state, and a title to a share in the legislation.*<sup>37</sup>

#### **4. THE FIRST REFORM MEETING IN ALLOA.**

In Alloa a pro- reform meeting took place when the campaign for reform was beginning to rise to the fore in Scotland. In December 1830 a number of the inhabitants drew up a requisition to the sheriff substitute soliciting him to call a meeting in order to petition Parliament for reform;

however the sheriff substitute, Mr Ritchie did not support the idea and declined to call the meeting. As a result of this the reformers formed a committee and issued advertisements around the county informing the populace that a meeting had been arranged for Monday the 27<sup>th</sup> December, to discuss reform.

The *Stirling Journal* reporter noted that the turnout at the meeting was, 'very respectable although not very numerous.'<sup>38</sup> James Middleton was called to the chair, replacing Robert Bald a famous mining engineer who had played a prominent part in the community and had been prevented by illness from being present. The chairman quickly brought the meeting to the object of its purpose and told the audience 'that he considered it unnecessarily to recommend to such a respectable audience to adhere to the terms of the requisition or to preserve order while the business of the day was proceeding.'<sup>39</sup>

In moving the first resolution Mr McClaren of Carsebridge informed the meeting

*that it had given him great pleasure at last to see the inhabitants of Alloa aroused from their lethargy and had now come forward to express their sentiment with the then present state of representation in Scotland, which he declared did not deserve the name and no one no matter how bigoted in the old school of politics, could hold up their face to defend.'*<sup>40</sup>

He then went on to castigate the local magistrates for not calling the meeting under their auspices and assistance. However we must remember that the magistrates had gained their position through the very system the reformers were trying to change. He informed the meeting that the magistrates had taught them a lesson that would not be forgotten, namely that they could do their business very well without them. The speaker also took the stance, 'that they had not met with any factious intention of advocating any principles hostile to the glorious constitution of King, Lords or Commons.'<sup>41</sup>

This type of statement crops up often among the reformers during the campaign, implying that, yes they want the vote but not by a French type revolution or political system and they believed that the present system was a form of government, 'that is the best that human wisdom has ever

devised.’<sup>42</sup> This brought great applause from the audience. They also had no wish to bring down or try to undermine the “beautiful fabric of the constitution”<sup>43</sup> but only wanted to restore it to its original beauty and stability. He then went on to castigate the aristocracy of the country for having encroached on the liberties of the people and blamed them for the failing of Parliament with their ‘partisans and retainers’<sup>44</sup> and that the only way to rectify this encroachment, and to restore to the people their fair and proper status in the Commons was by giving them a vote in the choice of their representative. This he believed when accomplished would bestow the duty on the middling classes of society, ‘to take care that the people do not overstep the bounds of moderation and it will be for them (the middle classes) to hold the balance between the aristocracy and the great body of the people.’<sup>45</sup> Comments such as this give credence to the belief that the middle classes were only using the wider support of the people at large as a tool to force the government into granting the franchise for themselves, and had no intention in supporting the franchise to include the ordinary working man. As a side note to the debate on extending the voting franchise, giving the vote to women was never really contemplated in the run up to the 1832 Reform Act.

Mr McClaren then went on to argue that the system of representation in the counties and burghs of Scotland was defective, he explained that at the Union with England in 1707 the representation of Scotland in the British Parliament was fixed at forty five commoners and sixteen peers, which had been divided between thirty three counties and sixty six burghs, and asked whether these Members of Parliament had acted for the public good or their own aggrandisement. Parliamentary records, he argued would show that there had been only a few honourable exemptions, most of the MPs he suggested being the ‘constant trucklers’<sup>46</sup> to the ministers of the day, which has become a by word with their neighbours (England) and a disgrace to themselves. He was basically accusing some of Scotland’s politicians of putting England’s priorities before Scotland and its people and called the burgh elections ‘abominations’<sup>47</sup>. He informed the audience that they must look nearer home and especially in their own small county, and that they had a right to a

Member of Parliament as their own, not as a half. He explained that Clackmannanshire was the smallest county in Scotland being only fifty-two square miles in extent with a population of 15,000, which gave a density of two hundred and eighty eight per square mile, a density of population greater than any other county in Scotland. The county although small had a production level both in agriculture and manufacturing which he believed was more productive than most, explaining that the county was rich in minerals, commerce and manufacturing <sup>48</sup> yet the county only returned one Member of Parliament alternatively with Kinross. If the representation in Parliament was per population and tax revenue burden on the community, Clackmannanshire would have been entitled to elect three and a half MPs, with McClaren demanding that such facts ought to weigh with ministers when arranging the effective franchise for Scotland.

McClaren claimed that the town and parish of Alloa with a population of 6,000 was not represented at all except by the county voters, which at the last election amounted to fourteen freeholders, nine of whom were what was called paper voters, with the other five being the biggest owners of land and property in the county. McClaren claimed that of the fourteen gentlemen, many were not connected with the county, but had voted for the 15,000 population of the county. 'Can this state of things last?' <sup>49</sup> He also claimed that the Earl of Mar could send whoever he wanted to Parliament in the Clackmannanshire half of the seat. However he gave his support to Colonel Abercromby the sitting MP, as he believed that he would advocate the cause of freedom within the cabinet and 'lead the warriors of reform to victory in the field'. <sup>50</sup> The first resolution was then moved by Mr McClaren and accepted.

The second resolution was moved by a Mr Roy; his arguments for backing the resolution were that back in 1707 at the start of Union, Clackmannanshire had been an insignificant county; however in the 123 years since that union the county had completely changed through great improvement in agriculture and industry. However the system imposed on them for voting rights was entrenched in land ownership and therefore the elective franchise was vested in a very few individuals and he argued that there was hardly a resident voter in the county. It must also be kept

in view, he informed the audience, that it is not the proprietor of the land whatever may be the amount of the annual rent that has the right of voting, but the feudal superior. Roy stated that a resident proprietor with an income of £30,000 from the land without the superiority possessed no vote derived from such property, while the feudal superior can reside in London or Paris and only has to make his appearance in the county at the period of the election. He argued that in such circumstances the elective franchise was indisputably limited, with the result that there was little or no sympathy that existed between the parties possessing the property and the person that ought to represent them in Parliament. Mr Roy concluded that the extension of the elective franchise was absolutely necessarily to give a full and fair representation for Clackmannanshire due to its wealth and importance.

Mr Ritchie a member of the Alloa Reform Committee stated 'that it was gratifying for them to observe that there were so many of the burghs of Scotland lifting up their voices and crying unclean, and had been petitioning Parliament for purification.'<sup>51</sup> He then asked the audience to support his resolution to petition Parliament for an alteration to the electoral laws in Scotland to enable them both to strengthen the hand of the ministers and exonerate themselves. If successful he believed that there could be no doubt that as a people they would flourish, and as a nation become more independent.

The reporter from the *Stirling Journal* informed us, 'that it was most gratifying to observe the unanimity and harmony which had prevailed throughout the meeting and that no other feelings were manifested but a universal anxiety for the furtherance of the important measure which had been under consideration'.<sup>52</sup> The Chairman of the committee who had organised the meeting had been directed before hand to write to Colonel Abercromby, in order to ascertain whether he concurred with them in their sentiments on parliamentary reform. He had received a reply from the Colonel and informed the meeting that 'he agreed most cordially with the habitants of Alloa on the question of reform and was determined to support the measure and stated that if the committee entrusted him with the prosecution of their petition to the Commons, he would not

only present it but would give it his most decided support.<sup>53</sup> The meeting unanimously agreed to entrust the Colonel with their petition and issue it to the local newspapers.

Petitioning during this period was the legitimate and acknowledged route by which grievances and proposals might be brought to Parliament, either by or on behalf of those who were not directly represented. The volume and tenor of petitions was regarded as a reliable gauge of public opinion and would be expected to carry some weight by the petitioners such as the one issued from Clackmannanshire. (See appendix 2 for full details of the petition.)

From the details of the petition we start to see elements of Pentlands four nation approach to the reform crisis, the petitioners are asking for Scotland's representation to be increased as it is now a different country from the Union of 1707. However although they are appealing for increased Scottish representation they are also showing 'a warm attachment of the people to the government and institutions of the country.'<sup>54</sup>

## **5. THE REFORM BILLS PROGRESS THROUGH PARLIAMENT.**

The pro-reform tide was beginning to move quite strongly by the middle of 1830. George IV died in June; he was, totally against reform as were his appointed Prime Ministers. His successor William IV was far less politically experienced and probably because he had not reflected on the subject over much was not so antagonistic. However the death of George IV meant an election for Wellington and the Tories. In the election the Tories did not suffer too much, losing just thirty seats. They kept what would normally have been a working majority in the Commons. While a number of well known pro-reform Whigs actually lost their seats. However by the autumn of 1830, Wellington was on the defensive after a disastrously misjudged attempt to pretend that the unreformed Parliament had possessed the full and entire confidence of the country.

In Scotland the Tory ministry lost much of its support when it converted to supporting Catholic emancipation. Anti-papist feeling was still intense in Scotland and was usually met by furious public protest.<sup>55</sup> Support for the government ebbed quickly. Wellington left office in November to

be replaced by a coalition of Whigs and Liberal Tories who had defected from Wellington. It was headed by Earl Grey the first Prime Minister with a parliamentary reform agenda since Pitt the younger.<sup>56</sup>

Events then moved quickly from the middle of 1830. The Whig's Reform Bill was revealed in March 1831, which in reality was quite moderate. It did not allow for any secret ballot and the uniform voting qualification in the boroughs was designed expressly to ensure that very few of the new voters would be working class men. However in Westminster the proposed bill was greeted with alarm as they had counted the number of seats to be disfranchised and transferred. The bill was given a second reading in the House of Commons on Tuesday 22 March 1831, and in an unprecedented full house the bill was passed by one vote (302-301).<sup>57</sup> The Scottish representatives who voted for the bill amounted to thirteen of the forty-five possible. George Abercromby the MP, for Clackmannanshire voted for the bill.<sup>58</sup>

The bill passed over to the committee stage and was inevitably hacked to pieces. Grey asked for and received dissolution of Parliament from the King. In the forthcoming election in May 1831, it became a virtual plebiscite on reform, which produced the unequivocal result the Whig reformers wanted, with only six MPs who had voted against reform in the commons returned to the new Parliament with the pro-reformers having a majority over their opponents of nearly one hundred and forty.<sup>59</sup>

## **6. THE CLACKMANNANSHIRE PROCESSION AND DINNER IN SUPPORT OF REFORM.**

To support the Reform Bill going through the House of Commons in 1831, and with the fervour for reform beginning to bite into the consciousness of the people of Clackmannanshire the inhabitants of the county chose the day of the King's birthday, 26 May to show their support, which they believed was a proper day for the purpose, with the various trades and other bodies in and around Alloa preparing for eight to ten days before the festival.

The festival began early in the morning with the gathering of the trades and their bands from all corners of Clackmannanshire with some travelling from further a field. The town of Alloa had been decorated with arches erected in the principal streets with appropriate mottos, and the inhabitants vying with each other in the decoration of their windows, with flowers, shrubs and evergreens which had been provided by the Earl of Mar, who had supplied them from his plantation 'thus giving the town a splendour and glamour which was said to have been hard to surpass.'<sup>60</sup>

The procession was joined by various bodies at pre-assembled meeting points, where they proceeded with at least ten bands in attendance to Lime Tree Walk in Alloa, where the Earl of Mar's residence was located. Each division and trade in attendance had a banner which displayed mottos, while many of the trades carried models illustrating their different occupations, amongst them two joiners at work with a plane and saw and a highly polished steam engine, all moved by machinery. The shipwrights carried models of ships and the coopers bore a cask inscribed with the name of their favourite beverage 'Alloa Ale.'<sup>61</sup> A banner carried by the carters had the wording 'The horses are glorying that the asses are turned out.'<sup>62</sup> The *Stirling Journal* also records that the marchers were neatly and uniformly dressed and all were wearing scarves with the word 'Reform' inscribed.

At about 11.00 o'clock on the day the assembly was completed, it was said to amount to 13,000 including spectators. (The population of the whole of Clackmannanshire at the time was approximately 14,500) The procession then moved off in the following order; the shoemakers, wrights and carpenters, the tailors, hammer men and the masons. The Tullibody trades had also been in attendance which included the Alloa colliers, bakers, maltmen and weavers, with the Devon Company miners and workmen, followed by the carters on horseback. The cavalcade then made its way along what was called the shore by Forth Street, Castle Street, Broad Street, Kirkgate, Candle Street, and Mar Street then on to Tullibody the stronghold of Colonel Abercromby who was now the past MP for the county. On entering Tullibody a huge arch had



been constructed, on top was a bust of his Majesty the King adorned with a crown and flowers, under the bust could be read the following motto, 'may the one flourish and the other never die'.<sup>63</sup> One side of the arch bore the Abercromby arms and the other side was inscribed with a hand pointing to the road and a motto inscribed 'now there's a hand my trusty friend and gies a hand o thine.' Burns.<sup>64</sup>

Patriotism and loyalty to the King was a way to legitimise the cause of reform. The huge arch that had been erected at the entrance to Tullibody with the King's bust was important as it represented the reformers patriotic link with the country and its institutions. In the 1790s when reform was on the agenda the anti-reformers had claimed that the Radicals through their alliance with the workers and the middle classes were unpatriotic, this label stuck at the time, especially as the wars with France were at the top of the country's agenda. The weakness of the Radicals at the time was summed up by Lord Cockburn,

*the chief object at which our discontent was aimed was parliamentary reform, but this and other home bred ends were hid by a cloud of foreign follies which the Tories exhibited as demonstrations that the correction of domestic abuses was a pretence, and Jacobinism the truth. On this foundation they represented the whole lower orders as hostile to our institutions from which the desired and comfortable influence was that there was no salvation for the country except in the predominance of their own party.*<sup>65</sup>

The reformers by 1832 had learned to link King and country with reform, therefore making use of the un-patriotic label by the ruling classes redundant.

The Tullibody marchers then joined in the procession with their own banner which included the national flag (the report does not say if this is the Union flag or the Saltire), they also had the Abercromby family flag with its coat of arms and the motto 'Tullibody has served her country with valour in the field and firmness in the senate'.<sup>66</sup> These two colours had belonged to the late Sir Ralph Abercromby's first regiment. The procession then moved back towards Alloa by the Cambus road and was said to stretch for about a mile and a half. The Abercromby family had its

estates in Tullibody and the fact that the Tullibody contingent flew the Abercromby family flag on the march demonstrates the power of paternalism at the time. This power was reflected in their later voting patterns.

Lord Abercromby met the procession on its way to Alloa and took the opportunity of expressing his support and respect to the leader of the procession a Mr Menzies, who was described by the *Stirling Journal* as intelligent and respectable. The procession came to a halt and Lord Abercromby addressed Mr Menzies and those within hearing distance, he told them that it was impossible not to connect with the proud display of national character and feeling and recounted the motives of why they were there.

It was the birthday of their sovereign and as loyal subjects, he informed them *that it was their duty to express warmly and cordially their attention and devotion to his Majesties person, and their second duty, as it appeared to him, was to express their humble but sincere and unresigned acknowledgment to his Majesty and to his Majesty's government for the adoption of the measures which, he believed, could prove conducive to the permanent welfare and prosperity of the state.*<sup>67</sup>

In looking at the measures proposed, one in particular had interested the country, and that was reform, which Lord Abercromby informed the crowd that his Majesty's government had wished to pass during the last Parliament, but it had not been practicable. However this would now be the job of the new Parliament about to be elected. Lord Abercromby also informed them that it was their right to expect him to give a frank and unequivocal record of his opinion upon this great measure of state policy and approved of the principle in which the late bill had been founded. He had been persuaded that it would satisfy the wishes and expectations of the country and in doing so would give repose and confidence. He congratulated them on the order, regularity and good feelings, which then ensued during the business and duties of what he described as a proud and happy day.

Mr Menzies in turn informed his lordship that the procession had met for the purpose of celebrating the birth of His Majesty King William and especially for placing reform at its head. He expressed to Colonel Abercromby their highest esteem for his parliamentary conduct in supporting his Majesty's ministers in the 'glorious cause of reform,'<sup>68</sup> Menzies informed Lord and Colonel Abercromby

*that it was the opinion of the great body of people massed that the plan for reform brought forward by Lord John Russell should have satisfied every good and honest man because it had been a bill wise, generous and just and was therefore well calculated to service the peace, prosperity and happiness of the great empire.*<sup>69</sup>

The procession then moved back to Alloa and on to Clackmannan, which was still in 1831 the county town, where the marchers assembled and speeches were again given by Mr Menzies and Colonel Abercromby. With the meeting ended, the marchers then placed Colonel Abercromby on a chair and he was borne along on the shoulders of the people to the Tontine Inn where it was reported, he was to meet with a large party of gentlemen for dinner.

The procession then broke up and it was reported that not a drunk or disorderly person had been seen during the whole day, nor any angry looks or words exchanged. This showed the importance of respectability and that peaceful marches and demonstrations in favour of reform were to show that there was no danger to the state.

In the evening of May 28<sup>th</sup> 1831 a more illustrious gathering took place where, as reported the party of gentlemen had assembled for dinner in the Tontine Inn. The main purpose of the dinner was to show their appreciation to Colonel Abercromby for his support for the measure of reform both in Parliament and elsewhere. Mr James Erskine Esq. of Aberdons supported by Colonel Abercromby, Edwards Alexander of Powis, Robert McLaren Esq., Mr Bald and a Mr Ritchie, taking the chair. This meeting constituted a major part of the middle class of the area, and of course with the bill proposed by Lord Russell they would receive the vote, whereas most of the 13,000 who attended the earlier reform march would not be receiving the vote and never would.

The dinner opened with a speech from the chairman, Mr James Erskine Esq, which he dedicated to his Majesty's royal ancestors of the House of Hanover, to whom he believed the country owed a deep debt of gratitude. He believed that they were good Kings and that some of them had possessed many superior qualities. However he precludes this, by blaming the prejudices of a foreign education which had prevented them from having full feelings or being able to understand the interests of their rule. In referring to George IV, he stated that his general education had been shamefully neglected and his political feeling became biased because his early instructors 'were of a party anything but attached to the liberties of the country.'<sup>70</sup> This resulted in him being unable to hear the voices, or attending to the wishes of his people. He goes on to inform us that King William IV who had came to the throne in 1830, had been more happily situated and had been educated from his early youth in the navy, a profession that was subjected to severe discipline and he had been continually brought into contact with his inferiors. This he believed had led him 'to praise the frank and noble character of the British people and consider them the honest bulwark of the British throne and had their confidence and affection.'<sup>71</sup> He completed his speech with a toast to the health of King William. Again this demonstrates that the reformers are loyal to King and country.

The chairman in proposing a toast to Earl Grey informed us it was well known that he had been the constant and consistent advocate of reform during a long life. Grey had stood alone, or nearly alone, the supporter of what he regarded as 'this great measure.'<sup>72</sup> and had been guided by Charles James Fox himself a reformer who stood side by side with him, and informed us, that, 'if the spirit of this great and good man could now look down he would exult to observe the arrival of this period of reform when his favourite opinions had been fully adopted.'<sup>73</sup>

Colonel Abercromby then addressed the meeting and elaborated on the pre-reform system of representation and observed 'that it was clear that never could it be considered a proper and wholesome part of the constitution,'<sup>74</sup> that representatives should be returned for the people but not by the people to the number and extent that has been done for many years, and therefore it has

been thought expedient to disenfranchise a large number of what are usually termed rotten boroughs.

He also believed that there was an extensive and what he terms as a respectable class who had no share in representation of the country, and it was time to put this right. What he did not want was the Monarchy or the aristocracy to gain more power in the country, especially the aristocracy who he believes were an embarrassment to every government and were capable of bringing disaster to the country. The government therefore had extended the hand of justice and their confidence to a large a portion of their fellow countrymen, believing that they joined together more intimately and closely to each successive generation that made up the state for the mutual advantage of the whole.

He then confessed that he felt utterly at a loss to conceive any measure more calculated to promote future peace and unanimity of the country, believing that reform would infuse 'greater strength and vigour in every part of their institutions'.<sup>75</sup> Abercromby however alludes to one of the main reasons for reform which was to prevent a French style revolution by stating that, 'through these the never failing means to add greater stability and permanency to that which they must all stand or fall, their ancient and glorious monarchy.'<sup>76</sup>

Even with the Reform Bill gaining country wide support there was still a fear that reform could some how be snatched from the jaws of victory by some sort of coup d'état. Colonel Abercromby continuing his speech at the dinner had also stated that Lord Abercromby felt anxious that all classes should conduct themselves at this time in an orderly fashion, and they could not afford the slightest pretext of violence to those who were against the cause. He asserted that, the Reform Bill's final success had neither been accelerated nor tarnished by any illegal or unwarrantable means whatsoever. It therefore gave him much satisfaction to witness the temperate and orderly conduct of the people in general. However he accepted that in some instances violence had recently occurred in some parts of the country, which he deplored deeply and stated that Lord Abercromby also deeply deplored these actions, but had every reason for thinking that these

actions might have had mitigated circumstances, and that they could show the world the justice of their cause and the purity of their motives and intentions. He believed that when the excitement that the riots had produced had passed by, they will again see all ranks uniting in that one great and common cause, reform. Stating that 'this must be ever uppermost in the minds of all honest men and how they may best contribute to the peace and prosperity of their country.'<sup>77</sup> Admiral Adam now the MP for the area was elected on 20<sup>th</sup> May 1831, by the Kinross half of the constituency.<sup>78</sup> As will be seen in later chapters the Adam and Abercromby families were accused by the Tory opposition of making an alliance, which had a stranglehold on the constituency. This alliance had begun in the 18<sup>th</sup> century with both the House's of Abercromby and Blair Adam against the rule of Dundas, both being of the Whig persuasion, where as Dundas had been credited with spreading conservatism in Scotland.

## **7. THE REJECTION OF THE BILL IN THE HOUSE LORDS.**

Reform had been won in the House of Commons, but not in the House of Lords. The bill was causing excitement in Scotland, as could be seen in Edinburgh in early October 1831, on Thursday 6<sup>th</sup>, Friday 7<sup>th</sup> and Saturday 8<sup>th</sup> October, Waterloo Place was densely crowded with 10,000 people, who had been anxiously waiting for the arrival of the mail in the vicinity of the main Edinburgh post office. In Glasgow it was the same with the crowd anxious to ascertain the fate of the Reform Bill in the House of Lords.

However, the rejection of the Reform Bill by the House of Lords precipitated wide spread rioting in towns such as Nottingham and Bristol. The Whigs used this to strengthen their message that reform was now imperative to guard against revolution. Lord Grey addressing the Lords in November tried hard to persuade the antagonistic peers that his strategy of reform was far more preferable to the alternative. In Scotland the rejection of the bill initiated a great rush of pro-reform meetings in the country. In Aberdeen on the 24<sup>th</sup> October 1831, between 10,000 and 15,000 people met in support of the bill in a quiet and orderly manner. Five days later a similar

meeting in Bristol ended in the burning down of a sizeable portion of the town including the Mansion House, Customs House, and the Bishop's Palace.<sup>79</sup> There was nothing comparable in Scotland, with the Glasgow Trades Committee still urging moderation. In Edinburgh, the council of The Political Union set out to discourage every attempt towards outrage and to put down every attempt at unconstitutional insurrection.<sup>80</sup>

In Clackmannanshire a reform meeting had been arranged on the 17<sup>th</sup> Oct 1831, where the Friends Of Reform met for the purpose of voting an address to the King, 'which was to express their attachment to his Majesty's person and confidence in his ministers, and described their anxiety for the Reform Bill and beseeching his Majesty to exercise his prerogative to enable reform to be accomplished'.<sup>81</sup> Mr McLaren of Carsebridge proposed that a dutiful and loyal address should be presented to his Majesty embracing the measures for reform. In doing so he then took the occasion to point out the absurdity of the 199 peers 'who had been so infatuated as to fly in the teeth as it were of the whole nation and concluded by advising the meeting to refrain from the slightest appearance of violence, but at the same time to be firm, as their could then be no doubt of a favourable issue.'<sup>82</sup> Mr Ritchie seconded the motion and the proposed address was then read to the assembly by the secretary and unanimously approved.

The meeting was then addressed by Mr McKenzie, who was interrupted and informed that an 'immense concourse of people'<sup>83</sup> were standing outside the room demanding admission, however as the room was far too small to hold the crowd it was resolved that the meeting be adjourned to an adjoining field. It was reported by the *Stirling Journal* that when the meeting resumed in the field the numbers were astonishing, with upwards of 3,000 people assembled.

The scene in the field had been described by the *Stirling Journal* reporter as 'most imposing thus giving the town a splendour and glamour which was said to have been hard to surpass,'<sup>84</sup> where people of all ranks had been in attendance and had displayed the most intense interest in the business of the day. With bands of music preceding the trades who were in attendance, displaying their banners and had peaceably retired from the field highly satisfied with what had

been done, and in doing so they had asked the 199 Peers, if this had been proof of the people's indifference to the cause of reform? This refers to an argument by some of the anti-reform Peers that the population as a whole were indifferent to reform.

Meetings were also arranged in other parts of the county. In Kincardine a meeting of the magistrates of the area which included Tulliallan, was held on Friday 14<sup>th</sup> October 1831, where an address to his Majesty was unanimously agreed too. The assembled crowd included clergymen, ship owner's, merchants, manufacturers, farmers, tradesmen and other inhabitants of the town and parish. In the course of two to three hours the address had been signed by upwards of 600 individuals, and was forwarded without any loss of time to Earl Grey. This was 200 more than had signed the petition to the House of Lords previously, there was also 300 of the inhabitants of the area at sea who couldn't sign the petition.

In Alva the inhabitants of the village and parish also forwarded an address to the King, soliciting his Majesty to use all the means, which the constitution afforded him to ensure the passing of the Reform Bill.<sup>85</sup> This shows us that the clamour for reform was growing in the country and that the reformers were more and better organised than the anti-reform lobby.

## **8. PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES ON THE DETAIL OF THE BILL.**

Although the House of Lords had thrown out the bill, the details of the bill were still being debated in the House of Commons. On debating the Scottish Reform Bill in Parliament on 13<sup>th</sup> October 1831, Lord Althorp moved to resolve that a committee be established on the Reform of Parliament Scotland Bill. Lord John Russell spoke, and said 'it had been asserted in another place, that he had said the measure of reform proposed was not intended to be a final measure. What he had said was that if the measure did not work well for the people it could not be final and he had never relinquished his opinion that the measure would give satisfaction.'<sup>86</sup>

Certain aspects of the proposed Reform Bill were also discussed, such as clause three of the bill; this was the enumeration of the counties, one member severally or jointly being debated. Sir



George Murray proposed to move that all counties with more than 100,000 inhabitants should return two members. He moved that Aberdeen, Ayr, Edinburgh, Fife, Forfar, Lanark, Perth and Renfrew return two members. Lord Althorp contended that at the Union of 1707, revenue and population had not been taken into consideration in the allotting of representatives to Scotland. He believed the counties of Scotland contained a lesser number of electors than the smallest counties of England. He was supporting the view that any new Members of Parliament must be from the towns, because the population and wealth of the towns had increased much more than the population and wealth of the counties.

In the debate Mr Gillian had stated that what Scotland wished for was a rise in the quality of her representatives, not for an augmentation in their number. A Mr Croker asked whether Lanarkshire with 240,000 inhabitants (Lanarkshire had in 1831, 316,000) was only to have one member, while Cumberland with 150,000 was to have four representatives. He was also surprised to see Scotch men support such an unjust clause. He supposed that the learned gentleman (Mr Campbell) held a brief on the side of the bill. Mr Campbell replied that he held no brief and that it was the members for rotten boroughs like the right honourable gentleman, who had a brief, a client and a fee. Mr Crocker replied that he only spoke in jest for he did not believe that it would be to the learned member that on this important occasion government would entrust a brief. (Brief was where the majority landowner in the county picked the MP and paid him to represent his interests in Parliament.)

A Mr Mabery suggests that the bill would be a great boon for Scotland as at present it possessed, in reality no representation. Admiral Adam MP for Clackmannanshire and Kinross informed Mr Crocker that there were two counties in Scotland which were to have a member though one had only 8,000 and the other 11,000 inhabitants and therefore this counterbalanced the case for Lanarkshire.<sup>87</sup> Clackmannanshire was a county with 14,500 inhabitants and was represented by half a member.

Lord Althrop spoke and denied that there should be in Scotland the same proportion of members with respect to population as in England and stated that Scotland was a country placed under different circumstances and was surprised to hear ministers being accused of injustice to Scotland by members who were not for amending her representation at all. Again the members voted on clause 3 which resulted in a defeat for the amendment to the clause, 113 against the amendment and 61 for it.<sup>88</sup> It can be seen from the number of votes cast that not only Scottish MP's were voting on the Scottish Reform Bill, as Scotland only had 45 MP's at this time.

This argument on representation continued and in May 1831, the Lord Advocate entered into a row regarding Clackmannanshire. There was a fear in Scotland that the franchise would be narrowed in the Scottish counties by raising the qualifications from ten pounds to twenty or more for heritors and fifty pounds to a hundred for rental. The Lord Advocate stated that the hostility to the lower qualifications was founded on hasty and supercilious suggestions and that Scotland would regret it, if these people were listened to. He said that Lord John Russell had introduced the bill, with his estimate that each constituency would have a thousand voters, but with the returns received from the tax office, the number of electors would be 45,000 in Scotland out of a population of 2.3 million giving one voter for fifty five inhabitants which was narrow enough and therefore they were against any increase in the qualifications for voting. He argued that in England the new bill would increase the voters from 450,000 to 900,000, with the population being 14 million, giving them one elector for sixteen inhabitants. Therefore why should they reduce the number of voters in Scotland when our countrymen are better educated? He explained that the small feur in Alloa and Kinross would carry the elections and that it was alleged that in these counties the class of the heritor's was of a lower calibre, but he argued that at least two thirds of them would on all ordinary occasions be under the influence of the neighbouring great proprietors and even if this is an accident of the Scottish Reform Bill it is no justification for the disenfranchisement of ten pound heritor's in all the corresponding counties of Scotland. The government he informed us was against the doctrine that county members should only be the

representatives of landed property to the exclusion of all others. He questioned why the shipping, coal and the ironworkers of Clackmannanshire should not be represented as well as 'the ploughed and unploughed acres. Why should small towns such as Alloa and Kincardine be represented? But it should be done by, including them within the burgh or county'.<sup>89</sup> He referred to the county gentlemen who objected to sharing their franchise with the feurs of Alloa and Kinross. He said 'let these small towns be raised into districts or burghs, giving them the privilege of returning members at the electorate of the counties'.<sup>90</sup>

During further debates in Parliament in June 1831 it was agreed that Clackmannanshire would return one MP, and the area would now include for voting purposes part of the neighbouring parishes of Tulliallan, Culross, Muckhart and the Perthshire portion of the parishes of Logie, Fosway and the Stirlingshire village of Alva.<sup>91</sup>

## **9. ANTI- REFORM ARGUMENTS.**

The fight for reform was now hotting up. Although there did not seem to be any recorded anti-reform meetings in Clackmannanshire there were anti-reform meetings in other parts of the country, especially Edinburgh. To get a view of the anti-reformers arguments we can look at a meeting held in Edinburgh in November 1831,<sup>92</sup> which caused quite a stir amongst the press. The *Weekly Journal* reported that the meeting had taken place in the Edinburgh Assembly Rooms, which had been completely filled with 1,200 to 1,500 people. Some of the pro-reform press had been warning the reformers before the meeting to be on their guard and be at their posts to prevent any resolutions being carried which might lead to the supposition that an anti-reform reaction had taken place in the city, stating that measures had been taken to create divisions in the meeting. However the meeting's committee had stated publicly that those known to have reform sentiments would not be admitted.

Among the requisitionists, as the anti -reformers were labelled, was Dundas the Member of Parliament for Edinburgh, Professor Sir William Ray, seventy writers of the signet, sixty

advocates and eight Tory appointed Sheriffs of Scottish counties, with the *Weekly Chronicle* stating that ‘they were arraying in Edinburgh against the King’s Government.’<sup>93</sup> Some of the attendees, the paper acknowledged were respectable in the best sense of the word, however deeply regretted in finding them in such a list of attendees. It is significant that the *Weekly Chronicle* report indicated that there were eight Tory appointed sheriffs in attendance, it should be remembered that the Clackmannanshire sheriff had refused to convene a meeting for the reformers in the county. It had also been reported that the Duke of Buccleuch had been asked to attend the meeting but had declined, as did other members of the Scottish peerage.

It was now the turn of the pro-reformers to decline a meeting request which the Edinburgh Lord Provost had done with the anti-reformers. The *Weekly Chronicle* stating, that this was the first instance on record of a Provost of Edinburgh daring within the memory of man ‘to lift the heel against the House of Dundas on any public question’.<sup>94</sup> The meeting had been labelled by the press, as the grand and final muster of the Tories in Scotland. The organisers had made sure that no known reformers were allowed to enter the rooms hurling insults at their adversaries, who unfortunately were obliged to remain on the wrong side of the door. With the anti-reform committee gaining entrance to the assembly rooms by a back door.

Sir J. S. Forbes opened the meeting stating that he had a petition signed by over 300 inhabitants of Edinburgh (6,500 Edinburgh citizens had already signed a petition supporting reform) and trusted that they would agree with the resolutions. (See appendix 3 for a full of the Anti-reform resolutions)

The main speaker was a Professor Wilson (the writer a.k.a. Christopher North.) he called attention to the crises in public affairs and to the reform measure, which was lying before Parliament; he started with the usual praise for his Majesty and the British constitution. His first major point was to dismiss Scottish history and heritage, believing that it was of an ‘imaginative cast’<sup>95</sup> and that history to him only started in 1707, with the Union and the rule of the House of

Hanover, whereas the pro- reformers referred to the spirit of Bruce and Wallace in support of their cause.

He agreed that The British constitution at the time, had given happiness and prosperity which he believed had been diffused throughout the country, and therefore could not be called one of 'pure and perfect rottenness'<sup>96</sup> as it had been represented by the reformers. He explained to his audience that the present system was contrived in the time of Henry VI, that back then there was a forty shilling freehold, which was now equivalent to sixty pounds a year in 1831, This voting franchise evolved from the practise in medieval boroughs of occasionally eating in public to establish that one was a freeman and not a serf.<sup>97</sup> This term of use did not apply in Scotland, with the burghers representing the trading classes. His argument being that by the constitution as existing in 1831, the yeomanry was represented by the working class and the aristocracy, therefore Henry VI great constitution would be lost, if the proposed Reform Bill was made law and assured us that the people of the country never enjoyed more freedom than from the time of the Glorious Revolution to the resignation of the Duke of Wellington. In discussing the press he stated 'that the liberty of the press has justly been called the palladium of liberty and had been more freely encouraged than in any other country in the Europe'<sup>98</sup>.

On the constitution, he doubted if it could be improved by such means as those proposed and suggested that reform would take from the working classes their right of franchise, and had been told a thousand times that all of the people were for the Reform Bill. He then entered into a distinction between what he called the people and the populace and observed that out of the twenty million which he supposed might be the population of the country; there were many millions who had no education and whose business was to till the soil, and therefore could not be expected to have any great judgement on questions of government or politics which had divided the wisest and most enlightened men in the land.

He then referred to the division of opinion in the House of Commons at the time, although giving all due credit to the majority for the sincerity of their opinion and the priority of their motives, he

gave more credit to the minority, who he believed were most honourable and who 'their enemies fear from the bottom of their hearts'<sup>99</sup>. He also praised the Houses of Lords whom he characterised 'as a body comprising the most illustrious names in history, which had scattered before them the enemies of their country and carried on Britain's thunder to the outermost bounds of the earth.'<sup>100</sup>

Another point in his argument against reform was to bring on to his side the Scottish and English universities, where he believed 'the ligneous youth had been inspired by all those lofty arguments which breathed in the works of Milton and Newton and countered that in all the great seminaries of education the question of reform was opposed by an ever powering and educated majority'.<sup>101</sup> He then took a swipe at the Church of Scotland, who he stated had not carried out its duties correctly and had been too meek in the face of the reformers, but went on to praise the Church of England,

*which had rendered herself illustrious by the genius and virtuous of her sons, and at no time he would say from his personal knowledge was the bench of Bishops filled with men of greater learning and piety, who had raised themselves from the ranks of the people by their genius, their scholarship and their virtue*<sup>102</sup>.

He purported to have personal knowledge of many of these distinguished persons and their academic studies and challenged any persons to deny their permanencies, eloquence and knowledge.

He defended the Conservative Party and refuted that they were law lords and not friendly to their tenants, claiming that these men were ready to lay down their lives for their country. They had fought its battles in all climates and in all countries and 'had dyed the sands of Egypt and the most distant seas with their blood.'<sup>103</sup> They possessed the love of the people and were ready to do anything for the people, but everyone must know that it is not the business of the working classes to amend to politics, they had other duties to perform which were more urgent, such as reading a book, referring to the bible, which the Covenanters had read on the hillside, surrounded with

perils, their hope being cut of, but their structure and the lure of liberty still surviving. Concluding his speech he expressed the hope that the present excitement in the country would soon subside and calm prevail, and felt confident that the Conservative Party would enlighten the country, as it was their duty to speak out on their sentiments to the nation. He was sure that hundreds would be ready to come forth and make a firm stand in their defence and in defence of their liberties and the constitution.<sup>104</sup>

Mr George Walker proposed the second resolution; informing the audience that the anti-reformers had been castigated because they had opposed the measure, and as being opposed to the measures they were against the improvement of the conditions of the majority of the people. If he could believe that the bill as proposed would benefit the lowest class, he for one would be ready to give up his stance against the bill, but was convinced that the sole effect that would be produced by the Reform Bill would be disappointment, 'as it would undermine the very foundations upon which the constitution rested'.<sup>105</sup>

Mr Walker then went on to give us an insight into the accusations against the unreformed Parliament and the anti-reformers, by the pro-reform lobby. He considered the various arts that had been used to produce the excitement of the reform campaign, and little wondered that the country was in a fervour. 'Parliament has been held out by the public and the press as consisting of a set of persons who had been engaged in a pitiful scrabble for places, and in order to carry on the government of the country they had recourse to such corrupt interests for the purpose of maintaining an undue influence over the country'.<sup>106</sup> They (anti-reformers) denied that such was the characteristic of either House of Parliament and had called upon their opponents for proof to that effect; however they could only produce the 'Black List'.<sup>107</sup> which he believed was completely harmless. (The Black List was a directive of the *Black Book*, or *Corruption Unmasked* which was published in 1820 by John Wade who was originally a journeyman in the wool trade; today he would be called an investigative journalist He had been a formidable researcher. In his book he dealt with alleged graft and corruption in public service, pointing his finger at the police

force, the Monarchy and court, the aristocracy, clergy, the Bank of England and the East India Company)<sup>108</sup>.

He also dismissed the claim by the reformers that having such a reform measure carried into law would lessen the burden of taxes and do away with the Corn Laws. He stated, that this type of language was used only where they, pro-reformers thought it would be acceptable, as in urban areas but in some parts of rural England where such a reform measure would be regarded as a great evil, claimed that they contemplated no such change.<sup>109</sup> In other words they resorted to a well used political tactic.

He then attacked Lord Grey, regarding his statement 'that population was the foundation of representation'.<sup>110</sup> He asked what would be the consequences, and of what purpose would a House of Parliament be if the Reform Bill was passed. Lord Grey, had informed them that speed was of the essence and there was a danger in delaying the bill, and any delay would only make the reformers come forward with more demands, but he believed that there was no great portion of the intelligent and educated who thought that any great change was required to the constitution. Many of these people, the middle classes were not aware of the extent to which the bill was to carry them. Grey only wished it to be carried for the purpose of allaying the storm which they were told to expect and believed that the middle classes would accept some smaller measure of reform than was being proposed.

Mr David Milne, Advocate, then informed the meeting of the perils of changing the constitution; he blamed the government for misleading them, as at the initiation of reform the minister's tones were moderate, but now features of the Reform Bill had been greatly altered since it was first introduced. He confirmed that Lord Grey had stated at the outset that his measure of reform would be limited by a due regard to the settled institutions of the country, and that he would resist all such sudden and violent changes in these institutions, but Mr Milne asked if the government ministers had remained true to that pledge to the country and to themselves? 'Is it not rather true that they have made an attempt to make breaches in that constitution in order to raise it to its



foundation and reconstruct some systems of their own on its ruins?"<sup>111</sup> He described the latest Reform Bill, as gone infinitely further and to a lower scale of franchise than the previous was offering. His argument was based on the Lord Advocate's statement in Parliament when he brought in the Scottish Reform Bill, that since the present (1831) system was evil in all its details it would be better to take that system down altogether. The speaker was in no doubt that such statements would lead to the overturn of the constitutions. 'It had also been stated that the people could do without the peers but the peers could not do without the people and therefore it was a requirement of the reformers that the system should be pulled down altogether and not a rag to remain of the old British constitution,'<sup>112</sup> stating that the philosophy of the old system was extolled by such writers as William Parley, Adam Smith, Pitt, Wyndham and Canning. The reform proposed was calculated to prohibit the independence of the Scottish peasantry, undermining their roots and would degrade them to the conditions of serfs.<sup>113</sup>

The other resolutions were again more deliberations than discussions with more of the same reasoning as had gone before. The complete address with the motions attached was entrusted to the county and the city members who were present at the meeting with the intention to forward it to the Duke of Buccleuch, in order for him to present it to the King. The *Weekly Courier* reported that when the meeting was completed the committee departed as it had come by the back door.<sup>114</sup> When the anti-reform meeting was taking place inside the Assembly Rooms, another was taking place outside the locked doors, with the prevailing argument of possession turning away those who could not gain entry by the main doors or access to the balcony. The pro-reformers constituted a meeting in the open street outside the Assembly Rooms, where an ad hoc committee stood on a stairway opposite, with the numbers of people reported in attendance amounting to approx 3,000. Among those in attendance were a mixture of the Edinburgh business and professional classes such as the Edinburgh booksellers Mr Adam Black, Mr Caldwell, Mr Tait, Mr Arnold and many others.<sup>115</sup> They had intended to move amendments to the advertised Tory resolutions. Mr William Ayton, advocate, addressed the meeting complaining that they had

assembled because they had been called by the requisition to a public meeting, but when trying to enter the assembly were debarred admittance having filled it with their own people.

Declaring that 'they were the real meeting; those up there are the mere hole and corner gentry, the gentry of the back door.'<sup>116</sup> He challenged them on their point, that they had attached themselves to his Majesties person and asked why they think that the Tories have a monopoly on that loyalty. He also tore into the latter part of the anti-reformers statement that they are tied into the constitution of the country with the House of Lords.

*However they have got no attachment to the British constitution'? The bill which was thrown out by the Lords, which the people are pledged, and was intended to restore the constitution to its original purity to make representation a reality, and not a mere farce as it is at present. The people were supposed to be represented, while in fact they have nothing to say in the elections of the members of the House of Commons.*<sup>117</sup>

He also argued that if they are to pay taxes, then why they have no say or influence on the legislature, nor in the enactment of those laws by which they are governed therefore, 'no taxation without representation'. This was a well used slogan in the American war of independence with Britain.

One of the strongest arguments he made was on the subject of corruption, which the anti reformers had disputed

*is it not a fact, that this country has been long governed by a corrupt faction, which has never on any one occasion helped to sacrifice the prosperity of the empire. The rights and liberties of the people to their own selfish advantage. Why gentlemen, the hole and corner gentry above there will perhaps say, that this is as it ought to be and they are furious at the idea of putting a stop to a system, by which they are enabled to put their hands into your pockets to draw the greater part of their incomes from taxes wrung from the people and from the hard earned gains of the poor.*<sup>118</sup>

When summed up the anti-reformers were basing their objections on three main issues, the population, ostensibly the working classes were not intelligent enough or capable of

understanding political matters. That the present system of government was the mother of all Parliaments, therefore no system could improve it, and finely what comes through visibly was the fear of being swamped by the working classes if they received the vote, as they believed the working classes would only vote to their own betterment against that of the country as a whole. In reading their petition to Parliament there is not one reference to Scotland only to the British constitution and the House of Lords. The 'no campaign' was solely reliant on keeping the 'status quo'.

## **10. VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION.**

The Reform Act of course had caused considerable excitement with people believing it to be a great cause, this created conditions where it was extremely difficult to hold opposing views openly in Kincardine, or villages such as Sauchie and Tullibody.

During the campaign for electoral reform in Clackmannanshire and the surrounding areas, there had been reports of threatened violence and intimidation in the local newspapers. A report in the *Stirling Journal* dated 26<sup>th</sup> June 1831, claimed that contracts were being entered into not to employ any tradesmen who did not support reform or support reform candidates, which the author described as a 'threat to derange all the relations of society and this was the type of liberty Robespierre had established in France and if not discovered it may lead to the same horrible consequences as occurred during the French revolution'<sup>119</sup>. He also complained of the reformers and their mobs who marched through Falkirk, which took place on 14<sup>th</sup> May 1831, and informed us that not one of them was a ten pounder. The editor of the newspaper cautioned the 'bairns' and their neighbours to beware and not to let their zeal outstrip their prudence as this would only give credence or encouragement to a system of mob intimidation which would be distrustful to any cause and he wonders who had 'the infamy of importing the worst measure of Irish intimidation into the peaceful county of Stirling,'<sup>120</sup> The organisation accused of carrying out the contract practise was the Grahamston Mechanics Institution.

Another report in the *Stirling Journal* dated 29<sup>th</sup> Dec 1831,<sup>121</sup> described an incident in the village of Blairlogie and its surrounding area. Placards had been put up in the village and the local vicinity against a number of the inhabitants that had allegedly subscribed their names to a petition against the Reform Bill. The placards stated the following.

*Notice is hereby given that as many as have signed their names to the said paper, if not erased will have the pleasure of a little incendiaries rather nearer their dwellings than they would perhaps relish, however as there is no advantage wished to be taken, sufficient time will be given to deliberate on the measures the subscribers think best and intimations may be given either in placards or any other way they think best to adopt.*<sup>122</sup> It had been signed, 'a friend of reform'.

This threat was taken very seriously as the forty-two accused villagers paid for an advertisement in the *Stirling Journal* within a few days of placards appearing in the village. (See appendix 4 for names of the accused)

All had been accused of signing a petition to the House of Commons and the House of Lords against the Reform Bill.<sup>123</sup> The petition had been raised by a Captain Richard Dundas Esquire, younger of Blair who was accused by the above residents of duping them into signing the petition. They stressed that they had thought they were signatories to a loyal address to be presented to his Majesty the King, however they suggest that Captain Dundas had two more papers, which were petitions to the House of Commons and the Lords which they had not realised. They then stressed that 'to a man they are rather favourable to a measure of reform,'<sup>124</sup> this however they said would be left to the wisdom and judgment of the legislature, being perfectly convinced that the legislature would act in such a way as would be good for the nation in general.

They claimed that they placed the above advertisement with the newspaper due to the placards and other threatening intimidations, and had found themselves and their property in imminent danger. The editor of the *Stirling Journal* wrote a rider within the paper, which rather than supporting or clarifying the matter tended to muddy the water. The editor informed us that due to

the number and respectability of the signatures to the advertisement he considered it his duty to copy their letter verbatim but stressed that he can not believe that a gentleman of Captain Dundas's high honour and character could be guilty of the accusations being made by the correspondents. It also appeared to the editor that there must be some misapprehension on the part of the inhabitants of Blairlogie and cautioned his readers to suspend their judgement until Captain Dundas had issued a statement on the subject, which they would duly print. This newspaper stated would be 'fair to any man particularly to one of the rank and profession of Captain Dundas,<sup>125</sup> who they believed could not, 'without the strongest evidence be supposed capable of descending to conduct of deception or cunning of any sort'<sup>126</sup>. However he also described the author of the placard signed as a friend of reform 'to be one of the most base description and must be strongly reprobated by every real friend of reform and they hoped that the author of the placard would be discovered and his name given to the public authorities for prosecution.'<sup>127</sup> Informing the readers that this is the true way to treat all incendiary threats and that no man should be intimidated by this type of threat, and they should stand up and use all their energies to uphold the law and maintain public order, in which alone the real security of reformers as well as their opponents can be found.<sup>128</sup>

The fear of violence and revolution in the country was a live issue and taken seriously by the ruling classes, who were still wary of the mob, which they believed was made up mainly from the working classes. Even though the Whig proposal for reform did not include the working classes, it was argued that the proposals did deserve the support of the working classes since it would ultimately lead to a further extension, the desire being to get any measure through in the first instance.

The Glasgow Trades Committee following a lead from Paisley held a reform dinner in January 1831, inviting the other reform groups of the Liberal landed classes and the merchant princes with the objective to condemn. 'The deluded brethren in the south who had succumbed to violence and riot.'<sup>129</sup> The working class reformers on the other hand, were keen to see the campaign broadened

and organised pro-reform meetings in which any idea of using violence to achieve their ends was deliberately eschewed.<sup>130</sup> The idea was entertained by the masses that physical force would ultimately be necessary to wrench a liberal measure of reform from the aristocracy.

It was also a recurring theme in *The Herald of the Trades Advocate*, that the style of 1817 and 1820 was no longer applicable. 'We prefer a gradual remodelling of the constitution to a violent and otherwise inevitable revolution.' When worries about the determination of Grey's government to continue the struggle with both King and Lords led to renewed demonstrations, the continual refusal of the King to create peers, led to the resignation of Grey's government in May 1831. It was also Wellington's vain attempt to form a Tory one that led to an immense outcry from the country, echoing old fears that Wellington was planning a coup d'état and the establishment of a military government.

There were no riots in Scotland that compared to those that took place in Nottingham, Derby or Bristol during the reform crisis, although in Edinburgh after the second reading of the Reform Bill in the commons, there was an orgy of window breaking by a mob said to be 10,000 strong, as *The Herald of Trades Advocate* put it 'they (the authorities) will strain their eye sight before they see any movement in this quarter.'<sup>131</sup>

## **11. REFORM ACT CELEBRATIONS AND THE FIRST POLITICAL SPEECHES.**

To celebrate the passing of the 1832 Reform Act, a procession and gala day had been arranged by the Alloa traders of the county on Friday 20<sup>th</sup> August where a holiday had been declared. The march was marshalled by Thomas Ritchie Esquire (Bowhouse) and Robert McLaren Esquire (Carsbridge) and was massed in five divisions, headed by Colonel Abercromby and Admiral George Adam MP. The first division was made up of one hundred and twenty men from the Devon Iron Works with the male citizens of Clackmannan following, they were headed by Mr Robert Bruce the forthcoming Conservative candidate for the new counties.

The second division was made up from the Alloa colliery miners, artisans and pioneers under the direction of Robert Bald mining engineer, and a Mr Craich who was the manager of the colliery. It was said that this division consisted of five hundred men. The third division was made up from the trades of Alloa, consisting of weavers, glass blowers, hammermen, brickmakers, wrights, coopers, bakers, brewers, maltsmen, carpenters, shoemakers, tailors and the schools. The fourth division was made up by the reformers of Tullibody and Cambus. The fifth division was made up of the farmers, tenants and farm servants of the county. As will be seen from the new voters list most of the people present and their descendants would not have the vote for at least another forty to sixty years.

Each division and its trades had made up banners with slogans, which gave us an insight into the workers thoughts and hopes with the passing of the Reform Bill, some are described as follows:

The Devon Iron Workers banners stated 'The King God bless him, Russell, Brougham and Grey are men for whom the nation ought to prey, we asked reform they heartened to our prayers, and heaven has listened both to ours and theirs.'<sup>132</sup>

'Let life reform be used as the best men to make and keep our House of Commons clean and prove by works we know whatever our station that righteous alone exalts a nation'<sup>133</sup>

The miners from Clackmannan all wore blue silk sashes with a motto in gold "The Bloodless Reformation of 1832"<sup>134</sup> with the men of Clackmannan's banner reading 'Scotland is Free.'<sup>135</sup>

The Alloa miners brought in an interesting Masonic dimension as some of the miners organisations modelled themselves on Masonic lines. Their banner read 'Alloa colliery, loyal Caledonian miners of the very ancient order of St Joseph constituted in the year from the renovation of the world from chaos 2315' on the other side of the banner was a bee hive and under it the words "origin of monarchy" with the words 'political hive and without a sovereign we can not exist'.<sup>136</sup>

The men around Bald all had Masonic batons and Bald was decorated with a medallion with the cross of St Andrew and the thistle. Their band was dressed in the Earl of Mar tartan, another

banner read 'Triumphant be the Thistle Unfurled.'<sup>137</sup> The weaver's banner was also quite interesting, their banner read 'Liberty gained by knowledge, union and presence of the people and let agriculture and commercial interests be equally represented and recognised'.<sup>138</sup> It had always been argued that the weavers were well read and self educated, this banner would reflect that opinion.

These banners demonstrated again that the reformers had been showing loyalty to the King and were also proud that the reform battle had been bloodless and that no matter what status you were born into, that Parliament no matter who was representing it must not be corrupt. The Scottish dimension of the banners is interesting as it could be surmised that the people thought that a new reformed Parliament would be able to represent and deal better with Scotland's problems which again backs up Gordon Pentlands four nation approach to reform and brings in elements of Morton's 'unionist –nationalist' argument describing a movement that was nationalist and British in calling for greater access to English liberties, in order to remedy the peculiar infirmities of the Scottish political system.<sup>139</sup>

At the assembly field a banner was presented to a Mr Kidd, a shoemaker who had represented the Alloa trades. The banner which was gifted by the Right Honourable Lord Abercromby and was presented by Colonel Abercromby, (Mr Kidd's name appears on the new electoral list and was registered as voting for Admiral Adam.) The banner was a token in respect for the good and exemplary conduct which had characterised the actions of the trades who had been agitating for reform, with Colonel Abercromby feeling quite satisfied that in 'giving the banner to them they would never unfurl it, but in a right and just cause'<sup>140</sup>.

Mr Kidd, it was reported was a reformer of over forty years and had suffered in the great cause of reform, and had always looked forward to this day to celebrate 'the glorious and triumphant cause of reform.'<sup>141</sup>

In his speech he talked about the trades never dishonouring,



*the signal token of reform, however if their rights of reforms were attacked by their greatest enemy the antis, the trades of Alloa would be ready to rally round the standard and would show that they would not suffer any of their just rights and liberties to be invaded, but would continue firm in the great cause in which they were engaged to the last in order that their privileges were handed down in purity to the next generation.*<sup>142</sup>

A reply speech was made by Robert Bald who was well respected in the community, although we will see in chapter three not exactly popular with his employees. The speech gives us a good insight into the thinking of the Whig reformers of the time and what the perceived scenario for the country would have been if reform had not taken place. Bald had talked to the Alloa traders before on the subject and congratulated them and the county on the completion of a great measure of reform and on the prospect which it opened up. His speech was delivered in a hustings as he referred to it in a field in Clackmannan as a spot 'where the most noble and industrious Scotsman King Robert the Bruce occasionally resided after having achieved the liberties and independence of his country,' (cheers.)<sup>143</sup> He made the argument that the change in the system of representation would break up the distant reserve which existed between the upper and lower ranks of society and now with them being in contact 'the alpine height which separated them from social intercourse might be removed'.<sup>144</sup> He believed that with the good will and sympathy that would be established this would be conducive to the highest interest of all classes by blending them together in a bond of mutual esteem and affection. He praised their firmness, determination and patience which they used throughout the struggle, especially in their peaceable and orderly conduct that they had used throughout the campaign for reform.

Bald then handed the platform over to Admiral Adam who started by congratulating the gathering on gaining the object they had in view in such a constitutional and peaceable manner with a bloodless victory, which he stated secured the support of the middle classes without whom, he informed them, they could not have gained reform and urged them to continue to act in this way so as not to separate them. This is interesting as Adam is suggesting that if it was not for the

support of the lower classes there would not have been the impetus for the establishment to back reform. Adam then went on to explain in his own words how reform had come about and who had been responsible for the victory.

He then took the opportunity to give an election speech, informing the audience of what type of government he is looking for and claimed that the main object was good and cheap government. He stated that instead of having a large portion of the members of the House of Commons nominated by burgh proprietors, he believed that there would be a great majority of them being sent by the people. He lamented about the burdens of heavy tax on the country combined with 'an enormous load of debt.'<sup>145</sup> However he told his audience that they could not expect any great sudden relief from the tax burden, but they may look forward to the people's voice being heard in the innermost recesses of the House of Commons, and they would have their say in measures to be brought forward within the Parliament.

He then warned the assembled gathering about voting for candidates who were against the bill, (reference to Bruce), he maintained that they 'have now got the bill, the whole bill and nothing but the bill'<sup>146</sup> and gave the new electors among the crowd an opportunity of ascertaining the grounds upon which he solicits their suffrage by entering into an explanation of certain misstatements which he believed had been circulating among them by his opponents, to discredit his candidacy and family. He criticised Bruce without, naming him, but obvious to everybody, he believed that Bruce had been opposed to the bill and he believed that Bruce was still as hostile as ever 'that now it is law he is going to support it'.<sup>147</sup> He patronises Bruce by saying that considering the fine estate he has in this part of the county, not to mention being a member of the Commissioners of Supply, Adam believed that Bruce was too good a subject to refuse obedience to the law and stated that 'how could any man lay his hand on his heart and say that he would have supported the bill if it had not been law'.<sup>148</sup>

In the new joint constituency of Clackmannanshire and Kinross one of the planned changes was to add the areas of Tulliallan, Culross, Muckhart and Foscaway from the county of Perth to the

new constituency (Tulliallan and Culross were absorbed), also it should be pointed out that the Abercromby's were the biggest landowners in Tulliallan. Adam then referred to this and informed his audience that Sir George Murray in Parliament (who had been Colonial Secretary in Wellington's government and the sitting member for Perth) had been induced through the elections of Mr Bruce or his friends to object to the removal of the parishes from the county of Perth. He complained that his opponents had not been above board and stated that 'I do not actually say that Sir George Murray was spoken to for the purpose or that Mr Bruce did, but a report is in circulation that they did',<sup>149</sup> and he suspected that Sir George did object to the disjunction and annexation referred, and believed that the reason which they assigned for doing so was that it would have the effect of throwing the election entirely into the hands of Lord Abercromby and his father. He told the audience that he rose in Parliament and opposed Sir George Murray when he made his objections, but the report circulating only gave Murray's side and entirely omitted his reply, which was, that so far from the junction doing any harm to the county of Perth it would do the constituency good by rendering it more compact not a narrowing, as was the objection if the county of Perth was to have two members.<sup>150</sup> He told them that he had presented petitions from all the parishes not only in favour of the bill but also in favour of the junction; therefore no arguments regarding these parishes being against the move could be used.

Adam's stated that the other objection that Sir George had brought up in Parliament was that the family influence in these areas by Lord Abercromby would influence the voters which Adam refuted, saying that the Abercromby's held no more influence than any other landowner in the same position. Lord Abercromby he explained took a great interest in the welfare of the people who in turn looked up to him for protection and advice and stated that 'I hope that we would never see the day when such conduct did not and should not, possess his legitimate influence'<sup>151</sup> and backed his argument up by saying that the Earl of Mar had a great influence in Alloa where he is Lord of the manor but no objection had been raised in this area.<sup>152</sup> On his own father's influence in Kinross he argued that this is was not possible because of the make up of the

constituency, the land had been broken up into smaller areas and was independent of any landlord and if they did have any influence it was a legitimate influence.<sup>153</sup>

Looking at the 1832 election results from Tulliallan the opposition had a point. In Tulliallan out of eighty-four votes cast only two went to Bruce, so it would appear that the Abercromby family did have a big influence and it can be easily seen why the Bruce camp did not want Tulliallan to be within the new constituency.

Another accusation directed at Adam was that there had been a compact between his family and the Abercromby's, which he refuted 'that there is no such thing apart from a determination to act together when great measures for public good were at stake, where giving freedom of elections to the people can be constructed into such a compact.'<sup>154</sup> He also countered that Bruce had visited Sir George Montgomery, a large proprietor in Kinrosshire to gain his support for the election and told them that Bruce in turn promised to support Sir George's son at a future election, informing the crowd that 'Sir George's son at this stage is only fourteen. Which then is the more honourable sphere of compact'<sup>155</sup> he left for the electors to decide.

Another accusation which was circulating about Adam's family was the subject of pensions that the family was receiving from the public purse; the allegation being that they received between £25,000 and £28,000 a year. He countered this allegation by stating that only one member of his family received a pension and that was his brother Sir Frederick Adam, whom he stated was a distinguished and gallant officer who had never been an hour absent from duty since he entered the army under the late brave Sir Ralph Abercromby. (Who had been the hero of Aboukir and Alexander in defeating the French and died in battle. The King in appreciation created his widow Baroness Abercromby of Aboukir). Adams brother during service also had received wounds in battle and that these wounds, which had been in the hand and arm were equivalent to losing a limb and so received a customary pension.<sup>156</sup> His brother was also at present the Governor General of Madras a situation which he admitted was of 'considerable emoluments,'<sup>157</sup> and his father was a retired law judge who of course retained his salary. He referred to his other brother

who had been appointed to the Generalship of the Court of Chancery and asked 'is it fair, is it honourable to represent the accumulated salaries of his family for public services as so much money taken unwarrantly from the public purse or that they receive twenty five or twenty eight thousand for doing nothing.'<sup>158</sup>

Bruce had been sitting on the platform when the speech by Adam had taken place and by all accounts had been surprised by the venom of attack by Adam; he came forward to speak but could not obtain a hearing for some time owing to the hissing and uproar that prevailed within the crowd. However the bulk of the audience did not take part in this and eventually he was allowed to speak. He told the audience that after what Adam had said in reference to his personal conduct he had a right to reply. He stated that he came to show his personal presence and that he was a friend of reform and would give the bill 'all the support and effect in his power.'<sup>159</sup> He pledged himself to see that the bill was carried into effect and declared that 'if any man does not believe that it is no fault of his'.<sup>160</sup> He told his audience that there were parts of the bill that he had not approved of, which did not go down too well with the audience but he declared that he never did oppose the bill and stated that he never attended any meeting of any anti-reformers and had never signed a petition against it.

He then went on to answer the misstatements regarding his own conduct which 'the gallant Admiral has adverted'<sup>161</sup> Regarding the meeting with Sir George Montgomery he had not offered to coalesce with his son, which brought tremendous hissing from the audience, at this point Admiral Adam had to come forward and begged that the assembled hear Mr Bruce. After this interruption Bruce was allowed to continue. He assured the audience and the electors of the combined counties that he did not say to Sir George Montgomery that he would coalesce with his son in the manner described by Adam, and that he never offered to coalesce with his son at all, he had only gone to pay his respects to Sir George as a man of property and influence and in conversation had brought up that if there was a coalition between the families of Lord Abercromby and Adam it would be in Sir George's interest to support himself but stated that he

never used the expression of 'family compact'<sup>162</sup> and only referred to the mutual good services the two families had done for each other as the grounds of the supposed coalition. He then informed the audience that a report had also gone round the area that he had been put forward by the Conservative Party which he denied. He stated that he belonged to no party nor did he ever belong to any political club in his life and had no connection with the Conservative Party whatever<sup>163</sup>

Bruce now comes up with a good ploy against Adam by offering his support to Colonel Abercromby who was present at the celebrations, that he would give him all his support if he would stand for the combined counties and stated 'is likely that he would have done so had he been trammelled by any party,'<sup>164</sup> but the gallant Admiral was also pleased to find fault with the manner which his canvas had been carried out, he had termed it a 'hole and corner mode of going to work.'<sup>165</sup> Bruce argued that his canvas was a one to one contract to persuade each voter, thus enabling him to solicit their suffrage, therefore he could not understand why Adam 'had termed it thus, and it is the first time he has ever heard it termed thus, and looks forward to debating the issues of the contest.'<sup>166</sup>

Bruce then berated Adam for turning the celebration of the reform jubilee into a hustings scene and stated that 'Admiral Adams and his friends have thought otherwise with regard to pensions and rumours'<sup>167</sup>. He voiced that he had 'nothing to do in their circulation and had never expressed the view that they had received £28,000 from the public purse,' notice he did not use the lower figure. He proclaimed that he had come forward independent of any party and offered himself as a candidate on 'free grounds.'<sup>168</sup>

Bruce had realised that his audience was not very receptive to his arguments and knew that when his speech stopped the crowd would not exactly be giving him a good reception and astutely pulls off a great move, just as his speech is coming to a close he proposed that the meeting give three cheers for his opponent 'the gallant Admiral the present member for Kinross-shire.'<sup>169</sup> As the *Stirling Journal* reported,

*many people it was said thought that Mr Bruce showed no little tact by proposing three cheers for the Admiral in as much as it was sure to be carried with enthusiasm and at the same time gave him an opportunity of retiring amid the acclamation of the assembly which but for this manoeuvre there would probably have been a very different description.*<sup>170</sup>

The *Stirling Journal* reported that at least 7,000 were present including those who walked in the procession, with the spectators at the park (hustings) at Clackmannan they thought that 3,000 had been assembled.<sup>171</sup> When you realise that only 491 males in the county would have the vote there must have been great expectations that this was only the beginning to further reform measures.

On the night of the reform jubilee march a dinner in the assembly rooms had been arranged, which according to the *Stirling Journal* was attended by 'two hundred of the far and most numerous and respectable company that have dined in Alloa for many years'.<sup>172</sup> The speeches by most of the high ranking Whig politicians in the area gives an insight into their interpretation of the bill and the main points as they saw it.

Adam started the speeches by saying that of all the objections urged against the bill the most silly in his opinion was that against the £10 franchise, which he considered as its chief merit. At first he objected but when Lord John Russell explained the qualification he now considered it 'the great preventive of annual Parliaments and universal suffrage because it included within its range such a great mass of the middle ranks who were equally opposed to such wild ideas and who have clear views on the great principles of state theories.'<sup>173</sup> We can see why he did not make this statement at the gathering during the day where most of those assembled were certainly not from the middle ranks of society. He believed that such electors as the middle classes would choose like minded men to represent their policy and hoped that he entertained such sound opinions on these points, and if returned to Parliament he would endeavour to discharge his duty.

One of the speakers brought in an entirely different view of why the bill was passed. Mr Erskine of Aberdonia who told us that it had been a bloodless victory and was brought about by the use of a new weapon more powerful than the sword, which had become 'the war trumpets of the people,

the press and may it continue to be the faithful organ of the sentiments of the people.’<sup>174</sup> This as I have previously stated is quite important as the development of the newspapers with their wider readership, especially from the middle classes, had gained support from and ownership of a considerable amount of the local press. Which would fall in with Halloran’s arguments on the media’s function, with newspapers giving direction in new attitudes?

We can see from the gathering at the dinner with the attendees being from the landed and middle classes the development of power relationships and exploitation which W.W. Knox states were the main factors of class division starting to show, which also backs up Gramsci’s theory on hegemony, with the granting of the Reform Act being the starting point in the county of the middle classes securing legitimacy for their domination.

As you will have noticed there is no record of any of the speakers at the dinner objecting to the bill. The *Stirling Journal* concluded its article by telling us that Mr Bruce and his friends dined together in the Tontine Inn but they had no opportunity of learning their numbers or how they enjoyed themselves. The local press had therefore not bothered to find out the thoughts or the comments of those that had been accused of not supporting reform.

## **12. THE FIRST REFORMED ELECTION.**

The first reformed election took place in December 1832, and the candidates for Clackmannanshire were Admiral George Adam, the Whig Candidate and sitting MP. The Tory candidate was Robert Bruce of Kennet who was the most important resident landed proprietor and colliery owner in the parish of Clackmannan. During the French Wars he served in the Grenadier Guards and served as a Captain at Waterloo where he was wounded. From 1820-24 he had represented Clackmannanshire in Parliament.<sup>175</sup>

Nominations for the candidates took place on 20<sup>th</sup> December at Dollar where Adam had to deny that the Abercromby and Adam families were out to dominate the electors. He asserted ‘The



Abercromby and Adam Cause are powerful because it is the "Cause of Reform".<sup>176</sup> A marker for the forthcoming election between the two candidates had been set at the Alloa Reform Jubilee as previously discussed, which reflected how important the Reform Act was, not just for the new voting elements of the middle classes but also for the working classes who believed that this was just the beginning and would lead soon to the full franchise being given.

The major issue of the December 1832 Election was still Reform and those who had provided it now awaited its dividend from the new elector.<sup>177</sup> The election for Clackmannanshire and Kinross took place over the 21<sup>st</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> December at Alloa and Kinross. The election result was announced at Alloa on 24<sup>th</sup> December, and without the benefit of a secret ballot, was recorded in Poll Books by officials appointed by the Sheriff of the County.

Adam won by a considerable margin in both parts of the joint constituency, 284-133 in Clackmannanshire and in Kinross 243-63. The overall result of 527 votes to 196 gave Adam a comprehensive victory. Out of the 491 voters in the Clackmannan end of the constituency 74 did not vote. Among them were four of the eight ministers, three out of seven ship owners in Alloa, and nearly one in five farmers, for what reason will probably never be known.<sup>178</sup>

The combination of support in the two counties had guaranteed Adam's success in 1832 and provided a strong base for the Whig/Liberal cause in the area for decades. Adam again defeated Bruce in the 1835 Election, by a reduced majority of 285 from 447.

In the first election for the new reformed Parliament in December 1832 the Scottish electorate had increased from 4,500 to 64,447.<sup>179</sup> In Scotland the Whigs secured a great victory in that General Election, winning 43 out of the 53 Scottish seats. The regional distribution of Scottish MPs however, remained substantially as it had been between 1707 and 1832 and the seats won in the newer urban areas represented less a victory for the new social forces, but more a re-trenchment of the old.<sup>180</sup> The stagnation of reform was well illustrated by the social and economic backgrounds of Scottish MPs between 1832 and 1868, as shown in Table 1. More than 80% of MPs in this period were still being recruited from the usual traditional sources, such as

landed properties and their relatives in the armed forces and the law. It can also be seen that only one in ten was engaged in commerce or trade, along with less than one in thirty in manufacturing. One third was closely connected with the nobility either as heirs to titles themselves, as the younger sons of peers or through marriage. Of the twenty seven county representatives sitting in the Parliament of 1830-31 and 1831-32, who sought election after the passing of the Reform Act, no fewer than twenty five were successful despite twelve of them having opposed Reform. This symbolised a representation which, for more than thirty years was characterised predominantly by continuity with the past rather than a great surge of innovation or change for the future.<sup>181</sup>

**TABLE 1: OCCUPATIONS OF SCOTISH MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT 1832-1868**

| By Party | Landowners | Officers & Gentlemen | Lawyers | Merchants | Manufacturers | Professionals | Closely related to Aristocracy | No of men |
|----------|------------|----------------------|---------|-----------|---------------|---------------|--------------------------------|-----------|
| Con      | 55.7%      | 26.1%                | 13.0%   | 1.4%      | 2.9%          | 1.4%          | 44.9%                          | 69        |
| Lib      | 39.3%      | 17.2%                | 18.6%   | 16.0%     | 3.4%          | 5.5%          | 32.4%                          | 145       |
| All      | 44.6%      | 20.2%                | 16.4%   | 11.3%     | 3.3%          | 4.2%          | 36.6%                          | 213       |

Abstract from M. Dyer, *Mere Detail and Machinery* (1983)<sup>182</sup>

### 13. THE NEW ELECTORATE.

With the Reform Act, 491 people were eligible to vote in Clackmannanshire and they qualified in a number of ways. First, the few who had been admitted to the roll of county freeholders under the restricted franchise that existed before 1832 were allowed to retain the right to vote for their own lifetimes. The remainder qualified as proprietors or tenants as under the provisions of the Reform Act, proprietors of land, houses or business premises with an annual value of at least £10 were entitled to vote. They included both substantial landowners and small proprietors who

qualified on the basis of a house and garden; 'the ten pounders' who made up the majority of electors in towns such as Alloa, Dollar, Tillicoultry and Kincardine. Most of the electors who qualified as tenants were farmers on holdings with an annual value of £10 if held on a lease of 57 years or more or on holdings of £50 if the lease was at least 19 years. A late amendment to the Reform Bill also gave a vote to a tenant who had no lease but had been in actual personal occupancy of the land for twelve months and paid at least £50 rent.<sup>183</sup> Some men described as farmers on the roll were proprietors cultivating their own land, and some proprietors were actually owner/occupying farmers. Ministers of the Church of Scotland generally qualified as life rent proprietors or occupants of the manse and glebe, and parish schoolmasters were eligible on a similar basis.<sup>184</sup> There was a bit of uncertainty at the first registration courts over whether ministers of dissenting congregations enjoyed the same right to the franchise as their counterparts in the established church. In 1832 the Reverend William Fraser who was the minister of the Second Associate Congregation in Alloa had his claim rejected initially but was admitted by Court of Appeal.<sup>185</sup>

The majority of electors had been enrolled for the first time under the franchise provisions of the new legislation at the Registration Court, convened by the sheriff at Alloa in the autumn of 1832. The 491 electors who registered were a tiny minority among the total population of almost 23,301. With a male population aged over 20 years of 5,956, in the eight parishes, this gave a rate of one elector for approximately twelve adult males. These new voters, it will be seen, were a diverse body of people and had a variety of occupations giving some impression of the surprising range of economic activities at the time within Clackmannanshire.<sup>186</sup>

Clackmannanshire had some of the best arable farmland in the country. On the Carseland along the shores of the Forth and in the Valley of Devon, while sheep were also raised on the hill pastures of the Ochils. However, it has been found from the available Register of Voters at the time that Clackmannanshire had the smallest agricultural electorate of all the counties in Scotland, with only 114 of the 491 electors describing themselves as farmers, still of course the

largest group, and in half the parishes they were less than 15% of the registered voters. Even if farmers are grouped with the old freeholders, landed properties and military and naval officers, only a third of the constituency can be accounted for, the remaining two thirds being employed in activities other than farming. They came from Alloa and Kincardine, the main centres of trade and population and were employed in coal and iron mining, shipping and shipbuilding, milling, leather making, linen bleaching and the manufacture of woollen textiles, pig iron, glassware, bricks, tiles, ale and whisky. (See appendix 5 for a full list of voters and their occupations.)

During this period the Industrial Revolution was taking place and Clackmannanshire was also experiencing a fare share of industrialisation. Therefore, if the 1832 Act was to be an association of the middle and the higher orders of society, 'in the love and support of the institutions and government of the country,'<sup>187</sup> as described by Earl Grey, then the new 'Nouveau Riche' was also voting. This can be seen with the representation of the business interests in the area. There were ship owners, shipmasters and shipbuilders. William and Robert Haig of Dollarfield operated a large bleachfield, glassmaking was represented by seven of the proprietors of Alloa Glassworks, who it seems were all resident in Edinburgh.<sup>188</sup> The manufacture of woollen blankets, tartans and shawls in the hillfoot villages of Alva, Menstrie and Tillicoultry and in Alloa, was represented by twelve manufacturers, including members of well-known firms of the time, such as Archibald's and Patons. Brewers, distillers, maltsters and maltmen represented the brewing industry at Alloa and Cambus and the distilling of whisky at Carsebridge, Cambus and Kilbagie. Also on the list was Robert Bald, (discussed in more detail in chapter three) the mining engineer, who, it was said, had rendered important services not only to his country but throughout Europe, especially in Sweden and along with Lord Ashley, (who became the Earl of Shaftesbury), was responsible for bringing to an end the practice of women bringing coals from the face walls to the surface, and was credited generally in improving the condition of the mining population in Alloa.<sup>189</sup> There was also the manager of the Alloa Coal Company, John Cruill, which he rented from the Earl of Mar in 1832.<sup>190</sup>

A total of 65 occupations were listed in the register, which was a very big difference from the pre 1832 voters, who were all major landowners or members of landowning families. It does convey a sense of the county's distinctively mixed economy. However, the 491 electors were not representative of the whole population of the county. They were a minority among adult males and no women were enfranchised. Large bodies of workers were scarcely represented at all, as can be seen from the 1841 Census, which for the first time tabulated occupations. There were 1,013 general and agricultural labourers and 461 coal miners in the county. Among the 1832 electors there were six labourers and no coal miners. <sup>191</sup>

#### **14. CONCLUSION.**

What had changed with the introduction of the 1832 Reform Act? The increased vote in Scotland from approximately 4,500 to 65,000 voters now meant that one in eight of the adult male population had the vote. This introduced an increased measure of representation in the process, both in the new parliamentary boroughs of Greenock and Paisley and also in the larger cities like Glasgow and Dundee, so it could be argued as commented by Eric J. Evans that no longer could Scotland be characterised almost as one vast rotten borough. He tells us that the usual political situation since 1707 and as late as 1826, was that entire general elections could pass by without one Scottish seat being contested and if the 1832 reform act was to change this then the enthusiasm for contested elections disappeared very quickly in Clackmannanshire as only three elections were contested in the period 1832 to 1866.

The county seats gained by the Whigs in the 1832 election drifted back to the control of substantial landowners who in the main supported Tory candidates. However the Whigs who were the leaders of the reform campaign had won the support of the large majority of the new voters within the middle classes who were grateful for the franchise, which had created a long sense of gratitude towards the Whigs and eventually the Liberal party in Scotland. Peel was told

by Sir George Clerk after the 1832 elections 'that the importance attached by the newly enfranchised Reformers to the privilege now conferred on them rendered the chance of any conservative, especially one who had taken part in opposing the Reform Bill extremely doubtful'.<sup>192</sup>

It can also be argued that major changes did occur by the implementation of the 1832 Reform Act. Electors were now required to be registered in order to be able to vote. In a famous speech in Marshall Tailor's Hall in 1838, Robert Peel explained the importance of registering as many known supporters as possible. 'Theirs is a perfectible new element of political power, namely the registration of voters, a more powerful one than either the sovereign or the House of Commons. That party is strongest in point of fact which has the existing registration in its favour'.<sup>193</sup>

Both parties recognised the importance of registration with local party agents rapidly appearing in the larger constituencies and with them the business of professionalising politics began in earnest. Another major change would also appear which had made it increasingly difficult for a MP to retain that previously coveted label independent candidate, as party polarisation was accelerated after 1832. The political debate was also starting to polarise opinion and candidates were learning an important lesson for the future that a member was no longer the relatively free agent he was before 1832 and that the electorate were now examining their conduct in Parliament. As a result, instead of buying votes they now had to address people from the hustings to win their votes.<sup>194</sup> However, the increase in the size of the electorate neither provided nor guaranteed any triumph of reform. A high level of county enfranchisement for example, it could be said, indicated the success of landowners in registering squadrons of faggot voters and compliant tenants to confirm their traditional powers rather than an excess of democratic influence.

The 1832 Reform Act also never really changed the type of person that would represent them as their MP as the evidence showed a continuation of the pre 1832 representation. In parliamentary elections between 1832 and 1868 more than 80% of the MPs in this period were still being recruited from the landed aristocracy and their relatives in the armed forces and the law.<sup>195</sup>

Where the middle classes were to come into power was locally in the burghs and towns. The 1832 Act had not eliminated corruption as bribing and treating of voters continued. A committee under the Marquis of Hartington reported in 1870, “that a considerable class of voters will not vote unless they are paid”.<sup>196</sup>

The clamour for reform and the triumph of the middle classes in achieving the franchise, with the exclusion of the working classes poses the question? Was there ever a full franchise on the agenda or was this just a ploy to bring in the support of the working class Radicals on to the side of the Whigs and their new allies the middle classes against the Tory landed aristocracy.

In looking at Clackmannanshire there does seem to be evidence that those such as Abercromby and Adams along with their middle class supporters had no intention of supporting or broadening the franchise to include representation of the working classes.

At the Jubilee March dinner in Alloa, Adam stated that he thought that the £10 franchise was the great prevention of annual Parliaments and universal suffrage, because it included within its range such a great mass of middle class ranks who were equally opposed to any such wild ideas. From this statement it is perfectly obvious that he had no intention of promoting universal suffrage even though he looked for support from the working classes.

Lord Cockburn the Whig was also another who believed that it should go so far and no further. The local newspapers such as the *Stirling Journal* had argued all along that the political status of the middle classes must be raised and their voices allowed to be heard in the formation and administration of the laws in the country, although they sympathised with the plight of sections of the working classes and the poor, they did not want them to have the franchise. The franchise could only be based on property and intelligence which to them were linked.

The first reform meeting in Alloa also reinforced this argument. It was run by the middle class and its intention was a franchise for the middle classes only, as in their arguments again they were pushing for what they believed as the duty of the middling classes of society. With their duty, being ‘to take care that the people do not overstep the bounds of moderation and it will be for

them (the middle classes) to hold the balance between the aristocracy and the great body of the people.<sup>197</sup>

There is no doubt that the economic change in society through the agricultural and industrial revolutions was also bringing social changes to the older patterns of social relationships breaking down and the emergence of their accompanying traditional customs and practices, with a new commercial and professional bourgeoisie. The cry for a change in the electoral franchise was not instantaneous; it had been gaining ground for a long period of time with industrialisation being the catalyst that brought it to a head in Britain. Eighteenth century Scotland was a country where orthodoxy was being challenged, the problem being the distribution of power. Dundas's Corn Laws of 1778 were seen by the business classes as a protectionist move brought in by the aristocracy and the landed classes. There had been a growing sense that the landed interests were not the same as those of a developing middle class community who in the main came from burgh communities.

The triumph for the middle classes and their Whig supporters, was not shared by some section of society that were still excluded (mainly the working class) who had fought as hard and vociferous as the middle classes for the franchise and had not been included in the new voting system with the introduction of the first Reform Act. The situation for this section of society was to get worse with the introduction of an oppressive new Poor Law in 1834 in England, and in Scotland the failure of its own MPs to support the reform of the Factory Acts. The 1832 Reform Act was supposed to lessen the control of the aristocracy however what was to happen was a slow but inexorable tightening of control on many aspects of people's lives especially the working classes.

The study in Clackmannanshire falls into the same as the rest of Britain. Its MPs over the period all came from landed families. In looking at the Clackmannanshire list of voters the general thinking was that the 1832 Act overwhelmingly franchised small property owners, however in looking through the occupations of the electors it provides a corrective to this generalisation



about the county electorate created by the Reform Act where a lot of the voters did not fall into what would have been described as middle class professions.

However to sum up Henry Hetherington a radical journalist at the time and a leading figure in what had been called the unstamped press in Henry Heatherton's *Poor Mans Guardians*, showed, how the 1832 Reform Act had divided radical opinion.

*With a little instinctive sense of self preservation, have the Whigs manufactured a great measure, they know that the old system could not last and desiring to establish another as like as possible and also to keep their places they framed the bill in the hope of drawing to feudal aristocracy and yeomanry of the counties a large reinforcement in the middle classes. The bill was in effect an invitation to the shopocrats of the enfranchised towns to join the Whiggocrats of the county and make common cause with them in keeping down people and thereby quell the rising spirit of democracy in England.<sup>198</sup>*

So for many Radicals especially the working classes the fight went on with Chartism the next stage in the fight for universal suffrage and the middle classes in the county were now on the first steps of their campaign for hegemony.

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<sup>1</sup> W. W. Knox., Industrial Nation, (Edinburgh, 1999), p.17

<sup>2</sup> Stuart Hall., 'Culture, the Media and the Ideological Effect.' J Curran, Gurevitch, Woollcot, Editors, Mass Communications and Society, (London, 1977) p.336

<sup>3</sup> Gordon Pentland., Scotland and the Creation of a National Reform Movement., The Historical Journal, 48 (2005), p.1000

<sup>4</sup> William. Gibson., Reminiscences of Dollar and Tillicoultry, (Stevenage, 1883), p.55

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. p.55

<sup>6</sup> W. Hamish Fraser., Scottish Popular Politics, (Edinburgh, 2000), p.3

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. p.35

<sup>8</sup> Karl Miller., Cockburn's Millennium, (London, 1975), p.111

<sup>9</sup> William Ferguson., The Reform Act (Scotland) of 1832, Scottish Historical Review 1966, p.105

<sup>10</sup> Norman Gash., Politics in the age of Peel, (Hassocks, 1977), p.36

<sup>11</sup> Miller, (1975), p.111

<sup>12</sup> Ronald M. Sunter., Patronage and Politics in Scotland, 1707-1832, (Edinburgh, 1986), p.112

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.p.112

<sup>14</sup> Gash, Politics, p.36

<sup>15</sup> Miller, Millenium, p.111

<sup>16</sup> Miller, Millenium, p.111

<sup>17</sup> Sunter, Patronage, p.112

<sup>18</sup> Fraser, Popular Politics, p.27

<sup>19</sup> Miller, Millenium,p.112

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- <sup>20</sup> Ferguson, Reform Act, p.113
- <sup>21</sup> J.T. Ward., "The Political State of Scotland in the Last Century", Scottish Historical Review No.46,1967, p.90
- <sup>22</sup> Ferguson, Reform Act, p.114
- <sup>23</sup> Miller, Millemium, p.111
- <sup>24</sup> Ibid.p.111
- <sup>25</sup> Register of Voters in the County of Clackmannan 1832-3-4,James Lothian Alloa,p.2
- <sup>26</sup> James Lothian., Alloa and Its Environs, (Alloa, 1861),p.32
- <sup>27</sup> Ibid.p.32
- <sup>28</sup> The First and Second Statistical Accounts, Clackmannan and Kincardine (CDL, 1987),p.20
- <sup>29</sup> *Stirling Journal* 6<sup>th</sup> January 1831.
- <sup>30</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>31</sup> Ibid
- <sup>32</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>33</sup> Ibid
- <sup>34</sup> Ibid
- <sup>35</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>36</sup> Fraser, Popular Politics, p.7
- <sup>37</sup> Ibid p7
- <sup>38</sup> *Stirling Journal* 6<sup>th</sup> January 1831
- <sup>39</sup> Ibid
- <sup>40</sup> Ibid
- <sup>41</sup> Ibid
- <sup>42</sup> Ibid
- <sup>43</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>44</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>45</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>46</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>47</sup> Ibid
- <sup>48</sup> Ibid, Clackmannanshire production, Coal mining produced 163,000 tons, ironstone 143,000 tons, 27,000 stons of wool were also exported including approx. 445,000 gallons of spirits to England and Ireland, besides ale, glass and bricks which were all produced within Clackmannanshire, and registered in the local customhouse was 20,000 tons of shipping which employed 1,100 seamen within the area. 8,600 tons of shipping was also registered in Alloa. The duty alone paid by the county averaged in the years 1828/ 1829 was £244,079, as the editorial in the *Stirling Journal* informed us, this sum was nearly 1/200 of the whole revenue of the United Kingdom,
- <sup>49</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>50</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>51</sup> Ibid
- <sup>52</sup> Ibid
- <sup>53</sup> Ibid
- <sup>54</sup> Ibid
- <sup>55</sup> Sunter,Patronage, p.26
- <sup>56</sup> Eric J. Evans., "Parliamentary Reform", (Harlow, 2000), p.24
- <sup>57</sup> Ibid. p.24
- <sup>58</sup> Ibid. p.24
- <sup>59</sup> Ibid. p.24
- <sup>60</sup> *Stirling Journal* 19<sup>th</sup> May 1831
- <sup>61</sup> Ibid
- <sup>62</sup> Ibid
- <sup>63</sup> Ibid
- <sup>64</sup> Ibid
- <sup>65</sup> W.W. Knox., Industrial Nation, p.57.
- <sup>66</sup> *Stirling Journal*, 19<sup>th</sup> May 1831.
- <sup>67</sup> Ibid

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- <sup>68</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>69</sup> Ibid
- <sup>70</sup> Ibid
- <sup>71</sup> Ibid
- <sup>72</sup> Ibid
- <sup>73</sup> Ibid(Charles Fox 1749-1806 had been a radical in his time in politics, supporting parliamentary reform in 1790, and had also supported the French revolution, civil liberties and Catholic emancipation and had been disliked by George III, for his radical politics.
- <sup>74</sup> Ibid
- <sup>75</sup> Ibid
- <sup>76</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>77</sup> Ibid
- <sup>78</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>79</sup> Fraser, Popular Politics,p.44
- <sup>80</sup> Ibid p45
- <sup>81</sup> *Stirling Journal*, 27<sup>th</sup> October 1831.
- <sup>82</sup> Ibid
- <sup>83</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>84</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>85</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>86</sup> Ibid
- <sup>87</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>88</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>89</sup> *Stirling Journal*, 12<sup>th</sup> May 1831
- <sup>90</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>91</sup> *Stirling Journal*, 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1831.
- <sup>92</sup> *Stirling Journal*, 1<sup>st</sup> December 1831.
- <sup>93</sup> Ibid
- <sup>94</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>95</sup> Ibid
- <sup>96</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>97</sup> J. Gardiner & N. Wenborn., Companion to British History, (London, 1995), p.612.
- <sup>98</sup> *Stirling Journal* 1<sup>st</sup> December 1831.
- <sup>99</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>100</sup> Ibid
- <sup>101</sup> Ibid
- <sup>102</sup> Ibid
- <sup>103</sup> Ibid
- <sup>104</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>105</sup> Ibid
- <sup>106</sup> Ibid
- <sup>107</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>108</sup> Evans, Parliamentary Reform,p.98
- <sup>109</sup> *Stirling Journal* 1<sup>st</sup> December 1831.
- <sup>110</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>111</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>112</sup> Ibid
- <sup>113</sup> Ibid
- <sup>114</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>115</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>116</sup> Ibid
- <sup>117</sup> Ibid
- <sup>118</sup> Ibid
- <sup>119</sup> *Stirling Journal*, 26<sup>th</sup> June 1831
- <sup>120</sup> Ibid.

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- 121 Ibid.  
122 *Stirling Journal*, 29<sup>th</sup> December 1831.  
123 Ibid.  
124 Ibid.  
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128 Ibid.  
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130 Ibid p42  
131 Knox p64  
132 *Stirling Journal*, 23<sup>rd</sup> August 1832.  
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134 Ibid  
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141 Ibid  
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179 Parliamentary Papers, Government Election Book 1834-44  
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181 Ibid. p.30  
182 M. Dyer, Detail and Machinery,p.83  
183 Brash Voters.,p.108  
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185 Ibid.p.108  
186 See appendix 5  
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188 Brash, Voters, (1992),p.109  
189 Registers of voters, Alloa, 1834, p.78  
190 The Second Statistical Account of Alloa 1841, p.30  
191 Brash, Voters, (1992),p.110  
192 I.G.C. Hutchison., A Political History of Scotland 1832-1924, ( Edinburgh, 1986), p.1  
193 Evans, Parliamentary Reform, P.32  
194 W. Ferguson., Electoral Law and Procedure in Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century Scotland,  
Glasgow PhD Thesis (1957), p.468  
195 Dyer, Detail and Machinery p.30  
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198 Eric J. Evans., The Great Reform Act of 1832. (Oxford, 1983), p.58

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **THE RISE IN POWER AND INFLUENCE OF THE NEW MIDDLE CLASSES AND SMALL LANDOWNERS.**

#### **Introduction.**

The incorporation of the middle classes into the constitutional and political fabric of the country with the introduction of the 1832 Reform Act was heralded as a great leap forward for democracy. However as shown in chapter one the Reform Act maintained the dominance of the landed aristocracy in Parliament, politics and society. The aristocracy joined with and used the new middle class support as a barrier against the working classes, of which both had become very suspicious and fearful.

In general terms the Reform Act left the working classes outwith the political institutions of the country, this was viewed by many working class Radicals as a great betrayal. However as already discussed in the previous chapter the Whigs never had any intention of giving the working classes universal suffrage, their intent being, which has been repeated frequently, that reform was necessary to preserve the existing system of government. This meant attaching the middle classes to the existing constitution by giving them the vote. Failure to do so had been recognised as more likely to lead to revolution than working class agitation. Reform therefore was regarded as unfinished business by the radical working classes. This unfinished business in turn led to the Chartist agitation of the late 1830s and 40s in which, although a national campaign, each area in the country had its own campaign identity and organised its own demonstrations and strikes on a local level.

During this period the middle classes were also establishing themselves and were taking more control of the political institutions in Clackmannanshire. These institutions became the powerhouses of the county and in the main the middle classes were left to use their powers as they saw fit.

The main institutions of government at county level in Scotland between 1832-70, were the Sheriffs, their Deputes, the Commissioners of Supply, the Lieutenancy and Militia. The Sheriffs and the Commissioners of Supply were much more important in Scottish county government than in England, where it was the Lord Lieutenant and the Justices of the Peace who held most sway. <sup>1</sup>

This chapter will look at the powers these organisations wielded, and the people behind them, the influence they were now projecting in Scotland, and what impact the new industrialists had on their communities and their use of paternalism to control and influence their workforce. We will also look at other organisations in the county that were dominated and influenced by the middle classes and what influence they had on local and national politics, which would in turn affect every person's life within their community. This rise in power and the influence of the new middle classes and small landlords took place in a period when the working classes were again starting to agitate for universal male suffrage through Chartism.

This chapter starts to fill in the gaps in Scottish historical studies of the middle classes in the context of towns within county parliamentary seats, as most histories concentrate on towns with burgh status. We will also look at where this middle class came from, was it as Stana Nenadic states, that in 1760 there was no sense of class in Scotland and that the middle classes came out of nowhere <sup>2</sup>, and if this did happen how did they achieve their power and identity so quickly. Which in turn brings in R.J. Morris's argument that towns were substantially the creation of their middle classes<sup>3</sup>, which then brings in the debates on civil society and its concepts on the theories of hegemony?

## **1. THE RISE OF CHARTISM**

If Lord Cockburn thought the 1832 Reform Bill would stop radicalism he was wrong.<sup>4</sup> In Clackmannanshire only 4.5% of the male population out of a population of 14,729 could vote.<sup>5</sup> The majority of those who had the vote did not support any further extension of the franchise,

being afraid of the danger from the uneducated masses. George Abercromby, the Clackmannanshire's Whig MP wrote to the *Stirling Journal* (Tory supporting newspaper) in 1834, trying to reassure its readers that he was opposed to universal suffrage.<sup>6</sup> This allowed radicalism, and especially Chartism, in the area to become more of a working class movement.

The downturn in economic conditions in the 1830s affected most of Scotland and in its wake industrial unrest broke out. In 1834 there had been major widespread industrial disputes which took place in other parts of the country, but had not affected Clackmannanshire to the same degree, partly due to the major differences within the county in the coalmining industry and the textile trades. Linen and cotton which had become more of a factory type process in other areas was almost unknown in Clackmannanshire. The weavers in the county had remained more independent until the powerloom was introduced in the 1850s and adapted to woollens. However the ever worsening economic conditions in the country began to affect Clackmannanshire. In 1837, the woollen manufacturers in the area reduced the weaver's wages by 1s, which led to a strike by the united operatives in the woollen trade of Tillicoultry and Alva. There was an attempt by the owners to bring black leg labour from Milnathorp, which was forcibly stopped by the workforce with three weavers being arrested and charged with mobbing, rioting and assault. One of the workers arrested was Jordan Chadwick who later became a prominent Chartist leader in Tillicoultry.<sup>7</sup> Trouble was also brewing in the local coalfields. Lord Mar whose family had owned the Alloa coal company for generations had disposed of his interests in 1832,<sup>8</sup> which led to a dispute with the new owners over the continuation of the miners rights. These rights had giving the Clackmannanshire miner a more privileged position at that time, due conversely to the history of feudal servitude in the Clackmannanshire coalfields. However, a boom in the coal industry in 1836 led to the miners gaining more money, which increased their wages from 2s to 5s, a day. This boom encouraged them to strike for further increases. It was not just money they were looking for, as the miners had been donating money at the time to support the Chartist movement for political reforms.<sup>9</sup>



Chartist associations had sprung up all over Clackmannanshire with branches in Dollar, Tillicoultry, Alva, Clackmannan and Alloa. The Chartist movement, in the area was in the main divided into two groups, those who supported the London Working Men's Association (L.W.M.A.) led by William Lovett and those, mainly miners, who supported the more radical Fergus O'Connor. In Alloa, where there had been more skilled workers in shipbuilding and engineering, they tended to support the L.W.M.A.<sup>10</sup>

The numbers involved in the Chartist movement has been hard to gauge, but the *Stirling Journal* reporting from a Radical meeting in 1838, estimated that 330 people from Stirling, Clackmannan and Perthshire had attended. A meeting the following year was preceded by a demonstration of about 150 people, with about 400 attending the meeting. However a good guide to the strength of the associations in the area can be gauged by their financial contributions to the cause, which were high in Alloa and Tillicoultry, Tillicoultry alone contributing seven guineas to the Chartist cause.<sup>11</sup>

One of the more surprising aspects of the Chartist movements in Clackmannanshire was the involvement of women who held strong positions. Leslie C. Wright writing on the Clackmannanshire disturbances commented 'That all these events were largely instigated and led by female colliers,'<sup>12</sup> with a Helen Yule described as the ring leader who had been jailed for eight months, while her companions Catherine Smith and Elisabeth Hunter each received six months jail terms, although the male rioters received lighter sentences. Women were very prominent within the workforce, especially within the textile industry. The position of women as factory workers and wage earners in Clackmannanshire is reflected in the fact that there were two female Chartist Associations in the county, Tillicoultry and Alva, out of a total of twenty in Scotland.<sup>13</sup>

The economic boom of 1836 turned into a slump in 1837 and wages dropped drastically. A collier on a piece rate of 1s.8d. per ton could only earn 16s. to £1 4s. per week and by 1842

this had dropped to as low as 1s.8d per-shift. James Shearer of Woodlands Colliery had commented 'I never remember earnings lower.'<sup>14</sup>

Poverty was becoming a large problem in Clackmannanshire, as in all the industrialised areas of Scotland. The poor funds were inadequate to cope with the economic slump (which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5). In 1838, with conditions deteriorating and the workers becoming more desperate as to how to combat the problems of low wages and poverty, a split developed in the Chartist movement on how to progress their claims and demands. The argument centred around calls, such as reported from Brontierre O'Brien's newspaper *The Operative*, in which he wrote: 'There is no use of mincing matters, the landlords and capitalists of this country, including the profit mongers on the land as well as the profit monger of the factory must either concede the rights of the people or they must be exterminated'.<sup>15</sup> On the other side of the coin, the Rev Patrick Brewster had been a spokesman for moderation and from his power base in Paisley had tried to persuade the movement to form new moral force associations that would formally disown violence under all circumstances. This movement had very little success, which could have been due to the distrust that the other Chartist societies held for the Rev Brewster, because of his supposed middle class background.<sup>16</sup>

Clackmannanshire had its own Chartist clerical leader who was the Rev Archibald Browning. In the county around 1838 some church goers were dissatisfied with the modernisation of the established Kirk and set up a Secessionist Church in Alva. This church had fifty five members within its first year, attracting sixteen from Alloa and the others from Tillicoultry. When the Chartist movement was at its peak in 1841 there were approximately twenty Chartist Churches in Scotland. The Rev Browning is singled out as one of only two outstanding examples among notable exceptions of clergy men supporting Chartism, he and the majority of his congregation being Unitarians and Chartists. Browning also ran a school in Tillicoultry, which was said to have democratic sympathies, and one of his pupils, John Eadie, became the minister for the Secessionist Church in Alva. Eadie had been one of the main activists and supporters of the

Reform Act in the Alva area. At the 1832 reform celebrations he had been greeted with great cheers and afterwards was carried shoulder high through the town. He had come from a poor background and was proud of being the son of a highwayman.<sup>17</sup>

The year 1842 was not a happy time for Robert Peel's government. By the summer, riots in Birmingham and the Potteries district in England were in full flow, with 30,000 people on strike or had been laid off. Demands for the People's Charter were added to wage demands and the strikers wanted to stay out until these were met.<sup>18</sup> The Chartist leaders in Scotland were not the most militant and argued against striking. They wanted a motion to be given to the employers for a wage rise and for the government to remove excise duty on provisions. However, before they could implement these demands the miners of Airdrie and Coatbridge went on strike. Four thousand marched through Coatbridge armed with sticks, and a further 6,000 attended a meeting at Dalmarnock Bridge. A week later a meeting near Dunfermline was attended by almost 2,000 miners, including colliers from Clackmannanshire. These demonstrations became more militant and at the demonstration in Dunfermline, 'the strikers resolved to work for fourteen days at the present wages, but unless they got an advance after this time they would call for a strike over the whole of Scotland.'<sup>19</sup> When the meeting broke up rioting followed in Dunfermline and, within the week, miners in Midlothian had also joined the strike.<sup>20</sup>

The Clackmannanshire miners and weavers were determined to make the strikes political and to project them nation-wide. They issued an address which was distributed throughout the country. The third resolution being the most important, 'that we the colliers and miners of this district are determined to strike for nothing less than the People's Charter, therefore we resolve that should our brethren now on strike make the People's Charter their demand, and we will at once join them in the glorious struggle'.<sup>21</sup>

Attempts to create a general strike in the county however were starting to dwindle. The strikers in England were being suppressed by the Dragoons, Cavalry and Yeomanry, who had

been used to put down the growing revolt. The workers in Clackmannan, however, were not for giving up, as the *Stirling Journal* commented, 'during the last fortnight the colliers in this town and neighbourhood have been working only at intervals, employing their idle days in attending political meetings which have of late been held in different parts of the county.'<sup>22</sup>

The authorities, however, decided to act in Clackmannanshire and sent a Messenger-at-Arms, John Urquhart, who with five assistants entered Clackmannan on Wednesday 17<sup>th</sup> August. Their purpose was to arrest a collier for whom they had a warrant. However in trying to serve the warrant, they were surrounded and attacked by the colliers, with the result that Urquhart was left with three broken ribs and a policeman ended up in hospital. The colliers also smashed all the windows in Samuel Kirk's Inn, believing that the colliery manager and a policeman were inside. The next day the Clackmannanshire sheriff John Tait, along with a detachment of the 42<sup>nd</sup> Regiment, who were based at Stirling Castle, entered Clackmannan and arrested seven people.

The strikers then called a meeting for the following Monday. However the sheriff and other magistrates, anticipating trouble had stationed soldiers at Alloa and Stirling and had drafted in another ten special constables. The magistrates then issued a warning that 'all personable and well disposed persons should not attend this meeting.'<sup>23</sup> Another meeting in Devonshire which had been arranged by the strikers had been cancelled as a result of pressure by the authorities and the subsequent arrest of the most prominent Chartist leaders in the county.

The meetings were described as complete failures in the press.<sup>24</sup> This gave confidence to the ruling classes that the strikers had been defeated, which was reflected on in the *Stirling Journal*, which characterised the Chartists 'as hood-winkers, simpletons and deluded beings'.<sup>25</sup> The county authorities had therefore used the full powers of the law at their disposal and had not shirked in using the army to quell the strikes in the county.

Allegations of intimidation by the strikers in the county were widespread throughout the strike. The *Stirling Journal* claimed that three quarters of the workforce were against the strikes, but

were afraid to voice their opposition due to intimidation. The Chartists were said to constitute a tiny minority by the newspaper, but as Ian Fenton has argued, how such a tiny minority could intimidate so many is not revealed.<sup>26</sup>

The rejection of the Chartist's second national petition in the House of Commons by 287 to 46 votes on the 1st of May 1842, created a lot of bitterness within the Chartist associations, and was compounded by the biggest economic recession of the century. The failure of the Plug strikes which took place in the aftermath of that rejection, (there had also been strikes in at least eight counties in Scotland) and the subsequent arrest of the Chartist leaders, left Chartism in Scotland weakened. In the *Northern Star* of nineteenth September 1843, an account of the state of Chartism in Scotland was written by the Rev William Hill, a past editor of the newspaper who having just made a tour of Scotland, wrote that,

*the general complaint which met me in almost every town, that agitation was dead; the enthusiasm of the people seems to have gone down everywhere. Great demonstrations, expansive and numerous processions and flags, banners music and hurraing noises by no means so plentiful, it is even difficult to get the people out to hear lectures. They seem tired of lecturing and tired of agitation altogether.*<sup>27</sup>

Chartism continued into the 1850s, but it never recovered from Parliament's refusal of the second Chartists' petition and the failed strikes in 1842. The main problem for the Chartists was how to achieve a revolutionary goal by constitutional means?

There of course have been many reasons put forward for the failure of Chartism and these can be summarised as follows: failure to obtain parliamentary support, the middle classes either, ignored, shunned or condemned the Chartists, the Chartists were divided amongst themselves and the Chartist's demands were too drastic. There were also accused of having too much diversity in the ideological and intellectual aims of Chartism while other movements offered more immediate and tangible benefits. The socio-economic position had also improved after 1842 with more prosperity eliminating mass support. These are a few of the main reasons that

are put forward for the failure of Chartism. However one of the major reasons has to be the lack of middle class support. The Reform Act agitations for change to the voting franchise was carried because of the support of the working classes, despite the fact that early in the debate it was obvious that only the middle classes would benefit from it. One of the establishment's biggest fears was the fear of a French style revolution if the franchise was not given. Why could Chartism or most of its demands not be successful if it had the support of the middle classes, if the biggest fear of the establishment was a revolution if both classes joined together? Therefore the state must have been sure of middle class support in its stance against the Chartist movement, as they knew that with middle class strength and backing they could see out the challenge of the working classes and any fear of revolution. Which is conclusive proof that to maintain the political authority in the country the landed aristocracy only required to give limited voting rights to enable them to remain the dominant class in the country and society.

Did Chartism fail at the time? Yes, but within fifty years five of the six points in the People's Charter were implemented within Britain's unwritten constitution, only the demand for yearly parliaments had not been realised.

Support for the Great Reform Act had been championed in the area by the *Stirling Journal* but it clearly had no intention of supporting the working classes in any of their Chartist's demands. Neither was there any backing from the local MP or the county establishment and its new middle class supporters. We can now see that in the county there was a sense of betrayal by the middle classes which would belie Hamish Fraser's statement 'that one does not get the same sense of betrayal by the middle class after 1832 which was a factor in the class nature of some English Chartism'<sup>28</sup> It was now clear, that apart from the backing of a few middle class Radicals, that the working classes were on their own. The powers that be were determined not to give the vote to the working classes, or to give any extension towards universal suffrage in the 1840s. One Reform Act had been enough.

## **2. THE OFFICE OF SHERIFF**

As shown by the Chartist agitation in Clackmannanshire the Sheriff of the County was a powerful position. Scottish county administration was based on the sheriff. In 1748 Heritage Jurisdictions were abolished by the Act of 20 Geo.II.Cap.43, and that Act had made a great change, not only in the constitution of the courts but also in the sheriff's jurisdiction and their extent of business. The sheriff and his deputed had now to be professional lawyers and could only be appointed by the Court of Session. The sheriff's powers and duties at the time were quite extensive not only in criminal matters, but also as the Crown Officer for the county superintending the election of members to the House of Commons, and the selection of jury men for the Court of Justiciary. He attended to the publication of Royal Proclamations and was the collector of fines and forfeits to the Crown. The sheriff also enforced all warrants from the Crown and High Court of Justiciary, and was responsible for making up the Register of Voters for the election of Members of Parliament.<sup>29</sup> As can be seen he had wide ranging powers which covered many areas in the county. He was also a member of the Commissioners of Supply and had direct contact with the Lord Lieutenant of the area. In Clackmannanshire during most of the period this was Lord Melville or Lord Abercromby. Lord Mar although resident in the county was the Lord Lieutenant of Stirlingshire.

The Sheriff of Clackmannanshire during the whole period from 1832-66 was a Mr. John Tait, Advocate, (see appendix 6 for Tait's letter of appointment) whose father was Mr. Crawford Tait W.S, Lord President of the Court of Session and proprietor of the estate of Harviestoun in Clackmannanshire. John Tait had become an advocate in 1819 and was appointed sheriff in consequence of his intimate connection with the county. His family's affiliations to the county were strong. During this period there were also two sheriffs substitutes/deputed. These were William Clark, W.S. and William Bennett Clark, Advocate.

The positions of sheriffs deputed and substitutes became more important during the nineteenth century. The appointment of the first sheriffs deputed had been in 1748, and had become a

matter of much importance to the government, and not unexpectedly political considerations were very much influential in determining their choices. The Home Secretary, who was responsible for making the appointments, and the Lord Justice Clerk, who made most of the recommendations carried on a very extensive correspondence about who were suitable for these positions. The main criteria being that they had to be totally loyal to His Majesty's person and government, and of exceptionable characters as to their ability and integrity. The government however was more concerned with loyalty than with legal ability at this time. However the appointment of men with at least minimum legal qualifications was already a great improvement over the past, since only seven, perhaps eight, of the old sheriff deutes met the minimum legal qualifications.<sup>30</sup> By the 1840s the sheriffs depute were all qualified lawyers.

The sheriff substitute also became a necessary part of the Scottish court system as the sheriffs came to spend less time in their Sherriffdoms. These were generally ill paid poorly trained men who assisted the sheriffs depute in the early years and no longer met the needs of the Sheriff Courts at the turn of the century. But the changing circumstances of the office were only slowly recognised by the government, the barest minimum of reform had been instituted by 1820. However, by 1826 a law was passed requiring all sheriff substitutes to have three years experience as an advocate, Writer to the Signet, solicitor, or procurator before appointment. By 1830 the sheriff's substitutes had achieved a certain status and were for the most part 'men of respectability,'<sup>31</sup> with most having legal training as can be seen in Clackmannanshire where the substitute sheriff was a Writer of the Signate (WS).

The work that fell to the sheriffs and their substitutes increased dramatically in the nineteenth century. This increase in duties was caused by the increased population growth and the decline in courts which had overlapping jurisdiction with the Sheriff Courts. But much of the heavier load in the nineteenth century came from new duties being assigned to them. The legal reforms which were brought in, in the first half of the nineteenth century in Scotland resulted in the steady aggrandizement of the Sheriffs Courts. Both the civil and the criminal jurisdictions of



the Sheriff's Courts were expanded. Administrative duties became progressively heavier as the role of national and local government became larger. The burden placed on the sheriffs and their deputies also grew because of the growing complexity of commercial life. By a series of acts beginning in 1823 the commissary courts and the old church courts were abolished. Their old jurisdiction over all questions of marriage, divorce, bastardy, and wills was vested in the Sheriff's Courts and the Court of Session.<sup>32</sup> In 1830 the High Court of the Admiralty was abolished, and original jurisdiction in Admiralty, or maritime cases fell to the sheriffs. In Clackmannanshire this passed many duties on to the sheriff's office, because Alloa was the major port in the area at this time.

With the establishment of the Sheriff Court in Alloa, the sheriff's depute and substitute was helped in carrying out the work of the courts by a Procurator Fiscal, the sheriff clerk and the honorary sheriff's substitute. The roles of the procurator fiscal and the clerk became fairly important positions within the system and of course these positions were now being taken up by the educated middle classes.

### **3. THE COMMISSIONERS OF SUPPLY**

The Commissioners of Supply were first established in 1667 in Scotland for the sole purpose of collecting the Cess or National Land Tax. The Commissioners themselves were landowners charged with collecting the tax from their fellow landowners. In Scotland they acquired duties beyond the collection of Land Tax, and by the nineteenth century the Commissioners of Supply became both an important institution of local government and the most important body for expressing the views of landowners in Scotland. After 1800 until the coming of the county councils (which destroyed the commissions in all but name), the duties of the commissions were based on the collection and supervision of local taxes. In these years all important county assessments were imposed by the Commissioners.<sup>33</sup>

To become a member of the Commissioners of Supply in the county, the British Acts relating to the Scottish Land Tax required that no one could act unless he owned land or was the superior of lands to the value of £100. Eldest sons and heirs would also qualify. Townsmen were excluded because the Royal Burghs and Burghs of Barony paid their share of the cess separately and were not involved in the county assessment.<sup>34</sup> Thus £100 Scots, granted membership to quite a number of the small landowners, as only they paid the land tax. These original qualifications stood unchanged until 1854, when a new law introduced the Valuation of Lands Act which instituted annual valuation of real property for tax purposes and so altered the basis of county taxation. This changed the membership qualifications for elder sons and heirs which rose to £400 for membership, and the factor or owners of property of £800 value could also become members.<sup>35</sup> However, the impact of the new law was minor with the personnel of the commissions remaining substantially the same. Up to 1856 the new members of Commissioners of Supply had to be named by Parliamentary Act. Thereafter all those who qualified by the Valuation Rolls had only to inform the Clerk of Supply of their desire to be placed on the list of Commissioners and they were included.

In Scotland in 1836 there were 5,700 Commissioners.<sup>36</sup> However, not everyone who qualified wanted to be a commissioner. In Clackmannan in 1836 twenty five men qualified but only ten were represented, however by 1869 forty five qualified and thirty nine were represented.<sup>37</sup> In other counties the numbers of Commissioners in Scotland decreased, but the Clackmannanshire minutes book show an increase in people taking up membership, for what reason is not clear. However it could be argued that the increase in numbers of Commissioners was because the role involved the status of power and respectability within the community. With the tax burden on the community rising, by being a member of the commissioner's individuals would therefore have more influence in trying to keep their own tax burden down. Human nature dictates that as an individual, one would not, if giving the choice burden oneself with tax. Another reason is that although Clackmannanshire was a county seat it had a large industrial sector, and with the

change of membership being allowed in 1854 the urban manufacturing classes, such as the Patons became eligible.

Looking at the identities of the Commissioners of Supply in Clackmannanshire we come across familiar names: Lord Abercromby Lord Lieutenant; the Earl of Mansfield; Robert Bruce Esq., Tory Candidate and ex MP; John Tait Esq. Sheriff of Clackmannan; William Bennett Clarke Sheriff Depute; James Moir Senior Magistrate and Leader of Alloa Council; James Leishman Committee of Alloa First Rifle Volunteers. These are just a few names from the membership of the Commissioners. James Moir qualified due to the new rules in 1856, which let property owners join with the intention being to forge links with urban areas in the county. Thus encompassing the urban middle classes with the rural elite.

The Convenor of the Commissioners of Supply by the nineteenth century had become a very important position within the county and was the main representative of the landed interests. After the sheriff, the convenor was the most important county leader, outdistancing the Lord Lieutenant in everything but prestige.<sup>38</sup> The convenor was voted in by his peers; as where the Lord Lieutenant was chosen by the Monarch and was basically a figurehead in the county. The convenor for almost all of the period 1832-66 was Robert Bruce of Kennet, who was a former Tory MP. The county MP over this period was of the Whig and Liberal persuasion. In any case most Scottish land owners held the same views on national issues and for most of the nineteenth century they were Tory, so relatively few men were able to use the convenorship in Scotland as a path to Parliament after 1832.<sup>39</sup>

The Commissioners communicated with Parliament and other Commissioners of different counties through petitions, with some examples being seen in the Clackmannanshire Commissioners of Supply Minutes Book 1832-70. On the 13<sup>th</sup> April 1845 the Clerk laid before the meeting the resolution, relating to Sir Robert Peel's proposal for altering the banking system of Scotland. The Commissioners who were known to have definite Tory sympathies approved the recommendations and petitioned Parliament in its support.<sup>40</sup>

The Commissioners usually met four times a year to dispense their duties, the main meeting taking place at their Michaelmas Head Court when they carried out the major part of the county's business. This provides us with an insight into what was under their jurisdiction.

Their main duty was to set the quarterly Land Tax (Cess). In Clackmannanshire the tax was spent on the county for policing, payment to the Procurator Fiscal's office in Edinburgh for accounts of the courts; the prison lock-up in Alloa; payment for the Stirlingshire militia stores, prison board payments to Stirling for prisoners from Clackmannanshire, and payment for medical treatment for prisoners. They were also responsible for collecting rogue money which was the fines imposed on individuals for criminal acts. They were responsible for levying tolls for bridges and the up-keep of the major roads in the area. Individuals or groups could apply for money for the up-keep of bridges etc.

One of their main duties was policing. However the counties in Scotland were very slow to accept the idea that well paid officials might provide a solution to vagrancy and general crime. Nevertheless successive Police Acts of 1835, 1839 and 1850 were forcing them into more action as concerns about disorder were growing. The 1830s and 1840s were the years of anxiety in Scotland, feeding on economic depression as well as the radical and industrial agitation which culminated in 1842 with the Second Chartist Petition and the Plug Plot. Policing was beginning to be taken more seriously, and this can be seen in the Committee Minutes over a space of thirty years. The Commissioners were also responsible for public buildings such as courts and lock-ups. However by 1862 law and order was being taken more seriously, and more control over society was being exercised in the administration of law and order.

In 1862 an Act of Parliament was implemented to provide additional accommodation for Sheriff Courts in Scotland. The Commissioners were informed that their present building was inadequate and a new one required. The new building cost £4994. 9s. 10d, and comprised eleven rooms with lock-ups for prisoners.<sup>41</sup> The building was formally opened on 8<sup>th</sup> December

1865 and it was deemed a fitting occasion to give a public dinner for Sheriff Tait in appreciation of his services as sheriff. This was a big change from a single room used as a lock up thirty years before.<sup>42</sup>

Although the Commissioners only met officially four times a year, they had a tendency to divide their work in to committees which would meet as regularly as their business demanded. These committees were mostly for the following purposes: scrutinising new membership qualifications; voters and Valuation Rolls of the county; Committee of Appeals on their local assessment and Prison Board and Police Committees. They were also responsible for weights and measures, gas meters, and employed inspectors for both. Their jurisdiction also took in the improvements for the navigation of The River Forth, and when new lunacy laws were brought in, they were liable to pay for any person from Clackmannanshire who was sent to an asylum. As the century rolled on they also had to employ inspectors to check farms to prevent infectious diseases, as a consequence of the introduction of the Cattle Disease Prevention Act 1866.<sup>43</sup> When the government increased the legislative powers in specific areas it rarely gave direction to the Commissioners as to how to carry these out. Thus control over the police, asylum and prisons was given directly to local committees or boards, which reported annually to the Commissioners.

By the 1860s, general meetings of the Commissioners of Supply became quite formal, acting more like a county council, with some of the powers that a modern council imposes. They performed their duties fairly efficiently and remained the centre of county landed opinion. However, with an increasingly more democratic society it proved difficult to justify an institution which represented only the landed classes. When Scottish local government was reformed in 1889, and county councils established, all the important duties of the Commissioners of Supply were assigned to these new councils and for all practical purposes the Commissioners of Supply disappeared.<sup>44</sup> However until 1889 they controlled the

administration of the county, with the landowners and their new partners the urban middle classes being the only ones available for membership of the Commissioners.

#### 4. THE MILITIA AND VOLUNTEER MOVEMENTS

One of the many movements that the middle classes joined with enthusiasm was the 'Militia and Volunteer Movement'. In the late 1840s and 1850s, the pressure of war threats and war itself caused the government to reconsider the status of the militia and the volunteers. In 1854 the new Scottish Militia Act <sup>45</sup> gave the militia a permanent peacetime existence and in 1850, the volunteers had been revived in something like their original form. It took the war scare in 1859 to revitalise the volunteer units throughout the country. The war scare occurred in response to a perceived threat of invasion by the French under Napoleon III whose adventures in Italy were the root cause. The call by the government for the raising of volunteer forces in Scotland was met with a large response in recruitment at twice the British average. (Some of the workers, to show their civil and patriotic responsibility, and to show that they were worthy of the vote, joined the new militias being formed). From Glasgow it was patronisingly reported that 'The social tones of the artisans had been much improved by becoming volunteers, and they had become more loyal and regular.'<sup>46</sup>

Most of these new units were infantry or artillery and were really designed to meet the needs of the professional and business classes. Their appeal clearly lay in the more democratic and flexible structure of volunteer units compared to previously when the officers were chosen by the Lord Lieutenant or the great landowners and were limited by property qualifications. There were no long blocks of training every year, just evening or weekend drill which accorded better with the daily life of the non land holding classes,<sup>47</sup> particularly the new urban middle classes. The new volunteers governed themselves and were effectively beyond the formal and informal control of the Lieutenancy, especially in Scotland. However, the new units being formed caused some controversy. Although they might have gained freedom from control by the landed

aristocracy, they fell into the same trap as the yeomanry after 1815, where service had given status, and all costs of their equipment and training had to be borne by the members, or a patron. Just as the great cost of horses and cavalry uniforms made the cavalry the elite of the army, these costs made the yeomanry the elite of the countryside.<sup>48</sup> The new volunteer movements were being branded as elite, as only the middle classes could afford to buy the uniforms and support the unit, as for the majority of the working classes the costs were prohibitive.

This can be demonstrated by an examination of the volunteer unit raised in Clackmannanshire, 'The Alloa Rifle Volunteer Movement. A meeting was held on 18<sup>th</sup> November 1859 in the Assembly Rooms in Alloa, the purpose to set up a Volunteer Movement. The room was filled to capacity with three of the counties magistrates being locked out of the meeting. The chair was taken by William Bennett Clarke, sheriff substitute for the area. His first action was to read a letter to the assembly stating that sheriff Tait had had a meeting with the Earl of Mansfield and both were in favour of a unit being formed and that both would give a subscription.

The motion was overwhelmingly carried and a committee was formed. As can be seen from the names and occupations of the committee members most are on the 1854 voting register, which would indicate that the vast majority would have thought of themselves as middle class and quite a few were committee members of Alloa council and members of the Commissioners of Supply. The meeting was also informed that for any person wishing to join expenses would be incurred, as apart from having to buy their own uniforms, the corps would have to cover the costs of a drill sergeant and a depot for the arms and ammunition; rifles would be supplied by the government. These costs as stated had to be borne by the members.

This brought up the admission of working men. Mr. Emanuel Watters owner of the Crown Hotel spoke in favour of the admission of working men and asked that favourable terms be given to enable them to join, so that those who could not down pay the costs all at once should

be allowed to pay up weekly or fortnightly. The chairman answered that it would be up to the committee and had no doubt they would look at this matter and also to the terms of membership. A Mr. Maitland of the Bass Crest Brewery also supported the entry of working men. However it was decided at the meeting that those who could pay for their uniforms were eligible as members, where upon upward of fifty gave their names. A uniform could be bought complete for the sum of £3 10s. It was also resolved that a subscription list was to be opened to provide funds to meet the required expenditure of the unit<sup>49</sup> (other than uniforms).

At a later meeting the committee, along with all members, ninety in total, elected their officers. The meeting was informed that in election of their officers they must vote for the right type of person who would bring credit to the force. The officer corps of the force was made up of the following - Mr. Mitchell, Captain, a well known businessman in the area; Mr. Harvey, Lieutenant; Mr. Buchanan, Ensign, (Sheriff Clerk Depute); Mr. Wallace, Sergeant of Corps, writer; and the corps banker was to be a Mr. Fotheringham who also happened to be the manager of the Commercial Bank of Scotland.<sup>50</sup>

The membership of working men was to become an issue in the country. The movement was being described as middle class in *The Evening Star*, as the expenditure of membership was beyond the means of a working man,

*it is expressly seen he is not wanted, to listen to the noblemen, gentlemen, Colonels and rectors who speak at these meetings, one would be led to the conclusion that the working classes form no part of this nation, but are and ought to be practically in the condition of the serfs and villains of old. Let us forever pray that an end may be put to such insolence as this. The Volunteer Force would never answer the purpose of a national defence while the class inured to hard work and privation is excluded from it. If it does not buck up in drilling, then the movement will collapse, which from its snobbishness it deserves.*<sup>51</sup>

This damning indictment of the narrowness of class membership in the Volunteer Force is reflected in the membership in Alloa. The *Daily Telegraph* also got in on the act stating that



the membership was over 100,000, 'but all you hear is the bickering about uniform type and what colour, with pictures of men in knickerbockers, their childish behaviour with them bickering with each other and trying to outdo one another in the tailoring of uniforms'.<sup>52</sup> This also prevailed in Alloa with colour and type being a main argument, recounted in the press reports of their committee meetings.<sup>53</sup> There is no doubt that for the most part the volunteer movements were middle class controlled organisations, even if in some areas such as Glasgow, there was some working class membership;<sup>54</sup> however the majority of these working class members would have been made up from the respectable working classes.

In contrast to this the regular army, which was fighting numerous colonial wars in all parts of the world was made up from the lower working classes. The respectable working classes shunned the army as a career, seeing it as a brutal degraded environment. When Sir William Robertson who was to be the first man to rise from private to Field Marshal enlisted in 1877, his mother wrote to him 'I would rather bury you than see you in a red coat.'<sup>55</sup> The middle classes were playing at the game in support of the armed forces in the battles that took place in the building of empire, and thought they were playing their part by being members of the militia, but the majority of them would never think of becoming full time soldiers. In historical terms instead of the working classes trying to ape the middle classes, this was the middle classes aping the landed classes who had a long established military tradition.

## **5. EMPLOYER CONTROL**

With the increasing industrialisation of parts of Clackmannanshire, especially in Alloa and Tillicoultry the role of employers took on a greater part in the daily life of the ordinary worker. Patrick Joyce in his study of the Lancashire cotton industry has convincingly demonstrated how a paternalistic strategy was used by employers to obtain the social cohesion of the workforce. Joyce argued that the implication of paternalism by employers was fundamental to understanding the stabilisation of class relations in the mid Victorian period. As employers

moved away from a policy of confrontation a civic ethos emerged which stressed the virtues of philanthropy and rewarded the recognition of labour.<sup>56</sup> Although In looking at Clackmannanshire we can see a few examples of this, however not all of the workers were too pleased with some of the paternalistic ideas of their employers, especially the miners in the area.

Robert Bald, was a mining engineer who tried to improve the lives of his employees, however most of them did not see it that way. Bald, apart from being an innovator was very religious. He had published a book in 1825, *A General View of the Coal Trade in Scotland*,<sup>57</sup> part of which dealt with the conditions of the woman, known as bearers who carried the coals underground in Scotland. Bald was hoping to arouse public indignation by describing the conditions of this class of women whose peculiar situation was little known to the world.

The Earl of Mar, who owned the Alloa Coal Company along with Robert Bald, had many interests in common and shared a reforming zeal far in advance of their contemporaries, However as the Earl grew older, he was not so willing to support Bald's suggestions and their relationship became somewhat embittered as they were divided on the attitudes to be adopted towards their workmen.

Bald felt that drunk or lazy workmen should be treated leniently as their living and home conditions left so much to be desired. Although Bald was dissatisfied with many of the men whom he knew to be indolent and much addicted to drink, yet he was reluctant to dismiss them as the Earl advised. However his reforming zeal and motives did not go down well with everybody, especially the people he was trying to help. The miners felt that any improvements would only lead to increased profits for the Earl of Mar who owned the mine. Bald still went ahead with his reforms and acted to better the miners' accommodation, as their houses were shabby, small and dirty. His first act was to remove the ash pits from the front of their houses and to sweep the surrounding streets daily. He began lectures on 'order and cleanliness'<sup>58</sup> and circulated a set of rules on these subjects, such as cleaning their homes once a week and

whitewashing it once a year, not keeping cattle, pigs, poultry or dogs in the house, which would be a good idea if you were trying to keep a house clean. Bald appointed inspectors to check the interiors of the miner's houses, but they were locked out by infuriated women, who hurled abuse at the inspectors and Bald himself, 'him and his havers they exclaimed, what right has he to tell us how to keep our houses, he doesn't live in them.'<sup>59</sup>

Relations between Bald and the miners went from bad to worse. This determined opposition was a great disappointment to Bald; however he decided not to give in. In the summer of 1832, a climax was reached with his workers when a cholera outbreak hit Scotland with up to 10,000 dying. The outbreak also hit the mining areas in Clackmannanshire when thirty three people died, described by Bald as 'thirty three persons in the twinkling of an eye, been hurled into eternity to appear before the judgement seat of God.'<sup>60</sup> Bald's action during this catastrophe was to issue a leaflet similar to a religious tract which was distributed to every house in the three mining areas of the shire that he managed. He placed the responsibility for the cholera outbreak on the miners 'this very dreadful and afflicting dispensation of divine providence, at the door of many of you, who have been seen drunk from the use of whisky in immoderate quantities and what makes it worse, particularly at dregies.'<sup>61</sup> (Wakes)

His solution to the drink problem was to order a supply of good and moderate priced wine to be kept at the county change houses, 'so that on mournful occasions your friends can have refreshment and avoid the very bad effects of an immoderate drinking of whisky.'<sup>62</sup> Bald's leaflet warned that instant dismissal would follow if these regulations were disregarded. He also issued a warning that the Alloa Baillie's and watchmen in the nearby villages would patrol the streets at night and report those who were found to be drunk. This system of snoopers aroused even more anger among the miners

Bald also instituted prayer meetings at his three collieries where he issued twelve rules which laid down weekly procedures and lines of conduct for the miners that he wanted them to follow.

Bald's system for dealing with a drunkard seems to have been to try and reason with him, firstly, man to man then by two members of the miner's committee. If that did not work the offender would then be brought to a full public meeting of the mining community and if he would still not repent he would be excluded from the society. The miners and their wife's rebelled against this interference and stayed away from work, with the result that the Earl of Mar and his factor had to remonstrate with Bald. Bald threatened to resign as manager, or take over the collieries himself when the lease expired in 1835, which he did. He now had control over the Collyland, Woodlands and Devonside pits.

He continued in his schemes to benefit the colliery employees although few approved of his ideas, least of all his business partners, who saw their investment being wasted on unnecessary schemes. These people were commercial men who had invested their capital for profit and had no concern beyond the ordinary business world, and certainly none for philanthropic schemes. Eventually his business partners had enough and withdrew their support with the result that the three pits passed in to the hands of the Alloa Colliery Company.<sup>63</sup>

Bald carried on in mining as a consultant and was well respected, being the adviser to well known business families in the West of Scotland such as the Bairds, Dixons and Dunlops. His campaigning zeal was to bring change to the industry when he helped and advised the Earl of Shaftsbury in a campaign which resulted in the 1843 act 'prohibiting any women or boys under the age of 10 from being employed in any mine or colliery and anyone under 15 in charge of a winding machine'<sup>64</sup>. Bald had made history and changed mining forever.

In 1861 Robert Bald died at eighty six in his home in Alloa, he had become the leading mining engineer in Scotland and mine owners of the nineteenth century owed a great deal to him for the foundations on which they based their calculations and developments. Bald like others such as Robert Owen, whom he must have been influenced by, had all failed in their philanthropic investments which were regarded suspiciously by both the workforce itself and the capital owners and investors.

One of the biggest employers in the area was the textile industry and the largest of these was Patons yarns which had numerous factories in the county. The company was built up through the 1800s, and by 1900, had over 1,700 employees. Patons was a family run business and the family became great philanthropic contributors to the Alloa community using a paternalistic strategy through the years to control and influence their employees. The family were associated with the United Presbyterian Church and renowned for their piety. The Paton dynasty started with James and Andrew Paton when they left Muckhart to become weavers and dyers in Alloa. James's son, John Paton 1768-1848 established the successful Kincaigs spinning mill which in turn was made famous by his descendants. His elder son James, 1797-1882 and David founded their own textile mill at Tillicoultry which continued manufacture under James's family. Kincaigs passed to John Patons daughter Mary whose own sons were John Paton and David Paton. The younger Paton daughter also founded the Forrester Paton family, exponents of the temperance movement and great patrons of Alloa.<sup>65</sup>

In the early years of the company a school was built near the factory by Alexander Paton, at this time of course fees were charged for all education and the main purpose of this school was to provide free education for their young employees and for the children of workers in the factory. On the death of Alexander Paton, an endowment which he left provided for the continuation of the school right up to 1872 when the Education in Scotland Act came into being and free elementary education becoming universal.

Patons did not have any pension scheme for its workers. However it was said that on retiral of a worker the general practice was to recognise long service by granting a voluntary pension, which was said to be greatly appreciated. Another aspect of their influence on their workers lives was that they instituted Sunday classes, primarily for young folk of bible class and Sunday school ages.

Another strategy to create good relations between their workers and management was day trip excursions, which by the 1860s looked to have become an established activity and was said to

take place every five years. Of course in these times, few could take advantage of the much more limited facilities for travel that became available in later years. It was said that these 'mill trips'<sup>66</sup> were red letter days which were looked forward to with keen anticipation, with the company band heading the procession of workers to the station, which became a stirring event in the community. The destination was usually one of the resorts on the Forth or the Clyde. These excursions continued up to the First World War.<sup>67</sup>

The partners of Patons who were all related also had a strong influence on the community. For example Mr Thomson Paton in 1888 at a cost of £30,000 presented to the town of Alloa, a Town hall complete with reading room and library. The erection of a library within the building also gives us an insight into the Victorian mindset. Throughout the country it had become the view of the middle classes that public libraries were the cheapest insurance against social unrest. The thinking was that it was possible to control the working classes through reading material.

Within the new library a system of closed access was used, this system was that a reader chose a book from a catalogue then made his or her request to the librarian, and if the book was on the shelves an assistant would collect the book and issue it to the reader. The Morgan's library indicator, as it was called, was a system which recorded the books on loan to the reader and it was therefore possible to see which books were being read.<sup>68</sup> When the library was opened there had been a great many requests for tickets from all sections of the community. By the following year the reading room was so heavily used that it was difficult to obtain a seat. As 80% of the material read was fictional this gave rise to a great deal of concern from the library committee. The editor of the *Alloa Advertiser* also complained in an article that too much fiction was being read by the working classes. The library committee was of course made up of members of the middle classes namely, Rev Alex Bryson, Archibald Moir, factor, John McCulloch, draper, James Cowie, mill manager, Archibald Ewing, manager of the Co-op, William Bailey Potter, and the Rev Wilson Harper. They claimed that not enough attention was

given to the classics by the tradesmen and craftsmen who made up 24% of the membership, and the clerks and shopkeepers who made up 32%. This concern is an example of the general attitude in the country, mainly of the middle classes, against frivolous leisure. The feeling of the upper and middle classes was one of fear and suspicion towards the idle poor. In 1880 the hours worked in the textile factory had been reduced from 72 hours to 54 hours per week, Saturday half days off, and all day Sunday were now common and it was felt that the devil would make mischief for idle hands.

The landed and middle classes fear of revolution caused this vigilance and control, especially after the 1848 revolutions that had taken place all over Europe. The perceived threat was believed to come from the large manufacturing districts with their growing ranks of urban tradesmen. The main fear being socialism and its threats to capitalism and wealth and the growing power of the trade unions. This interference with reading material within the library is illustrated by a couple of incidents which took place in Alloa. The working classes preference for fiction gave the library a problem as fiction books were in the minority in the library. However the library committee, despite much opposition, decided to order more fiction because the majority of users read it. It was stressed however that it had to be of a healthy nature, as the reading of fiction was thought to have a damaging influence on the lower classes. However, to balance this, the committee were also anxious to encourage readers to use the library in a constructive way by promoting books they felt should be read. For example in 1896, readers had been urged to borrow a book entitled 'Made in Germany.'<sup>69</sup> Copies of which had been donated to each library in the country by a wealthy donor from London. Artisans and mechanics were asked to read about the competition in Germany and to make them aware of the consequences and impact this would have on world trade. This can be seen as a prelude to the Liberals national efficiency arguments that were promoted in the early 1900s.

Mr Thomson Paton in 1898 presented the town with a further much needed public baths and gymnasium, while other Patons and members of the company's board also contributed to the

community. Mr David Thomson from 1881 was a member of the Commissioners of Supply board up to 1894, (another instance of how influential the urban rich manufacturing class had become in their partnership with the landed classes,) Mr A. P. Forrester Paton served on the Alloa school board and for some years was chairman. During this time he built, equipped and partially endowed a higher grade or secondary school which he handed over to the school board when education was transferred to public control. As the town had previously lacked such an institution this gesture stimulated interest in secondary education. He was also responsible for building and equipping a model workshop for manual instruction, which had become a recognised part of the educational curriculum.

Robert Proctor was the Patons factory accountant who was interested and actively engaged in Sunday school work. In his later years he built a hall and a suite of rooms especially adapted for such work and handed them over to the United Presbyterian Church of which he was a member.

The Patons of Alloa were a powerful family in the county having made their fortune during the industrial revolution. As a typical Victorian upper middle class family they supported the Society for Total Abstinence and the Liberal party.

In general the middle classes mounted an impressive assault on the behaviour patterns associated with the pre-industrial order particularly drinking and riotous assembly. Although there had been attempts earlier to remould working class culture, particularly its rougher aspects, the mid-Victorian period witnessed an intensification of effort on the part of the middle classes, whose action against alcohol played a major part in their attempt at social control. However there were wider implications which affected voting patterns, for example, it was not in the brewery workers interest to vote Liberal in Clackmannanshire as total abstinence became a force in Liberal policies with proposals made to suppress the drink trade. Many ex-brewery workers found that employment in Patons was not available to them as connections with the drinks trade were frowned upon. The Society for Total Abstinence provoked the better-led



activities of the breweries and their shareholders. By 1886 In Clackmannanshire the Earl of Mar and the Youngers who were major brewers were Conservatives and the Patons as Liberals had become political rivals for local and national government

The paternalism of the Paton family fits well with the arguments put forward by Joe Melling 'that the cases of welfare at this time were based on rational cost benefits or had an overt strategic purpose.'<sup>70</sup> Patons is a prime example of a company wielding great influence in a small town and the surrounding villages. They had a near monopoly in the labour market in Clackmannanshire and as they also controlled housing in the area, this helped increase their influence over their employees. This was similar to the policy of tied housing used by the mine owners and farmers. Through acts of public benevolence they were able to extend the workplace authority beyond the factory, with paternalism used as a beneficial strategy in controlling their employees. This of course was designed to increase worker's dependency on the employer and as W.W. Knox informs us is similar to the case in Paisley with Coates. 'That their antenna reached beyond the factory gates, to enmesh a whole community of workers in a social matrix welded together by a mixture of material and ideological support'.<sup>71</sup> Just as Coates did in Paisley, the Paton dynasty donated a town hall in Alloa. This event was preceded by a great procession to mark the inauguration which symbolised the economic and social power of the Patons within their community.

This power and how it grew can be seen from the following example. In the 1830s Patons Kinbraigs mill was a comparatively small works covering an area of about half an acre, giving employment to about fifty people. Gradually however, as the merit of their famous yarns became more known throughout the country the partners of the firm found it necessary in 1867 to expand their premises. This expansion and how it was achieved demonstrates how their power and influence had also grown in the county and how the growth and power of the middle classes had taken control in the county.

In order to accomplish the mill expansion a large part of what was known as Old Market Street was purchased at a considerable cost at the time. The new factory could not be built unless part of the Old Town was demolished. However this move by Patons was not greeted with joy by everyone and the arguments used by the establishment had been used in other towns and cities in Scotland, especially Glasgow, to force change on the populace with or without their consent.

Alloa like other towns at the time had its Old Town, which was described as having filthy streets, decaying houses and a dense population. The Old Town had been built on both sides of the Brathie Burn, through it and across this burn ran the only road leading to the east. The opening up of a new road by Shillinghill, and using the new bridge and the shutting of the old road was said to have doomed the Old Town to gradual deterioration and decay. The argument ran that it lay out with the great line of traffic and consequently the houses were never rebuilt and came to be occupied by what was regarded by the establishment and the middle classes as the lowest class of the population. These were certainly not the type of people that the establishment were requiring to be franchised with the vote, which was being debated within the town at this time, 1867. The part of the Old Town which still stood at this time was on the right hand side of the burn, as the left hand side of the area had already been demolished and was used as a public bleaching green. The Burgh Commissioners had improved the streets but the area was still regarded as a problem. The area was regarded as an ample area for missionary and other benevolent agencies, and was said to supply the police court with most of the cases that came in front of it. It was also described as the favourite lurking place of fever and pestilence and was full of hard ale shops and brothels. Therefore, the argument ran that, in such a locality as this the conditions of life were so damaging to the health and morality of the people that all efforts of improvement were regarded as futile, although no details are given as to what if any efforts were tried with any great conviction. Those said to benefit from help took

the first opportunity to leave the area, however as soon as one family left, the wretched houses were said to attract a fresh succession of more wretched inhabitants.<sup>72</sup>

The one prime argument used against the area was poor sanitary conditions and those who took an interest in social reform argued that the only available and certain remedy was demolition, or if this was not possible the opening up of new streets to afford a better supply of air and light to reduce the density of the population. The intention being to introduce a better class of people whose influence it was thought would raise the others to their level. However Patons had threatened that the expansion of the mill was on condition that the old town was removed. The expense of removing the Old Town was a formidable obstacle to its application. An Act of Parliament had to be obtained in the face of opposition from the owners of the old properties who were demanding to be compensated. Rotten and dilapidated buildings crowded with residents show a good rent roll with a large source of income for the owners. These owners were referred to as 'narrow minded men'<sup>73</sup> in the local press and were regarded as formidable antagonists to what was regarded by the establishment as a rational and ultimately profitable scheme of improvement.<sup>74</sup> However the owners of the buildings in the Old Town were not the only landlords in the area, one of the directors of Patons had just bought up houses in a near by street and was in the process of renovating these houses for rent. Was this coincidence? To carry out the demolition work would of course cost the local tax payer of the area a large sum of money, but Patons were offering to carry this work out at their cost, with no cost to the rate payer, as this was to be a private enterprise project.

Messrs Patons submitted to the Burgh Commissioners their plans for the Kincaigs factory and provisions to open up and improve the access to the Old Town, on condition that the old and more tortuous streets were given up. This of course meant that it would lead to the demolition of a considerable number of houses, the counter argument being that the proposed extension of the manufactory capacity of Kincaigs would have a beneficial effect on what would remain of the Old Town. The Commissioners approved the plan and the demolition of the housing and the

new building programme went ahead. What was lost to the area was some very old buildings and the history of the area. In the Old Town stood the Cross and the Tron, also on the corner of Market Street there was a house approximately 200 years, old and in good condition with dormer windows and beautiful carvings.<sup>75</sup> The other houses that were to be demolished were buildings with outside stairs leading to the pavements. These stairs were used by the authorities as an argument for demolition, giving that they blocked the pavements. The houses were acknowledged to be picturesque, but sanitary and social conditions it was argued must take precedent and that the history of the area could be preserved with photographs and art could be used to represent what had passed away. It was calculated by the establishment that only about thirty five families would be affected, but an examination of the old maps of the area suggest there must have been at least double this amount if the argument of mass over crowding is to be believed.

The demolition was to be gradual with ample time for removal of the families, with abundant provision to be made in new buildings, in more suitable localities to compensate for the loss of accommodation which the alterations would involve.<sup>76</sup>

The demolition went ahead with the new factory occupying almost six acres of ground and gave employment to almost 1000 people. The Patons also built a factory at Clackmannan, which employed 200 people and another one at Keilarsbrac, which also employed a large number.

However there is no getting away from the fact that Alloa and the other larger towns in Clackmannanshire suffered their share of poor sanitations, disease, unemployment, and social problems as did all other towns and cities in Scotland. But the question has to be asked, was it the economic power of the Patons that counted in the decision to demolish the Old Town and be replaced by a factory? If it was on the grounds of social conditions as claimed by the authorities, then why was the decision not taken much earlier if the problem was so great?

Manufacturing in Clackmannanshire was a major player in the county's wealth and manufactures often regarded as the principal agents of modernisation and entrepreneurship and

are viewed as a crucial element in the formation of the middle classes. Nenadic argues that in numbers, wealth and power manufacturers were a relatively small element of the middle class in cities that had a large commitment to manufacturing activity and a large factory workforce and they were not as influential in the creation of the middle class, this persistent and influential myth of the dominant manufacture would leave us to believe.<sup>77</sup> In Clackmannanshire this was certainly no myth, employers such as the Patons and the Youngers held great sway, especially in Alloa.

The practitioners of the 'New economic history' have concluded that the classical industrial revolution was not an event that gave rise to major discontinuities in the economic sphere,<sup>78</sup> again this is a broad brush statement and does not do justice to the economic changes that took place in small towns in Scotland and was certainly not the case in Clackmannanshire by a long shot.

Where I would agree with Nenadic is that the manufacturers have to be recognised for the importance of the cultural implications of industrial developments as the impact, especially in Alloa, was considerable. Towns in Clackmannanshire came late to the development of local government and therefore the large manufacturers found it easier to influence them and the services that they provided.

The time period of the dissertation leaves towns like Alloa in the area totally under the control of the middle classes, unlike some cities and towns in Britain where sectarian tensions between non conformist and conformist and Tory and Liberal agenda's could cause rifts within the middle class elites but these were not evident to any great extent in Clackmannanshire nor was the influence of aristocratic estates which could often produce sharp conflicts with middle class leaders.<sup>79</sup>

## **6. MASONIC INFLUENCES**

One influential group within the community was the Masons; their influence could be seen in the procession that took place to mark the laying of the foundation stone for the new Alloa

town hall. In order to understand their position in the community it is useful to have some insight into their history. By the sixteenth century the custom of forming operative mason's lodges for the erection of large buildings was well established in Scotland. Lodges in Edinburgh, Kilwinning, Stirling Aberdeen, Glasgow and Dundee controlled the general building in these towns, and it is on record that these Lodges exercised oversight of the surrounding county districts.

The earliest record of Masonic meetings in Alloa goes back to the early 1750's when Brethren from the Lodge of Stirling travelled to Alloa and there, initiated candidates into the craft.<sup>80</sup> At this time the Lodge in Alloa was designated a Depute Lodge of the Lodge of Stirling, possessing neither a name nor a number in its own right. Whilst the Alloa masons met in harmony, no degrees could be conferred without the commissioned office bearers of the Lodge of Stirling being present. However the journey in winter from Stirling was regarded as arduous. There was no regular coach, the choice was a rowing boat down the Forth, horseback or shanks pony. Visits were not frequent therefore a decision was made to petition the Grand Lodge of Scotland for the formation of a Lodge in Alloa.

A charter was granted on the 14<sup>th</sup> of November 1757, which became The Lodge of Alloa No 69, the Lodge being constituted on the 31<sup>st</sup> December 1757 with the first candidates being initiated in 1758. The Initiation fee was 12/6d, with passing, and raising a further 13/6d, giving a total £1. 6s. 0d, which in 1757 would have been a large some of money, and would have barred membership to a significant part of the population.<sup>81</sup>

The history of the Lodge records a number of events which had taken place in 1766 during the wars with France. One of the brethren, who had been fighting against the French, had been captured and a payment of one guinea towards the ransom that was required for him by the French was paid by the Lodge. During the 1800's the esteem of the Masonic lodges within the community was such that deputations were invited to many public events, in particular that of the laying of foundation stones of public structures or bridges. The Lodge of Alloa was

represented at many of these events such as Ludgate School 1843. The railway bridge over the Forth at Stirling 1846, Stirling High School 1854, West Free Church, Alloa, Wallace Monument 1861, Burgh Chambers Alloa 1872, Burgh School Alloa 1875, Caledonian Railway Bridge over the Forth at Longcarse, Alloa 1882,<sup>82</sup>

In 1878 the RWM (Right Worthy Master) Thomas Milne learned that the Grand Master Mason of England, the Prince of Wales (later to become Edward VII) was to pass through Alloa station on his way south from Balmoral. A telegraph was sent to Aberdeen requesting that his Royal Highness might receive the members of the Lodge on the station platform. A reply consenting to do so was received. Word quickly spread through the town and about 4.00pm in the afternoon a large crowd assembled at the station, whilst the Alloa instrumental band played national airs. On the platform the members of the Lodge in full regalia, along with the Chief Magistrates and the principal residents of the town were presented to the Prince.<sup>83</sup>

One of the major building projects in the county was the Alloa Town Hall, in 1887 and the laying of the foundation stone showed the power and influences of the masons in the area. The proceedings arranged for the opening were confined to the Masonic body. The main ceremony for the procession and ceremony of the laying of the stone involved eight Masonic Lodges, and approximately 180 masons from the surrounding area had assembled outside the Masonic Hall in Church Street. Masonic representatives from Tasmania and New Zealand joined the procession which was led by a band and headed by the Earl of Mar and Kellie, Right Worshipful Provisional Grand Master of Stirlingshire. Two hundred people were seated to view the laying of the stone. The Reverend Alex Bryson (who was also a mason) opened the ceremony with a prayer of dedication which ended with the words 'deepen the roots of our national life in righteousness and make us people who fear the Lord. Grant thy blessing to this town, its magistrates and all in authority.'<sup>84</sup> This adds to the evidence that the position of most ministers at the time was thoroughly on the side of the state and authority. The Earl of Mar expressed the gratitude of the townspeople for the magnificent gift from their benefactor Mr

Thomas Paton. He went on to comment on the economic depression in the country at the time, which for some years had been felt in places less fortunate than Alloa, places which did not benefit from enterprises like Patons woollens mills 'for which the people can not be too grateful.'<sup>85</sup> The Earl of Mar also pointed out that the Masons looked upon this ceremony of laying the stone as one of their peculiar privileges. 'It gives us an opportunity of emerging from the obscurity and secrecy in which we usually conduct the mysteries of our craft and of coming before the uninitiated with full Masonic rituals.'<sup>86</sup>

When the town hall was opened on the 4<sup>th</sup> December 1888 seats for the opening were in great demand with an allocation system having to be devised to meet this demand. The young Earl of Mar took the chair at the opening, this being his first public duty as he had just succeeded to the title on the death of his father. The opening of the proceedings was conducted by Mr George Younger the chief magistrate of the Burgh (who was part of the Younger Brewery dynasty) When the aristocracy, the magistrates and the urban rich such as the Patons and the Youngers are all masons, the organisation must, even at the lowest form of association, have been presumed to have considerable influence in the community by those outside the organisation especially with a joining fee so high, as to exclude the vast majority of the working classes. Also to join the Masons you had to be proposed by at least two other masons before your name was put forward to the members, who then voted if that person was worthy to join. This of course gave the Masons its mythical secret society status within the community, where only those and such as those were members.

## **7. SOCIETY, ALCOHOL AND THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT.**

Another major area that concerned society was the use or abuse of alcohol. In the Victorian age this had become a great concern, especially to the middle classes some of whom began a crusade against its evils. The scale of the problem and the complex issues involved were brought to the fore with the rise of the Temperance Movement.



The Temperance Movement in Scotland was founded by John Dunlop, a Greenock man, in 1829, and it spread quickly with the help of William Collins, the Glasgow publisher. By 1838 it had been possible to set up a Total Abstinence Union for the whole of Scotland, but decades of campaigning had failed to quench the Scots taste for alcohol.<sup>87</sup> Drink was a serious problem in Scotland because of the huge consumption of whisky. As an example, Alloa, with a population of less than 5,000 in 1841, had 42 taverns and 30 grocer shops where liquor was sold. The Rev. Peter Brotherston, a prominent minister in Alloa, commented 'which are more than the necessities of the people.'<sup>88</sup> Governments were interested in the sale and consumption of alcohol for two reasons, the custom and excise that could be raised and the public order problems which it brought. Another worry for the authorities and the religious groups was the immorality of drink with its capacity to undermine character, religion, work ethic and family responsibility and could lead to destitution.

With the teetotaler's crusading zeal in the country numerous organisations flowered especially in their displays of pledge signing. They all joined together in an attempt to bring about prohibition. This policy was in truth, directed by the middle classes against the working classes in what was perceived to be their fondness and their frequency in public drinking. All classes drank but only the working classes went in for public drinking. No respectable middle class man would enter a public house. Gentlemen took to their clubs and the non-temperance part of the middle classes, which was considerable, took to drinking in their increasingly large and comfortable homes. The working classes, with their meagre home accommodation where most families lived in one room would use the pub as a meeting room, where friends could meet. This of course meant that their drinking took place in public view and in public territory and therefore could be scrutinised.

This attack by a large part of the middle classes on the morals of the drinking habits of the working classes and no doubt some of their own class was not always the way of things at the start of the nineteenth century. Two vices were said by Lord Cockburn to prevail, namely

swearing and drunkenness. Nothing it seemed was more common than for gentlemen who had dined with ladies and meant to rejoin them to get drunk. In addition, to get drunk in a tavern seemed to be considered as a natural if not an intended consequence of going to one. Swearing was also thought to be a right and the mark of a gentleman. For example a naval chaplain justified his cursing of the sailors because it made them listen to him. Cockburn complained that this odious practise was applied with particular offensiveness by those in authority towards their inferiors. In the army it was universal by officers towards soldiers and far more frequent than is now credible by masters towards servants, but it was nothing to the practice of rounds after dinner when the ladies retired. There generally began what were called rounds of toasts when each gentleman named an absent lady and each man an absent man. This went on until everybody within the company was drunk.<sup>89</sup>

It could be said that the working classes were only mimicking their betters, therefore before the rise in the middle classes pursuit of what they deemed to be respectable, the drinking habits of the country, especially the working classes, was normal and only a continuation of previous habits.

In Clackmannanshire there were numerous organisations which sprang up in the county such as, The Order of Rechabites, British Woman's Temperance Movement, British Order of Ancient and Free Gardner's and the Independent Order of Rechabites all in pursuit of changing the working classes association with drink and its use in their lives.

During the Chartist agitation the Chartist leaders were great believers of temperance. Hamish Fraser states, that working class temperance and the founding of the temperance movement in 1828, 'was not a question as it is often presented, of the working class succumbing to essentially middle class mores. It was always predominately a working class movement'<sup>90</sup>. However in Clackmannanshire the temperance movements were mainly run by the middle classes especially by the Patons who frowned on its employees who drank and would not employ people who had worked for the brewers in the area. In this endeavour middle class

philanthropists and the state built on foundations established in the 1830s and 1840s among the skilled workers and Chartists. Which would suggest that due to Clackmannanshire's later development it was the middle classes who took up the baton on temperance, in their promotion of acceptable and respectable behaviour and an obvious starting point in the process of remoulding working class culture was the reform of drinking habits.<sup>91</sup>

One woman who was prominent in the temperance campaign in Clackmannanshire was Catherine Forrester- Paton. At her death she was a national figure in the church, temperance and missionary circles. In her native Alloa it was said that she was known and loved for a life time of imaginative service to the community. The local papers devoted lengthy columns to the obituary of what it called one of Alloa's most esteemed and honoured inhabitants.<sup>92</sup> She was part of the Paton dynasty. Her uncle David Paton, who retired to Alloa from the successful business of J&D Paton in Tillicoultry, had devoted his money to home and foreign missions and was a great influence on her. He established missions in Greenside Street, Alloa and in Sauchie, and he took an active part in the practical side of social work for the poor, aged and sick, and during this time Catherine learnt much of the life needs of the people of Alloa.

The Alloa illustrated almanac for 1865 noted 'that many who lived in the town were being huddled up with their families in ways that were not by any means calculated to their improvement, either in their moral or physical well being. Relief from such conditions was easily found in drink which was cheap and accessible'.<sup>93</sup> In central Scotland it was said that there was one legal outlet for every 150 persons. In the second half of the nineteenth century the temperance movement grew in strength, initially as a men's organisation which emphasised self control and later increasingly promoting total abstinence. It was especially strong within the UP Church of which the Patons were members.

Catherine became involved when the woman's temperance movement came to the fore in 1876 after the whirlwind tour of Britain by the American temperance reformer Mother Stewart who paid a visit to Alloa in 1876, hosted by the Rev Peter McDowall of the Townhead church.<sup>94</sup>

She became one of the founder members of the Alloa, British Woman's Temperance Association in which she held the position of secretary for all of her life; she also initiated a programme of activities in the area going beyond the usual temperance and evangelical meetings. She organised courses and demonstrations in practical cooking given by a teacher from the Edinburgh School of Cookery and Domestic Economy, regularly attended by 300 young women.<sup>95</sup>

Attendance at these cookery and home economic classes gave claim to a level in society which was regarded as respectable culture and was used by members of the Scottish working classes to differentiate themselves from those who were deemed unrespectable or of a rough culture. The respectable culture of temperance, thrift, hard work, self improvement, and education was a tool to be used for greater security and prosperity. Women were meant to perform activities restricted to the management of the home and family. Mothers were judged on the cleanliness of their homes and children, and their ability to look after their husbands. Women were often the great perpetrators of these values and were active in the temperance movement, no doubt because they were the main victims of alcoholic abuse within their families.

The value of respectable culture was essential for a woman to attract a husband. In a society where there was a relative shortage of marriageable males, a social stigma was attached to being a spinster. Women were therefore encouraged to develop the skills of domestic science as a necessary skill for marriage and failure to attract a good husband could lead them into rough culture, with all its baggage.

With greater prosperity after 1850 confirmed the relevance of evangelical self help ideology to the organisations of Protestant skilled artisans, the aristocracy of labour which dominated the labour movement of mid Victorian Britain. This ideology created broad trade union agreement with the churches and the middle classes on the economic system and its social conventions which must have helped the middle classes in Clackmannanshire to establish hegemony with their acceptance of the middle class ideological model of society.

The Church embodied the principle upon which the country had been managed for generations, patronage in church and state, deference and power and stability vested in heritable property. The middle classes of the burgeoning cities, on the other hand developed a new social system and culture based on independent values, competition, self reliance and status through hard work rather than inheritance. The urban middle classes demanded separate recognition, the extension of the franchise, the reform of government policy on the basis of laissez faire and equality with the landed classes in matters of religion. The distinguishing feature in the social identity of the new middle classes was evangelicalism, the middle classes, as a broad yet remarkably united social elite, were the masters of its development.<sup>96</sup>

During two severe winters, when there was a lot of unemployment in Alloa the B.W.T.A. members for four months ran a daily soup kitchen in the Townhead Mission Hall, serving up to 100 people daily until the Burgh Commissioners took over.<sup>97</sup> This type of action was prevalent all over the country. In Glasgow in 1876 a tent hall was erected on Glasgow Green serving 1,000 free breakfasts a week. Catherine also started a mission for the sick employing a district nurse from the income raised from branch meetings, which in turn became a model for a district nursing service in the area. The rules of the nursing service set out by her had a strong emphasis on health, education, proper ventilation and cleanliness and initially it was decreed that a member of the branch committee should visit with the nurse once a fortnight. Visions of Bald's attempts to control the miners in the 1830s come to mind. In the 1890s Catherine gave £10,000 for the building of the County Accident Hospital. The only hospital provision hitherto had been the Fever Hospital in Sunnyside or the Poor Law Accommodation.<sup>98</sup>

Although the Patons took a part in the temperance movement other prominent families in the area were not averse to making money out of the drinks industry such as the Younger's and the Bald's. The Younger's were well known in the industry, but what was not so well known was the involvement of Robert Bald's brother John, who founded a distillery at Carsebridge around 1797 which prospered all through the nineteenth century and at the later part of the

nineteenth century became part of the Distillers Company ltd . However pragmatism was not confined to these families. The Patons too were concerned with their place in society and intermarriage also happened between the Younger's and the Patons. Political or moral objections probably giving way to social expediency, because being married into the correct class was seen as more important.

Nenadic states that class identities appear to be more fragile and mutable than was once believed, and the middle classes were an especially volatile and shifting group in his study of Glasgow, and although he acknowledges that at certain moments in time, in response to significant events or circumstances which pose threats to their political or property interests, or generated pride in their achievements, there could be little doubt that the middle classes in Glasgow, as elsewhere, did articulate a strong sense of collective interest. But whether this represented a coherent class identity is less certain.<sup>99</sup> However in Clackmannanshire we have all the major players in organisations which in a small area would make it far easier to cement a middle class bond, such as the Masonic order, which was a key social network for the middle classes.<sup>100</sup> In Clackmannanshire the Volunteer regiments were also a popular, jingoistic, middle class response to fears of French invasion and also reflected a pervasive dissatisfaction with the aristocratic mismanagement of the army.<sup>101</sup> In Clackmannanshire the volunteer movement did not exactly welcome or make it easier for the working class to join.

The effect of evangelicalism was to turn the cities into the vibrant focus of aggressive Christianity with endless and very successful appeals for money for building churches, manses and mission stations, for mounting foreign missions, and for the publication of tracts.

What one historian has termed, 'an association ideal' developed, defining both the urban church and urban society more widely, and distinguishing it from rural and pre-industrial society?<sup>102</sup> By the 1870s the aggressive system of evangelicalism was the norm, with every middle class congregation havening an evangelisation association and usually a mission station where the

working classes were encouraged to strive for financial independence and full congregational status.

The evangelical call to action was answered by the Victorian middle classes, and with the soiree born out of the temperance movement, middle classes leisure became a commitment to the evangelisation of the cities.<sup>103</sup>

## **8 VOTING ISSUES AND MIDDLE CLASS INFLUENCE.**

The middle classes, now with a large majority of them having the vote, could in principle push their own agenda through local and national government. As we have seen in local government, either through the Commissioners of Supply or the new councils, they had taken a large stake in the control of the county. However in parliamentary elections, when Scots thought about public affairs and voted, they did so mainly in the context of the United Kingdom. Elections in the mid nineteenth century were decided in this context. However, some voting issues were of a Scottish national character and especially of a middle class agenda.

The 1835 election was said to be basically anti-Tory. This was the sole device used by the Whigs and it worked because it reflected a widely held sense of distrust of Toryism. The short lived Tory administration of 1834-1835 evoked widespread dismay and public meetings in numerous towns protested against the King's decision to put the Tories in office and then accede to a request by Wellington for a premature dissolution of Parliament. *The Scotsmen* accused the Tories of organising a conspiracy against the people's interests and rights, by trying to secure a Tory House of Commons. The conspiracy they believed was led by Sir George Murray and George Clerk, the old system personified, with its record of oppression and injustice through the fifty years it had controlled and exploited Scotland.

The raising of the Tory bogeyman by the Whigs and the Radicals, and using the tactic that the new Reform Act could be annulled, galvanised these two elements to drop their differences and unite against the Tories. After recounting the many firm displays of anti-Tory opinion during

the election one of Peel's Scottish advisors stressed. 'In short in Scotland, the Reform Bill has produced a more permanent change than anywhere else amounting to a complete revolution in the government.'<sup>104</sup>

The outcome of these early elections after the Reform Act was that the Tories, although gaining some ground, in reality were never going to gain a majority in Scotland. The middle class vote was mainly supporting the Whigs and Radicals. The Tory revival in some areas has been put down more to the manufacturing of votes, as we have previously discussed and demonstrated by Ferguson, and though no evidence of this was found in Clackmannanshire it had been found in the neighbouring county of Stirling. However the Tories countered this by claims of intimidation by Radicals which in some cases was proved to be correct and took place in some constituencies, especially in the borders.

Some of the major issues at the time, can be illustrated in the elections fought in Clackmannanshire from 1851, as illustrated by the candidates own statements, reported in the press. There had been no contested elections in Clackmannanshire since 1835. But in 1851 there was a by-election in the Clackmannanshire and Kinross seat, due to the death of Major General Sir W. Morrison, who had held the seat for the Liberals since the resignation of the Hon. G.R. Abercromby in 1842. The election is intriguing, as all major references such as F.W.S.Craig and J.J. Brash, state that the Liberals had held the seat from 1832 to the next century, however there is evidence that the seat was won by a conservative as reported in *The Glasgow Saturday Post*<sup>105</sup> 'What delusion has come over the Hillfoot Radicals,' with the voting in of Mr. Johnstone, a conservative. *The Courant*<sup>106</sup> also congratulated Johnstone on rescuing the seat from the Whigs. Archibald Isle Campbell Johnstone to give him his full name, it had been said that he had some liberal leanings, such as his support for Free Trade. However, W.P. Adam, son of Charles Adam, who had won the seat in the first reformed election in 1832, blamed his defeat on the Tory Party's support of Johnstone, which swung the election.<sup>107</sup> He suggested that it was an alliance of the Tory party in Clackmannanshire and Kinross, combined



with a split in the Liberal organisation in the county that allowed Johnstone to win. Adam's speech after the election also leads us to believe that Johnstone was a Tory when he commented on Johnstone winning the election, 'people can come forward in Clackmannan who do not possess liberal opinions'.<sup>108</sup> Johnstone's main electoral policy was the principle of free trade; he also carried non conformist's sympathies by standing up against secular education. His main attack on Adam was that he believed him to be a Whig and nothing more, and that Adam would not vote against the Whig leader, Lord John Russell on any matter.<sup>109</sup>

A major issue in the by-election was education. Johnstone stated that Adam wanted to exclude the Bible from education, but Adam replied that it was 'them (Tories) who had wanted to throw out the Bible.'<sup>110</sup> Adam supported the Bill presented in Parliament by his friend Lord Melgund.<sup>111</sup> This Education Bill would have withdrawn control of the parochial school system from the Church of Scotland and imposed a policy of purely secular instruction in the national schools. The Bill was lost in Parliament; however Adam stated that it had the support of five out of seven people in Scotland.<sup>112</sup> Lord Melgund supported the National Education Association of Scotland, whose aims were for a national non-sectarian and secular education system. Their main aim was to solve Scotland's educational difficulty, (i.e. the role of the Church of Scotland within education) by removing the religious element from schooling.<sup>113</sup> The election was won by Johnstone in 1851 with a majority of sixty two.

However, Johnston's parliamentary career was not to be a long one, due to Lord Palmerston dissolving Parliament in 1857. This dissolution was due to the 'Lochra incident'<sup>114</sup> during the second opium war in China. Gladstone, from the opposition benches, used the incident, which had brought military action against the Chinese to bring down Lord Palmerston's government through a parliamentary vote of no confidence.<sup>115</sup>

The last straw with the voters of Clackmannanshire was the way Johnstone had voted for Cobden's Resolution against the government's action on the Chinese incident. Earlier at a meeting in Alloa, he had expressed his opinion strongly. 'As to China, who was right at the

start of the quarrel was not clear, but the Chinese were very impudent fellows, breaking all sorts of treaties, and it was not much to be regretted that we gave them a sound thrashing at the time.<sup>116</sup> But what he had voted for was substantially a vote to censor the government for giving that sound thrashing. The local press wanted rid of Johnstone, as did two of his former allies, who held a public meeting proposing that the Lord Advocate Moncrieff stand against him. Viscount Melgund was eventually asked to stand for the Liberals against Johnstone, but before the election took place Johnstone withdrew his nomination leaving Melgund to win the seat unopposed for the Liberals.

Before Johnstone withdrew, it is interesting to consider Viscount Melgund and Liberal Party policies. In Melgund's electoral address he stated that the government was right in its policies in China and clearly supported the government agents. He demanded retrenchment of expenditure, the remission of taxation and the extension and purification of the electoral system. He believed that the extension of popular power was desirable in local as well as in national affairs, and local business would have his prompt attention. He also came out in favour of a general system of national education for Scotland, which would be popular in its management and non sectarian in its principle. He also stated that he was prepared to support any fair proposals for the removal or adjustment of Church rates in England and the opening of English universities to other than Episcopalians, and for the abolition of Jewish disabilities.<sup>117</sup>

We also gain insight into what the main issues were for the electorate when Melgund attended an open meeting and had a question and answer session.<sup>118</sup> The questions were mainly on church or drink issues. The church issues will be dealt with in Chapter 4; however the drink issue does bring in the rising attempts of the middle class to socially control the working classes as discussed earlier.

The anti- drink lobby now turned to the law. Their only major legislative success during these years was the Forbes Mackenzie Act of 1853, which brought in Scotland's first licensing restrictions. It was meant to help the workers rid themselves of their degrading habits, making

themselves more self reliant and politically effective. In fact they detested it, especially as it was enforced by magistrates whom they did not elect.<sup>119</sup> The Bourgeois Radicals wanted to go further and aimed to bring a statute establishing a local option, the right of particular areas to vote them dry. Although there might have been good reason for special Scottish legislation, with most Scots MPs and the churches supporting local option, to their indignation the English majority in the Commons refused to be persuaded and voted it down, and if Viscount Melgund stood by his statement at his election meeting he also voted against it.<sup>120</sup>

The 1859 Election was the result of the defeat of Derby's Reform Bill by 330-291 votes<sup>121</sup>. We can see the Liberal Party's view of the Bill through W.P. Adams who stood unopposed for the Liberals in Clackmannanshire after Melgund stood down. The present government was to appeal to the country in support of its Reform Bill which had been defeated in Parliament, Adams view was that the Bill had good points in it but 'he nor the Liberal Party could assent to it, it had to be altered, the government refused to alter it and the country will vote.'<sup>122</sup>

Adams stated that he was in favour of reform and stated that, 'it may help to raise the working class morally and intellectually and fit them for admission to the privileges of the franchise and by some admission widening the strength and the basis of the constitution.'<sup>123</sup> Adams has been credited with playing a major part in extending the franchise in 1866, however this is certainly not the way some of the Clackmannanshire electorate viewed it. (See chapter six)

## **CONCLUSION**

After the 1832 Reform Act the power and influence of the middle classes increased dramatically especially in relation to their local communities. The urban middle classes in Clackmannanshire attempted to take control of the workforce and political power in the county. As British society became more complex, so the proportion of its members, who might be called middle class increased. In the mid-nineteenth century they formed between one fifth and one sixth of the total population.<sup>124</sup> The middle classes and smaller landed gentry were moving

into the expanding opportunities, in what could be described as public services in Clackmannanshire.

However one of the major pointers to who the middle class in Clackmannanshire were comes from a reform meeting that took place during the 1867 reform agitation, where in trying to get support for working class representation in a motion, a speaker declared that 'why should you deprive the working men from a vote, as looking around the hall he informed them that not so long ago they were from that class'<sup>125</sup>.

Upward mobility from the lower orders to the middle classes, particularly into the crafts, nascent industry and shopkeeping, the movement from weaver to small master and petty capitalist, such as, a yarn dealer or cotton master, was relatively easy as was the movement from salesman to shopkeeper. The capital requirement of most businesses was small and the opportunities great with the earlier restrictions on economic activity falling fast. Social mobility was possible and there are sufficient examples of those who had generated the myth of self made man. Once the individual was embarked on the path of upward mobility, through economic enterprise or in some cases through education, then other mechanisms for retaining and enhancing status and for proclaiming class membership were brought into play. Such as having the correct friends and social contacts, belonging to appropriate institutions, church and voluntary societies and making a good marriage for themselves and later for their children.<sup>126</sup>

The smaller landed gentry were in control of the Commissioners of Supply. The Sheriff of the County and his deputies were all lawyers, a profession which had through the nineteenth century expanded greatly, not only as a result of greater involvement in criminal law but also to industrialisation and the need for more corporate law. The Volunteer Force demonstrates the manner in which the middle classes thought of themselves in relation to the country and their position in society.

The middle classes have grown to power quickly in the area, Nenadic's pointed out, that the movement between land and towns, which was paralleled by social interaction was no of course

exclusive to the rich. The phenomenon was widespread and it smoothed the evolutionary path of the middle class as a whole and was an important element in the creation of links between town and country side and cemented the influence of towns in their rural hinterlands would bear out in the county.<sup>127</sup>

An important distinction in mid-Victorian Britain was between respectability and non respectability. In their veneration of home, family, country and patriotism the middle classes believed that they were the only ones who could represent the country, as the betters of the working classes with their bourgeois ethic which stressed hard work, seriousness, competition and religious observance as the hallmarks of individual and national progress. Earl Grey's words come to mind in the 1832 Reform debates which gave the vote to men of property 'to associate the middle with the higher orders of society in the love and support of the institutions and the government of the country.'<sup>128</sup> This role they took on with relish.

When Queen Victoria came to the throne in 1833 Clackmannanshire was still a rural economy. The landed classes were still in control, either through privilege, property and tradition or one of economic reality. Although the industrial revolution had been going on in the county for a number of years Clackmannanshire was not yet a fully industrialised economy. This was still in its infancy but the ground works were complete for its rise in mining, textiles, brewing and shipbuilding .By the 1860s the industrial revolution was in full production in the county. In 1860 one distillery alone was producing 40,000 gallons of whisky weekly, and in 1861 excise from spirits and malts from Clackmannanshire contributed no less than one sixty eighth of the total revenue of the United Kingdom. The textile industry had exploded in the area with towns such as Tillicoultry expanding three fold. Also in 1861 sawmills, brick works potteries and bottle manufacturing all had been established in the county. The ship building industry too was at its peak. In reality the major part of the industrialising of the county had taken place in a period of thirty years. The power lay with the same family dynasties that were in control of the major institutions and industry in the county.

This new society that established itself in Clackmannanshire by the 1860s had become industrialised in many areas of the county, with a major part of the population now employed in the towns of the area. The population in Alloa alone increased from 4,500 to 12,000, not only internally but also with an influx of economic migrants from other areas of the country and Ireland. With the economic change complete in the county the middle classes turned and attempted to reform existing institutions and attempted to clean up what it perceived to be a rough and raw society which emerged from the preceding thirty years of rapid economic change, 'they wanted to fashion the elements of a new society in step with the appearance of its material and human components.'<sup>129</sup>

The middle classes therefore tried to control and impose their moral and religious philosophies onto the rest of the population in Clackmannanshire; they tried to control their lives through work and work practices, imposing conditions and forms of bribery. They were now imposing rules and regulations through the new councils, licensing laws, housing, and work practices. They controlled the local newspapers which in their editorials backed up and professed middle class attitudes, most of the ministers in the area all supported the middle class moral attitudes that they purported to follow and believed in. The middle classes were now in control of the county. They took the lead and after the 1832 Reform Act, although power in Parliament was still controlled by the aristocracy, they took control of the county and all aspects of the community.

Clackmannanshire being a county seat and not a burgh seat made it easier for the middle classes and small landowners to control and increase their power in the area. In the main industrial areas such as Alloa and Tillicoultry very few of the working classes could vote in parliamentary elections, but what is more important was that very few could vote in council elections which gave the middle classes total control of the new local councils.

With the landowners in control of the rural areas of the county the working classes had no political outlet in the county apart from striking or other industrial actions, however as shown

by the Chartist agitation the county authorities had no qualms in bringing in the military to crush any dissent. During the Chartist agitation we do not see any meaningful support from the middle classes in the area to help their fellow citizens to gain their right to vote.

The control the manufacturing elites had in the area and the deference paid to them was shown in the fawning by the Alloa council, the local press and the church in enabling a new factory to be built in the Old Town of Alloa at the expense of working class housing.

For the middle classes in Clackmannanshire to have hegemony within the county Gramsci's theory would be that the political system required the creation of a historic bloc, unified around a hegemonic project in which the dominant class builds alliances beyond itself, and wins consent for its institutions and ideas. The concept that the winning of consent by the institutions of civil society in the area would give the middle classes the hegemony that they desire and therefore project their vision of how society should conform is then crucial for middle class control.

We can see that the institutions such as the masons, temperance movements and the philanthropic organisations in the county were all controlled by the middle classes, if we use Bryant's definitions of civil society. With its clearest manifestation being in the towns and cities of Scotland and was the propensity of the urban middle classes in nineteenth century to organise clubs, societies and the associations in the spaces in civil society left untouched by the central and local state which was the essential mediating structure between the two formal levels of government. It was sustained through the exercise of infrastructural power: the means by which the modern state maintains its legitimacy to govern by setting the limits of social order in civil society<sup>130</sup>. Morton argues that the act of subscription was pervasive and important in the creation of a complex web of intervention in urban society. The voluntary society's internal order and structure maintained the fine status gradation so essential to middle class formation and by linking together the subscribers lists of many voluntary organisations, each indicative of middle class urban action, it is proposed that civil society be mapped, its social

structures delineated and its link to governing established.<sup>131</sup> All these are shown to have taken place in the county.

What has been demonstrated and shown in Clackmannanshire was that if you look at who was at the forefront of most of these organisations we find the same middle class families and individuals who controlled these aspects of civil society this therefore falls into another of Gramsci's argument on hegemony, that the political system required the creation of a historic block, unified around a hegemonic project in which the dominant class builds alliances beyond itself, and wins consent for its institutions and ideas<sup>132</sup>.

Morton also argues, which can be seen in Clackmannanshire, that the role of voluntary activity as a vehicle for expressing economic and political power, and as points of status conflict, is central to the process of class formation.<sup>133</sup> The voluntary organisations being the practical means which the middle classes could enforce their hegemonic grip on society with Koditschek backing this up that 'through the culture of voluntarism, the bourgeoisie would finally attempt to achieve that social consensus around its values and authority that neither the work or production, nor the free flows of the market had, in themselves been able to create'.<sup>134</sup>

Morton therefore, using the above arguments, believes that the voluntary societies form part of the process of inter-class bargaining, but, equally importantly, their internal constitutional structures were an organising principle around which the middle classes conception of itself as a coherent class was formed, which bears out in Clackmannanshire.

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<sup>1</sup> Anne E. Whetstone., Scottish Country Government, (Edinburgh, 1981), p.9

<sup>2</sup> Stana Nenadic., The Rise of the Urban Middle Classes, People and Society in Scotland, Volume I 1760-1830. Editors, T.M.Devine and R. Mitichison, (Edinburgh, 1988), p.118

<sup>3</sup> R.J. Morris., Structure, Culture and Society in British Towns, The Cambridge Urban History of Britain Volume III, 1840-1950, ( Cambridge, 2000), p. 418

<sup>2</sup> Karl Miller., Cockburn's Millennium, ( London, 1975),P 124

<sup>5</sup> Ian Fenton., " Chartism in Clackmannanshire", Scottish Local History Journal, Vol.37 (1996),p.21

<sup>6</sup> Stirling Journal, 24<sup>th</sup> August 1838

<sup>7</sup> Fenton, Chartism, 1996,p.22



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- <sup>8</sup> The Second Statistical Accounts of Alloa, 1841, p.30
- <sup>9</sup> Fenton., Chartism, 1996, p.21
- <sup>10</sup> Ibid.p.22
- <sup>11</sup> Ibid.p.22
- <sup>12</sup> Ibid.p.22
- <sup>13</sup> Ibid.p.24
- <sup>14</sup> Ibid.p.23
- <sup>15</sup> Ibid.p.23
- <sup>16</sup> Ibid.p.23
- <sup>17</sup> Ibid.p.26
- <sup>18</sup> Ibid.p.23
- <sup>19</sup> Ibid.p.23
- <sup>20</sup> Ibid.p.24
- <sup>21</sup> Ibid.p.24
- <sup>22</sup> Ibid.p.24
- <sup>23</sup> Ibid.p.24
- <sup>24</sup> Ibid.p.24
- <sup>25</sup> *Stirling Journal*, 2<sup>nd</sup> September 1842
- <sup>26</sup> Fenton, Chartism, 1996, p.24
- <sup>27</sup> *Northern Star*, 19<sup>th</sup> September 1843.
- <sup>28</sup> W. Hamish Fraser., Scottish Popular Politics, from Radicalism to Labour, (Edinburgh, 2000),p.67
- <sup>29</sup> James Wallace., The Sheriffdom of Clackmannan, (Edinburgh, 1890), p.32
- <sup>30</sup> Whetstone, (1981), p.12
- <sup>31</sup> Ibid.p.12
- <sup>32</sup> Ibid.p.23
- <sup>33</sup> Ibid.p.61
- <sup>34</sup> Ibid.p.62
- <sup>35</sup> Ibid.p.63
- <sup>36</sup> Ibid.p.65
- <sup>37</sup> Clackmannanshire Commissioners of Supply Minutes Book 1831-1877, Meeting 24<sup>th</sup> April 1869
- <sup>38</sup> Whetstone, (1981), p.71
- <sup>39</sup> Ibid.p.72
- <sup>40</sup> Clackmannanshire Commissioners of Supply Minutes Book 1831-1877, Meetings 13<sup>th</sup> & 25<sup>th</sup> April 1845.
- <sup>41</sup> Ibid. Meeting 28<sup>th</sup> August 1862
- <sup>42</sup> Wallace, Sheriffdom 1890, p.60
- <sup>43</sup> Clackmannanshire Commissioners of Supply Minutes Book 1831-1877, Meeting 26<sup>th</sup> April 1866
- <sup>44</sup> Whetstone,(1981),p.61
- <sup>45</sup> Ibid.p.119
- <sup>46</sup> Michael Fry., Patronage and Principle (Aberdeen, 1987),p.68
- <sup>47</sup> Whetstone, (1981), p.114
- <sup>48</sup> Whetstone, (1981), p.113
- <sup>49</sup> *Alloa Advertiser* 19<sup>th</sup> November 1859
- <sup>50</sup> *Alloa Advertiser* 24<sup>th</sup> November 1859
- <sup>51</sup> *Evening Star* 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1859
- <sup>52</sup> *Daily Telegraph* 5<sup>th</sup> December 1859
- <sup>53</sup> *Alloa Advertiser* 24<sup>th</sup> December 1859
- <sup>54</sup> Fry, Patronage and Principle, p.68
- <sup>55</sup> V.B. Carter., Soldier True, The Life and Times of Field Marshal Sir William Robertson 1860-1933, ( London, 1963), p.18
- <sup>56</sup> W. W. Knox., Industrial Nation, (Edinburgh, 1999),p.107
- <sup>57</sup> John L. Carvel., One Hundred Years in Coal, (Edinburgh, 1944), p.15
- <sup>58</sup> Ibid.p.19
- <sup>59</sup> Ibid.p.19
- <sup>60</sup> Ibid.p.20
- <sup>61</sup> Ibid.p.20
- <sup>62</sup> Ibid.p.20

- <sup>63</sup> Ibid.p.24
- <sup>64</sup> Ibid.p.24
- <sup>65</sup> Isobel Stewart., The Romance of Patons Yarns 1813-1920, (CDL, 1982), p.2
- <sup>66</sup> Ibid.p.15
- <sup>67</sup> Ibid.p.15
- <sup>68</sup> Jannette Archibald., Alloa Town Hall Years, (CDL, 1988),p.5
- <sup>69</sup> Ibid.p.6
- <sup>70</sup> Knox, p.108
- <sup>71</sup> Knox, p.109
- <sup>72</sup> Alloa advertiser, January 3rd 1891
- <sup>73</sup> Ibid
- <sup>74</sup> Ibid
- <sup>75</sup> Ibid
- <sup>76</sup> Ibid
- <sup>77</sup> Stana Nenadic., Businessmen, the Urban Middle Classes, and the 'dominance' of manufacturers in nineteenth century Britain, Economic History Review, XLIV, I (1991), p.66
- <sup>78</sup> Ibid. p.82
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- <sup>90</sup> Ibid p74
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- <sup>93</sup> Ibid.p.6
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- <sup>113</sup> Hutchison, Political History, p.71
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- <sup>119</sup> Fry, Patronage and Principle,(1992),p.67
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## **CHAPTER 4.**

### **THE BURGH REFORM ACT AND THE POLICE IMPROVEMENT ACT (1850.)**

#### **Introduction**

In this chapter we will look at the implementation of the new Burgh Reform and Police Act in Alloa. What effect the new elected councils had on industry, commerce, social conditions and the relations and effect the new police authorities had on the community?

Managing Scotland in the Victorian era had become, in governmental terms, remote, especially regarding any legislation that dealt with Scottish problems. Scottish bills were usually passed through Parliament after the English bill on the same subject, they had become in parliamentary terms, add-on's.

After the Dundas dynasties, the new generation of Scottish Whigs led by Jeffries and Cockburn had acquired the political initiative in Scotland and although from the same social origins as their Conservative opponents they had adopted a more utilitarian approach to law and government.<sup>1</sup> With the passing of the Reform Act in 1832 the Whigs now dominated in Scotland; however they were unable to bring Scottish issues to the attention of their English colleagues in Parliament, in part because they had never devoted any thought as to how to replace the Scottish system of political management once they had abolished it.<sup>2</sup>

Scotland then in terms of government was sailing in the wake of Westminster, not quite rudderless but having no great say in where it was going, therefore in the towns and counties local government became much more important as individuals, especially from the middle classes could now stamp their mark on their local society.

With the introduction of the town council in Alloa we can see the middle classes establishing control over the town and completing their hegemony by using the new powers available, what

this chapter will show is the differentials between county and burgh towns in Scotland, with middle class control far more defined and complete within a county structure.

## **1. THE FIRST COUNCIL ELECTIONS IN ALLOA.**

The Reform Bill of 1832 had taken from the town councils the privilege of electing Members of Parliament. They were deprived of the power of choosing their own successors in 1833 when the Burgh Reform Bill was passed. In Clackmannanshire the industrial revolution happened later than other areas in Scotland such as Glasgow and the West of Scotland, which in turn left the towns without elected councils until the Police and Improvements Act (1850) by this time the middle class were a more defined group in the county, which in turn made it easier for them as a group to take prominent roles within the new councils, therefore structuring the town in their own mould.

The Burgh Reform Act provided for annual elections of councillors by men with the same qualifications as for parliamentary elections, and would annually elect one third of the councillors, with the accounts of the council to be available two weeks before the following election.<sup>3</sup>

There were important differences between Scotland and England regarding the concept of 'police' in nineteenth century Scotland which had a far wider meaning. Unlike England where the concept of 'police' acquired a specialist association with law and order from the institutions inception, in the early nineteenth century in Scotland it was synonymous with the European meaning of municipal administration for the orderly management of society.<sup>4</sup>

The first town to have an elected council in Clackmannanshire was Alloa. However this did not take place until 1853 when the Police and Improvements Act (1850) was implemented. In Clackmannanshire, the main town was, and still is Alloa. Before 1854 there had not been an elected council, the affairs of the town had been under the immediate management of Trustees who were appointed by Act of Parliament. The duties of the Trustees were to appoint a Clerk and other officers. At other times additional Trustees could be brought in to supervise the

management of such items as cleaning, lighting and paving of the streets. One of the first major projects that they tackled was to bring in a clean water supply to Alloa. They were also trusted to carry into effect regulations for superintending and maintaining a proper police force. Ample powers for carrying out these purposes were put into effect by borrowing money and assessing the population of the town. By 1852, through these duties, the Trustees had incurred a debt of £5,040 for which they were personally liable.<sup>5</sup>

There had been rumblings in the town for some time that the local acts were inefficiently administered and the taxed population of the town could be placed under more efficient municipal regulations.<sup>6</sup> There had been repeated efforts to have the management of the town's affairs put upon a more popular basis but these were always being frustrated because of the debt owed to the Earl of Mar who was the Chief Trustee.

With the application of the Police and Improvements Act (1850), the whole argument of an elected council came to a head on 28<sup>th</sup> December 1853, when the Deputy Sheriff, N. Bennet-Clark appointed and directed William Duncan Bruce, (who was the parochial schoolmaster in Alloa), to produce within fourteen days a return, to the best of his knowledge, of the population residing within the Burgh and to direct to the Collector of the Poor Assessment a list of the names of all householders whose yearly rent or value was £10 or upwards.<sup>7</sup> This would enable them to have a list of eligible residents who could vote. A meeting was then arranged for 19<sup>th</sup> January 1854 in the Alloa Assembly Rooms; where the Act was to be laid before the meeting with a view to adopt it in part or whole. The meeting was advertised in the *Clackmannan Advertiser* on 14<sup>th</sup> January 1854. (See appendix 7 for full text.) The number of residents listed who were eligible to attend the meeting and to vote was two hundred and twenty one.<sup>8</sup> The population of Alloa in 1851 was 7,042.<sup>9</sup> (See appendix 8 for a list of voters and their occupations.)

The meeting eventually took place after some newspaper controversy and some open meetings. At the meeting Dr. McGowan moved the adoption of the Act, which was seconded by a Mr. M.

Hellan. However there was some dissent by the old Trustees and their supporters. A second motion that a committee be appointed, 'to inquire and report at a future meeting how the existence of certain local Acts would clash with the new Acts'<sup>10</sup>. This was seconded by a Mr. Arnott, his reason being that he didn't like the idea of throwing out the existing Trustees. However, the majority upheld the motion in favour of the new Act. It was also agreed at the meeting that the number of councillors should be nine and that it was unnecessary to split the Burgh into Wards. This motion was proposed by a Mr. Alexander Blair (Brewer) and seconded by Mr. William Hunter (Wool Merchant).

With the approval of the Act, the process of voting became slightly farcical and ended with three further meetings and three counts. Fifteen people stood for nine council places. The first 'Polling meeting' was on 11<sup>th</sup> February 1854, and the voting was taken on a show of hands. What was shown to be different was that the elector could vote for as many candidates as desired on this show of hands. A committee of nine was elected (see Section 1 Table 2). To ratify this vote, a Poll had to be conducted to make it official in writing, which took place on the 16<sup>th</sup> February 1854. This gave a different result (See Section 2 Table 2) which complicated the matter. Mr. Muirhead, elected in the first vote dropped out with 98 votes. John Wingate and Andrew Thomson now both had 100 votes. The sheriff then left it up to the other eight elected members to vote between Wingate and Thompson. They chose Thompson.<sup>11</sup>

However, to complicate things a Mr. John Ewing (writer) demanded that the votes be scrutinised and after the intervention of the sheriff, John Tait, whose deliberation, on the 20<sup>th</sup> February, upheld the objections. Mr. Thompson was then unanimously elected and his name added. However on 24<sup>th</sup> February 1854, Sheriff Tait changed his mind and agreed with the objection raised by John Ewing on the scrutinising of some of the voters who had taken part. The votes of James Miller and John Stewart were deemed null and void because the premises forming their qualifications were not received in the Poll Book, as required by the 17<sup>th</sup> Sect of the Act. This of course changed the result of the Poll (see Section 3 Table 2.) However the eight elected members

again elected Mr. Thompson, So finally nine elected members became the first Burgh Commissioners in Alloa.<sup>12</sup>

**TABLE 2 Election results for Alloa council 1854**

The election results were as follows:

Votes 1 denotes - elected on show of hands 1<sup>st</sup> meeting

Votes2 denotes - elected on written ballot 2<sup>nd</sup> meeting

Votes 3 denotes - elected when votes were found illegal 3<sup>rd</sup> meeting

\* Denotes those finally elected as Burgh Commissioners.

| <b>NAME</b>        | <b>OCCUPATION</b> | <b>VOTES 1</b> | <b>VOTES 2</b> | <b>VOTES 3</b> |
|--------------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| *William McGowan   | Physician         | 130            | 132            | 131 elected    |
| *James Moir        | Banker            | 92             | 117            | 115 elected    |
| *D.F. Lambert      | Manufacturer      | 92             | 113            | 111 elected    |
| Andrew Mitchell    | Unknown           | 83             | Dropped out    | ----           |
| *John McNellan     | Brewer            | 103            | 118            | 117 elected    |
| John Wingate       | Unknown           | 80             | 100            | 98             |
| *James Younger     | Brewer            | 117            | 120            | 119 elected    |
| *Mungo Lauder      | Draper            | 93             | 109            | 109 elected    |
| *Alan Drysdale     | Blacksmith        | 98             | 113            | 113 elected    |
| *Andrew Thompson   | Unknown           | 80             | 100            | 98 elected     |
| Robert M. Roy      | Unknown           | 79             | Dropped out    | ----           |
| Alexander Blair    | Unknown           | 78             | Dropped out    | ----           |
| William Muirhead   | Baker             | 85             | 98             | 98             |
| Captain J. Riddell | Unknown           | 83             | 98             | 98             |
| *Andrew Dawson     | Unknown           | 7              | 102            | 102 elected    |



**(Tabulated from information gained from Alloa Council Minutes Book 1854-1857)**

Although having for the first time, what could be called a democratic election for the town council, although this looks like a step forward, what in reality took place was an election of members from the middle classes by the middle classes, with no representation from the working classes who made up the majority of the population of the town. The qualification for voting had already excluded the vast majority of the working classes and had also excluded the aristocracy such as the Earl of Mar who had been the major trustee of Alloa, because he resided outside the town.

The new council committee as can be seen was now made up of the middle classes. The nine committee members comprised of a physician, three bankers, a manufacturer, confectioner, tailor and a blacksmith. What the Burgh Reform Act had achieved was a route to enable the middle classes to take over and run the town of Alloa to their agenda, voted in by members of their own class, especially the manufacturing classes who were now having a large say in the control of the town, which in turn led to requirements and decisions that would favour the middle class manufacturing lobby within the community. This was also demonstrated in chapter three, with the Patons receiving approval from the burgh council to demolish part of the old town, to make way for their new factory. This situation would stay the same until well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century before working class representatives were elected to the local councils.

These findings would back up Richard Trainor's arguments that urban places in Britain were changing their social identity; during the nineteenth century British towns were middle class<sup>13</sup>. Each town being affected by its own political history and tradition and the leadership of its radicals, who tried to established structures of power. The elites also sought to conciliate and suppress the radicals by a variety of voluntary, ideological and main force based means<sup>14</sup>. The dominant agencies used were local government, the local media, where print culture was vital

through news papers and periodicals,<sup>15</sup> with Clackmannanshire being well served with institutions of education, local media, culture and philanthropy all controlled by the middle classes.

## **.2. THE 1850 POLICE AND IMPROVEMENT ACT AND THE NEW BURGH COUNCILS**

The main problems with urban living in the nineteenth century was overcrowding, bad housing, poor sanitary conditions and the lack of good clean water, as confirmed by Edwin Chadwick's report on the *Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring population of Great Britain in 1842*, and by W.P. Alison's observation on *The Management of the Poor in Scotland in 1840*.<sup>16</sup> The Government having now realised that poverty and housing were becoming major problems, brought in Acts such as the Police and Improvement Act (1850) however, in reality the government was passing the problem down to a local level for the local authorities to sort out the difficulties arising from urban industrialisation in their own area.

In 1861 it was said of Alloa,

*That under the judicious management of the Burgh Board the town had unquestionably prospered. With a Burgh assessment at the time of 2 shillings in the pound many important repairs and improvements had been affected. The lighting, paving, cleansing and draining of the streets were said to have been attended to in a more satisfactory manner by the first elected council under the Police and Improvement Act in 1853. The peace of the town too, it seems, was better preserved with Saturday night and Sunday morning rioting being greatly reduced, with the 'Burgh Police Court being now something of a terror to evil doers.'*<sup>17</sup>

An insight into how these new councils worked and the new powers that they could use, can be gained through with the new Burgh Council of Alloa Minutes Book, '1854 to 1858'. Alloa's first burgh council in 1854, as stated, had nine elected commissioners who proceeded to carry out their duties with the adoption of the Police and Improvements Act (1850). Before we look at how they

went about their duties it is interesting to look at the people who made up the council over the years.

In 1854 the commissioners were made up of a physician, manufacturer, three bankers, draper, blacksmith, confectioner, and a tailor.<sup>18</sup> In 1861 the council comprised a merchant, colliery manager, writer, confectioner, two bankers, upholsterer, shipowner and a manufacturer.<sup>19</sup> As can be seen, the vast majority of these professions can be put into the bracket of middle class and it is interesting to note that there are no members of the land owning fraternity on the council. Looking at the records none had put themselves forward for election, which is very different from parliamentary elections and follows the pattern, especially in the larger burgh seats, that the Tories as a party were finding it hard to gain support in the towns and cities of Scotland. Most councillors at the time were described as independent, therefore not bearing a party label. Until the 1890s civil affairs were not seen in party lines, Liberals and Conservatives cooperated in an attempt at what they seen as good governance.

The first Alloa commissioners in 1854 elected members to senior posts, William McGowan became the Senior Magistrate, (this term would be changed to Lord Provost in the future.) John McMillan and James Moir became Junior Magistrates of Police and Thomas Brydie, Treasurer and Collector. Their first act was to advertise for a Superintendent of Police, 'for which a liberal salary was to be paid for an efficient man'.<sup>20</sup> The advertisement for the position must have been in the national press as they had applicants from Kirriemuir, Dumfries and Edinburgh. However, it was a local man who was chosen, Donald McPherson, who became the first Chief Superintendent and Procurator Fiscal for Alloa, with a salary of £70 a year and a free house.<sup>21</sup> The police office was a premise in Candle Street which was rented for £15 a year from George Younger and Sons brewers, the brewer James Younger was also on the committee. Apart from the superintendent, there were three constables; whose uniforms were bought at a cost of £16. 12s.<sup>22</sup>

The cost of policing was taking effect on the council finances and in 1855 they tried to reduce costs. A new superintendent was put in place, at a reduced wage of £31.16s. per/ annum and a letter was sent to sheriff Tait asking for a meeting with the commissioners of supply who were responsible for the county police, with a view to amalgamating the county and burgh police force,<sup>23</sup> however this was refused. We have to remember that the county was still run by the Commissioners of Supply who were led and controlled by the landed classes.

However with the county commissioners wanting no part in an amalgamated police force which is different to that in England where the burgh authorities were trying to stop county magistrates assuming control of burgh policing<sup>24</sup>. Where Clackmannanshire fits in to the picture is back up to the arguments made by Carson and Idzikowska, that class struggle was at the roots of police commission's incorporation. They argue that the democratic commissions, many which had wider electoral franchises than their municipal counterparts made them a target for bourgeois controlled council's intent upon extending their grip on the local state<sup>25</sup>. This of course gives more weight to the argument that the middle classes in Clackmannanshire were in pursuit of hegemony in the county.

One of the main provisions of the 1850 Burgh Police Act was to give the commissioners the power to clean up the towns and make provision, especially for sewage removal, which at last had been identified as a major cause of disease. Scotland had been experiencing large outbreaks of cholera and typhoid within its towns and cities.<sup>26</sup> They made a proclamation which was advertised in the local press and put on billboards around the town.

*The Commissioners of the Burgh of Alloa hereby request the owners of all dung, soil or filth within the Burgh, being a nuisance or injurious to the health of the inhabitants, immediately to remove the same otherwise it will be dealt with according to the provisions of the Police and Improvements Act, and every person who throws or lays any dirt, litter, ashes, night soil, carriden, fish offal or rubbish on any street within the Burgh or causes any offensive matter to*

*run from any manufacturers, brewery, slaughterhouse, butchers shop or dunghill into any street will be immediately prosecuted'.<sup>27</sup>*

This proclamation gave the commissioners powers that were previously unavailable to the old trustees, and they had a new police force to back them up.

The council acted quickly and ordered that five new public conveniences were to be built, the names of all streets were to be painted, and all householders were ordered to fix numbers provided by the Commissioners to their premises, which would of course make it easier to collect taxes and identify owners. Within a few months they had brought in twenty five new by-laws, such as item 12 - 'No snow balls shall be thrown, nor footballs, shinty or other games were to be played in any of the streets, roads, lanes or premises within the boundaries of police, under a penalty not exceeding 40s, for each offence.

Proprietors also had to have their workshops registered, such as the fleshers who had applied for registration in May 1854.<sup>28</sup> The first cleansing department was established and authorised four carts to be built for cleaning up the streets.<sup>29</sup> In addition the Poor Board was required 'to co-operate with the council and bear themselves one half of the expense of cleaning out and lime washing the houses, mainly in the Old Town, to be carried out immediately,'<sup>30</sup> separate drying areas for clothes were also allocated around the town. The local gas company was employed to erect lights, which cost 14s each and £40 a year was allowed for maintaining these new lights.<sup>31</sup> One of the larger improvements implemented was to the water supply, £4,500 was paid to the Earl of Mar for the use of his viaduct from a four and a half inch pipe was installed to carry water to supply the town.<sup>32</sup>

Before these improvements Alloa town must have been in a filthy and unhygienic condition. In September 1854 there was an outbreak of cholera and diarrhoea in Alloa and Clackmannanshire. Dr. Moore was instructed by the Parochial Poor Board to inspect the parish, list the nuisances (dunghills), and inform the owners that they had 48 hours to remove them. If they were not removed the Procurator Fiscal was to take action.<sup>33</sup> Interestingly Dr. McGowan, Alloa's new

Chief Magistrate, tendered his resignation to the rest of the commissioners due to ill health. He wanted to take in some good air to better his health, which might give us some indication of the sanitary conditions of Alloa town.

Another part of the new councils remit was to carry out building improvements to the town. Section 210 of the Act allowed them to 'raise, lower and form in such manner and with such materials as they thought fit, all or any of the streets within the burgh, and also to form with such material as they think fit any of the footways and to repair them from time to time.'<sup>34</sup> Section 213 provided 'that any streets which had not before the adoption of the Act been well and sufficiently paved and flagged or made good were to be made good at the expense of the occupiers.'<sup>35</sup> This created a stir and was challenged by a Mr. G. Bell who thought that the last word (occupiers) should have meant owners.<sup>36</sup> This would also apply to many other sections of the Act which stipulated occupier. The commissioners took legal advice on this aspect and were informed that it would be either the occupier or the owner who would have to pay for repairs.<sup>37</sup>

This challenge to the commissioner's powers came about because Alloa High Street was in such disrepair that it was almost impossible for carts and carriages to pass through the street. They proposed to uplift the causeway, alter the level of the street by lowering the centre, raising the sides and making run channels along the sides. The commissioners believed they had the power to borrow £250 for these improvements, and then pass the cost onto the owners of the premises within the street.<sup>38</sup> They proceeded with the repairs and implemented more of the same within the town, the local inhabitants being forced to pay for these repairs by making deferred payments back to the council.

Apart from the borrowing of money for repairs, the new council imposed a tax on the inhabitants of the town, which was called the assessment and was based on the roll book of all inhabitants which gave the rent or value of their premises. In 1855 this rate was levied at 2s in the pound on all premises except land, which was levied at 1s in the pound. The valuation of the burgh was £13,839.13s in 1855.<sup>39</sup> (For details of the Burgh's accounts in 1856 see appendix 9)

In 1856, a draft of the, 'New Nuisances Removal and Policing of Towns Bill', had been sent to the commissioners, who in turn wrote back to the Lord Advocate of Scotland recommending some amendments which showed their concerns at the time and the scope of powers that they wanted to obtain.<sup>40</sup> The following is extracted from that letter (see appendix 10 for full letter.)

Item 6 read – 'There is within this Burgh a monster nuisance in the shape of Mill Dam. The description of the nuisances in the Bill might be held to include a dam, but it is not quite clear. It is therefore proposed to introduce the word into the description.'<sup>41</sup>

Item 8 read - There is much confliction of opinion whether, under Section 212 of the Police Act, owners are bound to keep up footways after they have been made good. Eminent authorities have given different opinions on that point and the commissioners experience no small difficulty in administering the Act in this aspect. There can be little doubt that the clear intention of the legislative was that the owner should keep the footways in repair and it is proposed that same should be added to the section to make this plain.<sup>42</sup>

The town was now being moulded and structured to suit industry and commerce and to suit middle class attitudes. The councillors now wanted more powers to enable them to carry out their own agenda.

R.J Morris had commented that towns became the frontier of capitalism and modernity. Capitalism, which is a system of social and economic relationship, defined by private ownership, the search for profit and a cash economy. Once the town was created in both its material and cultural sense the city became an object of contest within the middle class and between classes.<sup>43</sup>

However in Alloa it was only a competition between the middle classes as the council was locally controlled, locally financed and accountable to local rate payers of sufficient property requirements.

### **3. INDUSTRY, COMMERCE AND IMPROVEMENT.**

In the period we are covering in Clackmannanshire there had been many changes in its progress and development, with the rise of industry and the advancements made from a social and commercial point of view. We can look at the development of Alloa the major town in the area from 1832 to the end of the nineteenth century.

Social institutions had grown quickly during this period such as societies for the amelioration of the poor and working class societies for the propagation of religion and temperance were also wide spread throughout the area. There was friendly, sick and funeral societies which had all been founded on well tried lines, benefit societies and lodges, Dorcass and clothing societies, societies for sickness or accidents in connection with many of the new public works. A host of other societies could be mentioned which had sprung up during the seventy years.

Education had developed and new inventions had been fully taken advantage of during the Victorian era. Better methods of doing things had superseded old methods to keep abreast of the times, organisations of many kinds had been instituted especially classes for the promotion of the science and arts. A new Town hall in Alloa had been built which also housed the new library that had replaced the mechanics library and the reading club and was gifted by Mr Thomson Paton the major mill owner in the area and part of the Paton dynasty.<sup>44</sup> The New Town Hall had suites of rooms for scientific and technical education.

The ecclesiastical buildings in Alloa in the 1830s had been few in number and the majority were devoid of any architectural merit, or it is said beauty, except for the main parish church which had been erected in 1819 in the gothic style. However this was to change, the Townhead Church was built in 1850, West UP Church was built in 1863, St Johns Episcopal Church 1868, St Andrews Church 1881, St Mungos Catholic Church in 1841 and the Baptist Church in 1881. The East Free Church was erected in 1850, after the schism of 1843. Greenside Mission Chapel was erected in 1872 through the liberality of Mr David Paton who was also part of the Paton dynasty. The West Free Church was built in 1856; a Methodist chapel was erected at Greenfield place in 1877. The



old Baptist chapel in the east venal was used by the Salvation Army. As can be seen from the amount of religious buildings the soul was well served.<sup>45</sup>

By 1862 several of the old school buildings had been demolished or used for other purposes and in their place new and improved facilities had risen. A new burgh school was built in 1876, Ludgate School was erected as the infant school in 1846, but since its transference to the Burgh School Board it had been greatly enlarged and improved. Alloa Academy was entirely remodelled and rebuilt after it was transferred to the Burgh School Board and became the best equipped school run by the Board. The Paton School at the bottom of Candle Street was erected in 1865 from funds left by Mr Alexander Paton and was used for the tuition of children of the work force at Kilncraigs mill and was also used as a half time school by the Alloa Burgh School Board. A day home school under the Alloa School Board was also opened in Broad Street which was attended by the poorer classes of children who had formerly been looked after by the Industrial home committee. St Mungo's Catholic School was erected in 1878 and was built beside St Mungos Chapel in Clackmannan Road. In addition to these schools there were a number of private schools.

The increase in the number and style of the public buildings between 1832 and 1900 had been very marked. In 1842 the old Tontine Hotel was converted into a court room and prison, before this the courts were held in the old Assembly Rooms. Both these premises were regarded as not up to standard for a Court House and there had been much talk regarding the building of new premises that would reflect the growing importance of the county. In 1863 the commissioners of supply eventually agreed to build a new Court House which was opened in 1866.

The County Hospital was instituted in 1867 mainly through the auspices of the Earl of Kellie and was opened for patients in October 1868; there was also a fever wing of the hospital, which was opened at that time. The Alloa Corn Exchange Hall was built in 1862 and also substituted as a public hall which gave the farmers of the area a meeting place for their weekly corn market,

which had been previously held at the railway station. It was said to be well used as a meeting place and within its walls, concerts, theatre and other public entertainment had taken place.

The old Burgh Chambers were demolished in the 1880s to make way for an extensive set of buildings fronting Candle Street, which formed part of the brewing premises of Messer's George Younger and sons. George Younger became 1st Viscount Younger of Leckie and was born in Alloa in 1867, Apart from being a brewer he was also a politician of note beginning his political career in Clackmannanshire at local government level. He went on to become the Conservative Member of Parliament for Ayr (1906-22) and became the Chairman of the Conservative party in 1916. He ran the general election campaigns for the Conservatives in 1918 and 1922, the latter won by his party which was led by Andrew Bonner Law. Younger was the nephew of another famous brewer and philanthropist Dr William McEwan (1827-1913) who was also born in Alloa; he set up the Fountain Brewery in Edinburgh which is still there to this day. He also entered Parliament standing under the Conservative banner representing central Edinburgh and gave significant donations to the city, including money to build the McEwan hall as a graduation hall for the University of Edinburgh. The statistics that the vast majority of brewers had been Tory sympathiser is well borne out in Clackmannanshire.

The new Municipal Buildings in Bank Street occupied the old site of the flesh market and were erected in 1878; this was where all the Burgh Court work and the town's business was carried out. Cells were also built at the back of the halls for the apprehension of the area's offenders awaiting their court appearances. There was also provision made for a fire engine and a dwelling house for the engineer and the assistant fire master. After various moves the post office found a permanent position in Bank St, which was erected in 1882 and was capable of housing postal, parcel and telegraph services. In the same block there was a building known as the Alloa Club, which housed a reading room and a billiards room. A telephone exchange was also added on to the post office and connected many of the public works in the town and county. A museum hall

was also built in 1874 by the Alloa Society of Natural Science and Archaeology, while the Masonic hall was also built in 1874.

The Banks also moved in to Alloa with the Commercial Bank built in 1861 in the gothic style, the Clydesdale and the Union banks also built new premises during this period. A volunteer drill hall was also built in 1886 not just for drilling purposes but was also used for ornithological and horticultural exhibitions. The old Tontine inn, which was associated with the old coach house days, was converted into the head quarters of the Clackmannan and Kinross Volunteers, now styled by 1890, The 7th Argyle and Sutherland Highlanders (volunteer Battalion). The railway had also come to Alloa with the building of the railway station in 1850; however before this the steam engines were used to carry coal only. The Stirling, Alloa line to Dunfermline was managed by the North British Railway Company. The Devon Valley Line, which linked Alloa, Alva, Tillicoultry and Dollar, was also run by NBR from 1875. The Forth Bridge at Alloa was opened in 1885 linking the Alloa railway with Glasgow. Two goods stations were also opened one at Bedford Place for NBR and one at Graigward for Caledonian Railways, the opening of the Forth Railway Bridge in 1890 also gave the area a much improved service to Edinburgh.

A public park was created from land leased from the Earl of Mar and Kellie. A new slaughter house had been erected, and the commissioners also purchased the gas works for the town. All this was paid for through the rating system (annual assessment) levied on the property owners of the town.<sup>46</sup>

From the material point of view Alloa had prospered considerably since 1832, The first great impetus for the trade of the town can be traced to the coming of the railways in 1851 which opened up communications with the large centres of industry such as Glasgow, whereby the local manufactures and other large employers of labour were able to compete more successfully with their rivals in other parts of the country. Since that date the trade of the town had steadily increased.

In 1870 a Mrs Fraser who lived in Candleriggs in Alloa gave us a good description of the living conditions of the ordinary people and the changes that the town had seen since the 1820s.

*Then Alloa was a town of narrow streets and vennels, most of the folk lived in Candle Street and the auld brig area near the Brothie burn. The Alloa shore had a good many houses and water was supplied by a well at the Trongate, where there could be found the shopkeepers and traders of the town. Basket makers, ale houses, candle makers, weavers, fish wives, fleshers and carters all worked side by side. Market Street was the main street for people to sell their wares. It was where the ship masters brought their supplies. There were often four or five ships a week harboured at Alloa Shore and had to be loaded with enough food for months at sea. Market Street could be a very rough and dangerous street in the town. It was said to have one of the worst reputations on either side of the Forth. Stories went that when a ship was docked hordes of lodge house keepers were on hand to give the crews raw whisky and to give the seamen lodgings in what are described as stinking hovels in Market Street , with some of the seamen being found in the morning naked and drunk having been robbed by their hosts. In the 1820s the streets were said to be very dirty, houses had middens at their doors and the refuse just lay about till it was collected and sold to the farmers for manure. Most folk kept a cow and some pigs at the back of their houses. The houses were lit by candles, and if you wanted to go out at the night you took your own lantern.* <sup>47</sup>

During this period she described a lot of drunkenness in the streets, by the 1870s it was very different, all the old undrained streets were swept away and the unsanitary houses were cleared, Patons mill was extended as already described, and of course the railways came to town with wide streets leading from the station. After all these changes she remarked ‘that there was nothing left of the old Alloa.’ <sup>48</sup>

Mrs Fraser also told us that by the 1870s a lot of incomers had settled in Alloa, they had come from the Highlands and all over Scotland and there had also been an influx of quite a number of Irish families. Most of the families now lived in a room and kitchen (single end) with the

lavatories outside. Mrs Fraser's last comment was 'that she expected that there were many changes to come.'<sup>49</sup>

Other firms expanded and came to fruition during this period and added to the prosperity of the town e.g. Messer's George Younger brewers, W& J. A Bailey had built a new production plant, J Bald and company distillers, Alloa Glass works, Alloa Brick and Tile works, the Alloa Coal Company, Williamson, Plumbers and Coppersmiths. Of the newer branches of industry which had been started in the 1880s were Buick& Son brick and tile makers, J Dawson & Co, Eglinton Dywood Mills, McClay & Co new Brewers (and the only one remaining to this day), Caponcroft Brewery. Pearson & Rainage (Alloa Foundry) and the Grangemouth Dockyard Company. As a natural consequence of the commercial prosperity of the town the population had grown, as Mrs Fraser had told us with an influx of newcomers.

With the introduction of the new burgh councils the town had expanded greatly, through its industry and commerce which was made all the easier by the middle class councillors.

#### **4. Crime, Jail and Poverty**

One of the most important aspects for the population in Alloa and Clackmannanshire was the real or perceived rise in criminality that came in the wake of industrialisation within the county. The introduction of policing had been taking up slowly in the county, even though the powers had been available to the Commissioners of Supply. The argument for not introducing policing was mainly down to cost, however by the 1850s with the introduction of the new Burgh Councils, policing was being expanded, as we have already touched on, with the rise of the duties of the Sheriffs and his Deputes and the introduction of the Procurator Fiscals office.

As D.G. Barrie argued that the Glasgow police Act in 1800 was introduced in response to a perceived rise in crime, increasing demands for more effective protection for private property and a growing acceptance among the propertied class that a new form of urban management was

needed to deal with the challenge posed by rapid urban growth.<sup>50</sup> With industrialisation coming at a later stage in Alloa the same thinking would apply.

A new level of awareness and concern about popular disorder can be detected amongst the propertied classes in the aftermath of the Gordon riots of 1780, and continued through the years of war against revolutionary France, these years being punctuated by rioting in response to food shortages, high prices and recruiting demands from the army.

The concern among the propertied was aggravated, probably by lurid reports of street massacres and guillotining in France as well as the demands and less often, the threat of British Jacobins. These concerns did not end with the defeat of France in 1815. Mainly because of the 1820 radical rising in Scotland, and the thirty years following Waterloo were themselves punctuated by rioting sparked by both economic and political motives. They had also witnessed mass demonstrations calling for a variety of reforms. Peaceful or not, these demonstrations provoked fears. In addition, after the French wars Britain's propertied classes peered with fascinated horror at the burgeoning slums within the new industrial cities. The late 1830s and the 1840s became years of acute anxiety. These fears had been fed by economic depressions as well as radical and industrial agitation which culminated in 1842 with the second Chartist Petition and the Plug Plot.<sup>51</sup>

Alongside the concerns about disorder there were also the changing attitudes to the poor (see chapter five Poor Law.) which led to irritation among the propertied at having to dig deeper into their pockets to find money to finance the poor rates and the war against France. Peace with France brought an end to income tax but the rapid demobilisation of the armed forces and the restructuring of major sections of the economy from war to peace, meant little reduction in the poor rates and often quite the reverse.

It was during the war years that the Reverend Thomas Malthus had published his essay on 'The Principle of Population and its effect on the Future Improvement of Society.'<sup>52</sup> It presented a

pessimistic picture of the poor claiming that it was their own improvidence and immorality which led to problems of over-population, food shortages and consequently to high poor rate taxation. These arguments convinced many of the propertied class, who had become increasingly concerned about such unrest and increasingly suspicious of, and irritated by the poor. However anxiety involving popular disorder and crime in the first half of the century does not appear to have stopped at class divides. The years up to the middle of the century witnessed cycles of economic booms and slumps. The peaks of committals to jail coincided with the depths of the economic depressions, which would suggest that some offenders stole to keep body and soul together. This was recorded in England in the Black Country during the 1830s and 1840s. An increase in crime during the depression years suggests people were turning to illegal activity when jobs and money were short.<sup>53</sup>

With the formation of new police forces began the enforcement of new standards of order on the population, especially amongst the working classes. In particular they arrested people in larger numbers for minor offences of disorder, such as drunkenness, drinking out of hours, disorderly behaviour, breaches of the peace, vagrancy and for various forms of now illegal types of popular recreation such as gambling in the streets, cock fighting, playing football or just congregating in the streets, to name a few. Normal life for members of the working classes became subjected to a greater degree of surveillance and interference at the hands of the new police who were perceived by some as a tool of the middle classes.<sup>54</sup>

While there seems to be a correlation between criminal statistics and periodic fears of crime and disorder, it is also probable that the collection and publication for national crime statistics led to the perception of crime as a national and impersonal problem. During the eighteenth century, when there was no such statistics, crime was essentially a personnel problem for victim and accused. Statistics made crime national and made the criminal a national bogey man, crime could now be shown to be offences perpetrated on a large scale against respectable people by a group

which, by being measured statistically, whatever the faults of the statistics, could be defined collectively as criminals, or as a criminal class.<sup>55</sup>

Throughout the nineteenth century theft of various sorts was the principle offence which occupied the time of different courts. Most thefts were petty and only a few involved large sums of money or anything of great value. Most of the offenders brought before the courts for these crimes came from the poorer sections of society, and as a consequence the disclosure of class became more and more central to the analysis and perception of society, so criminality tended to be seen as essentially a class problem.<sup>56</sup> The middle classes were more and more concerned with the poor, with their perceived immoral and disorderly behaviour. Throughout the period most experts and commentators went out of their way to deny any relationship between low wages, poverty and the bulk of crime. The main causes of crime were given as moral weakness, luxury, idleness, corrupting literature, parental neglect and the lack of education. However in studying the criminal statistics and their interpretation V. Gattrell and T. Hadden did not agree with this interpretation of criminality<sup>57</sup>. A feature that had emerged from their analysis is the coincidence in varying degrees throughout the century, but particularly in the first half of the 1800s, that sharp increases in property offences took place during waves of popular agitation and discontent. They were not saying that it was in any part a social movement, although an argument could be used for offences like riot, arson, machine breaking and sedition, nonetheless the coincidence of a depression with a high rate of property crime and working class unrest was of more than incidental importance, and it could be argued that the increase in property offences in these years constituted an idea of the pressure of poverty and hunger on a large number of people that could have amplified protest movements. They also suggest that political protests were merely the surface manifestations of social tension and frustration which can be quantitatively assessed in terms of the incidence of certain kinds of criminal activity.



To back this up they showed by looking at the statistics from 1819 to 1848, the year to year coincidence of high criminal rates with the major depression in the trade cycle which was precise in six cases out of seven, the only exception being that of 1826, when it was one year out.<sup>58</sup>

The perception that crime was perpetrated by the working class, and a criminal class within it, was widely preached by such as John Fielding, Hendry and Hathaway, and especially Colquhoun's treatise on 'The Police of the Metropolis', which was criticised for wanting to control the poor with a system of police. The 1830s, and particularly the hungry forties, witnessed apocalyptic visions of society shared by men at opposite ends of the political spectrum. Engel's comments asserted that the incidence of crime had increased with the growth of the working class population and there was more crime in Britain than in any other country in the world.<sup>59</sup> Britain at the time being the most industrialised country in the world.

Crime was now being seen as an aspect of the new social war, with the working classes and the criminal class within it inhabiting the most squalid districts within the rising towns and cities with their teeming and anonymous populations and their uneducated poor, living in unsanitary slums. Historians such as J.J. Tobias concluded that the large towns, during much of the nineteenth century, failed to provide the support which former country dwellers had known in the smaller communities from which they had come. Arguing that entry into a criminal class was a means of finding support, it was entry into an association, informal, but nonetheless members could be found almost anywhere.<sup>60</sup>

The notion of a criminal class was, and indeed remains a convenient one for insisting that most crime is something committed on law abiding citizens by an alien group. However most of the offences committed by the individuals involved goods of paltry value and criminal tools were rarely used in the execution of their crimes.

Obviously environment to some extent dictates the forms and styles of crime. White collar crime depends on particular forms of economic and social structure generally routed in a bureaucratic and urbanised society. Street robbery by definition, could not happen in a corn field or forest,

similarly poaching and sheep stealing, common offences, in the eighteen and nineteenth centuries, could only be rural offences, though at times not necessary committed by rural dwellers.<sup>61</sup> However the new cities and towns with the rise in urbanisation did create more opportunities for crime especially within the larger cities with their new city centres and shops which would attract crowds. These crowds would provide opportunities for the pick pocket and the prostitute. Shops provided opportunities for shop lifting and together with offences for burglary. Of course another aspect of consumerism which brought the middle classes together and distanced it from the working classes was the fear of the poor, since the poor were a threat to property and possessions and that considerable resources were invested by the middle classes through local government and the church in construction of mechanisms to control the poor, which was also used in defining a middle class identity in Britain. This is well documented in Clackmannanshire.

Clackmannanshire like all other areas suffered from crime or the perception of crime. The county had before 1844 sent its prisoners, or those suspected of criminal activity to the jail in Stirling however there had been a campaign in the county for the construction of a jail in Alloa, mainly to cut the cost which they had to pay Stirling for the upkeep of their prisoners and offenders. The Commissioners of Supply eventually sanctioned the purchase of the Tontine Inn to convert into a suitable prison; a prison board was set up consisting of Robert Bruce, William Clark and Robert Jamison. The alterations to the old Tontine Inn was estimated at £802 and was completed for that sum, the building was handed over six weeks early, and this might have been due to a late handover penalty being inserted within the contract for the work by the prison committee of £200 per week.<sup>62</sup>

The records available for Alloa prison start in 1844, and give us a good insight into the type of criminal offences being committed, the people committing the offences and the punishments being carried out for offences within the prison. Between the 2<sup>nd</sup> April and the 23<sup>rd</sup> Aug 1844, there had been thirty six admissions to the Jail, thirty two were local, two from Glasgow and two

were stated as Irish.<sup>63</sup> Offences were, theft twenty one, assault twelve, false hoods and imposition one, lunatic one, malicious mischief one. Two of the offenders were said to have been acquitted in court.

The prisoners were aged between seven and sixty three and all the prisoners were logged as coming in sober which belies the thinking that drink was a great cause of crime, twenty four were regarded as clean with their clothes in good condition, twelve were reported as dirty with their clothes ragged, one of the prisoners was in for a second time and was recorded as dirty and ragged.

The occupations of the prisoners were listed as follows. Three carter, five weaver, one fonder, one flesher, one wool picker, two tailors, three labourer, one bookmaker, two winder off's two, one skinner, three wives, two moulders, one collier, three vagrants, one seamstress, one in farming, one seamen and one stonebreaker.

On entry to the prison the authorities also recorded whether the prisoners could read and write, thirty could read with difficulty, four could not read; one could read well, five could write, five could sign their name and another five could write with difficulty. None were said to have had their education superior to reading and writing.<sup>64</sup> Therefore due to their education alone they would have been bracketed as working class.

Most offences were not of a serious nature and had sentences passed down of three to fourteen days with the more serious offences given one month for a male prisoner who did not support his wife and child, and assaulted his wife. The most serious offences recorded were seven years deportation for dealing in counterfeit coins, this was Alexander Penman 22 years old who had been employed as a labourer, and there was also a thirty day sentence for trespassing on a James McClaren who was 18 years old and employed as a shoemaker. The lunatic mentioned was a woman Mary McDonald or Ferguson, 54 years old, who could not read or write, she was eventually moved from the prison and sent to a lunatic asylum.<sup>65</sup>

Punishments were also handed out for bad behaviour in prison, and during this period there was one referred to as a special trouble maker. What is remarkable is his age, eleven. His name was Henry Ragg and his list of offences in jail and the harshness of his punishments was as follows.

1844--- November, disorderly on the Sabbath day, one dinner kept off.

1845---December, struck the warder twice in one day, bread and water for 14 days.

1846--- March, speaking to female warder, bread and water for 4 days.

1846 ---May, stopping the ventilation with ropes and breaking the plaster off walls and putting spittle on them after they had been heavily white washed; also taking leafs out of the bible and giving abusive language when approached. Punishment was seven days in darkness and only to have the smallest diet for one month.

1847---January 1<sup>st</sup>, blowing wind into the gas pipes which caused the lights in the prison to go out and when reprimanded, became very turbulent and knocked upon the door and made noise, he was put in irons upon the joules by one of the hands for twenty four hours and kept in a dark cell for seven days and only giving bread and water.

February-7<sup>th</sup>, holding communication with another prisoner a John Brannen, 14 years, three dinners kept off.

Why the boy was in jail for such a long period is not recorded.

Woman did not seem to be treated any differently, no matter what age as can be seen.

1845---March 31<sup>st</sup>, Esther Docherty, speaking through her cell door to a male prisoner. Loss of breakfast and additional labour for one day.

1848---July 25<sup>th</sup>. Margaret Love 17, Helen Miller 18 and Jean Sinclair 21 by speaking bad language to the males by the side of their cell doors put on bread and water for three days.<sup>66</sup>

By 1858, the prison was in full operation and the prisoners were made to work while they were serving their sentence, which in turn they were paid a small sum with the profits from their work off setting the cost of the upkeep of the prison.<sup>67</sup>

The prison governor typically reported the figures for the period in quarters. An amount was paid to the prisoners on release, this was called liberation expenses and was made up of clothing and a money allowance paid either to meet their travelling expenses or as a temporary relief until employment was obtained in terms of rule 89, the sum being 12s 6p.

It was also recorded that a teacher Mr McDonaldson was paid to enter the prison and give lessons in reading, writing and arithmetic to the inmates who was recorded as having 'a considerable amount of successes'.<sup>68</sup>

In the governor's report under remarkable occurrences, a young boy named Peter Sharp aged 10 years, was convicted on the 7<sup>th</sup> September for three separate acts of theft and was sentenced to forty days, thereafter to be conveyed to and confined in a reformatory to be named by the sheriff. As this was the first case of its kind coming under the Reformatory Act the governor was soliciting instructions from the Prison Board,

*As to the boy's transmission and in the absence of any direct rule in such cases he would respectively lay before the board his ideas upon the case. That he be transmitted to such a reformatory, the same as in the case of prisoners transmitted to the general prison or from one local prison to another. The boy was eventually moved to a Miss Kibbles in Paisley to serve out his sentence.*<sup>69</sup>

A minister was also by employed by the prison, but if the numbers were less than five he did not have to perform the divine service on a Sunday. If a woman was in prison and had a child less than 12 months old, the child could remain inside the jail with the mother.

The jobs that the prisoners undertook within the jail were for males, wool picking, hair teasing, gardening and the cranking machine. For females, shirt machining, stocking knitting, wool picking, cooking and cleaning.

In a period in 1856, the numbers of inmates had gone up from the previous year; the number of different offences was also expanding. In one quarter ending 31<sup>st</sup> March 1856, the following offences were recorded as against the previous year.<sup>70</sup>

**Table 3****Criminal offence recorded in quarter ending 31<sup>st</sup> March 1856.**

| <u>Typical offences</u>              | <u>1856 male/ female</u> |   | <u>1855 male/ female</u> |   |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|---|--------------------------|---|
| Theft by housekeeping.               | 3                        | 4 | 5                        | 5 |
| Reset of theft.                      |                          |   | 1                        | 1 |
| Altering base coins.                 | 1                        | 1 |                          |   |
| Libidinous practices.                |                          |   | 2                        |   |
| Child murder.                        |                          | 1 |                          |   |
| Assault to the effusion<br>of blood. |                          | 1 |                          |   |
| Assault on wife.                     |                          |   | 3                        |   |
| Malicious mischief .                 | 1                        |   |                          |   |
| Breach of peace.                     | 4                        | 2 | 4                        | 1 |
| Breach of service.                   |                          |   | 1                        |   |
| Breach of mutiny Act.                | 3                        |   |                          |   |
| Poaching Act.                        | 1                        |   | 5                        |   |
| Assault.                             | 4                        | 1 |                          |   |

Compiled from Alloa prison book 1856-58

It was recorded that a Janet Marstin or Aitkin was in for her eleventh time and a child murder had been committed by a Margaret Patterson, who had murdered her illegitimate child aged between eight and ten days old. She was a coal worker from the Coalsnaughton parish in Tillicoultry. When she was tried she admitted to killing the child and pled guilty to culpable homicide with the Council of the Crown accepting the plea and Lord Cowan sentenced her to 15 years transportation.<sup>71</sup>

The number of prisoners from 1857 was lower than previous years and the prison governor gave his reasons for this 'that many cases now tried under the new Burgh Act, had small fines imposed so that the accused may be able to pay the fine and in consequence the burgh police are saved the

necessary of imprisoning them. Another reason for the low number of prisoners may also be ascribed to the militia having drained of the old frequenters of the prison'.<sup>72</sup>

This lack of prisoners in Alloa was coming to the attention of the Inspector of Jails in Scotland and in a letter to his superiors in London he informed them of a problem with the cost of keeping prisoners in Alloa, the cost being £40 3s 1d per year, (Scotland's average at this time was £10) Alloa jail now having the highest cost per prisoner in Scotland. However the clerk of Alloa Prison Board Gavin Martin commented, 'that this was due to the drop in prisoners from an average of twenty five to eighteen, down to eleven, and in the winter period dropped to four, (these figures are daily averages over a quarterly period.) The prison still had to be heated and new prison clothes had to be bought, the warden's house had also become infested and had to be cleaned and repaired'.

He also blamed the increase on the water tax, which had risen considerably since the previous year, and the rise in fuel and food had also been higher than in previous years. To spread this cost Alloa had offered Stirling jail space, this offer was taking up with the transfer of nine women but was soon withdrawn due to high costs being charged by the Alloa Prison Board.<sup>73</sup>

The governor also reported during the period

*that there were two classes of prisoners that were very common in this period which greatly diminished the profit from the labour of the other prisoners. Female prisoners with children and male prisoners who had been sentenced to hard labour and employed at the crank machine, in the former case the mother has to look after her child and in the latter although daily employed yields no remuneration for his labour and these draw backs on so small an average, lessens the average yearly profits of labour per-person.*<sup>74</sup>

The prison in 1860 was again seeing a downturn in occupants and became empty on the 27<sup>th</sup> September for three hours for the first time, and again became empty for the period between 23<sup>rd</sup> and the 29<sup>th</sup> October. During this period the governor's son was to die of gastroenteritis. The down turn in occupants goes on through to 1861, with the average being down to six from seven

the previous year. The governor comments, that the average number of prisoners were down to one third of the number, when he entered the service seven years previously.

The medical officer also reports that the number of prisoners confined in the prison during the last quarter still continued to be very small, indicating to him 'a great dissimilation of crime in this small but populace county contributing favourably with a time not very distant when upwards of forty prisoners were in the prison at the same time'.<sup>75</sup> Also that punishment handed out for offences in prison was also reducing, only two had been handed out in that quarter.<sup>76</sup>

**Table 4 Daily Average Prisoners 1853-1862.**

This drop in prisoners from 1853 to 1862 can be showing with the daily averages for these years.

| <u>Year</u> | <u>Daily average.</u> |
|-------------|-----------------------|
| 1853        | 22                    |
| 1854        | 18                    |
| 1855        | 11                    |
| 1856        | 11                    |
| 1857        | 8                     |
| 1858        | 8                     |
| 1859        | 7                     |
| 1860        | 7                     |
| 1861        | 6                     |
| 1862        | 5                     |

Compiled from data within Alloa prison books.

However this low number was to end in the New Year of 1863 where there had been a doubling of the average, the governor had put this down to an increase of committals for petty theft in



Scotland. As a whole most of the offences in Scotland were recorded as against property and not the person but in Clackmannanshire this was the reverse.

The governor in his practical suggestions for trying to bring the average cost of each prisoner down, asked the board to write to the authorities,

*that the propriety of not leaving it in the power of untried prisoners the option of whether they shall work or not, but that a representation be made to the Secretary of State for the Home Department to alter the 79<sup>th</sup> rule for prisoners in Scotland in so far to make it imperative that every criminal prisoner whether untried or convicted shall also do ten hours of work each day.*<sup>77</sup>

He complained that the untried prisoners were very turbulent and ninety nine cases out of a hundred were found to be destroying property either in their cells or food dishes supplied, illustrating the old Scotch adage 'idle dogs worries sheep'.<sup>78</sup>

Environment did have an inter-relationship with crime, but not simply along the lines that the urban-rural division might suggest. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries industrialisation and urbanization changed communities, but the experience was not so shattering that people, especially the poor immigrants spreading to the towns and cities, or sprawling open villages, ceased to live in, and to perceive themselves as part of their communities. Some communities tended to be more law abiding than others, but theorists of crime, policing and the respectable classes in general, tended to perceive any areas where the poor massed and where there was no visible form of elite control and surveillance, was a haven for the dangerous classes.

One key question that has to be asked is what impact did the enormous economic and social changes of the nineteenth century have on crime? At one level there is a clear answer to the impact of these changes on criminal behaviour, though it would be impossible to quantify. Increasing wealth, more goods in shops and warehouses, more movable property in people's homes and possibly the workplace provided greater opportunities and greater temptation. Similarly the extension of the business and commercial worlds promised greater opportunities for embezzlement and fraud. Which would be classed as white collar crime, none was recorded in

Clackmannanshire from 1844 to 1866, either Clackmannanshire was a remarkably crime free area or these cases were covered up, due to them mainly being committed by the middle classes and unreported.

The increase in property crime recorded by the admittedly imperfect statistics during the serious economic slumps of the first periods of industrialisation does appear to be significant in Britain as a whole and economic hardship brought about by a slump merely exacerbated the situation and spread temptation further.

However if there is a correlation between the peak of property crime and the troughs in the business cycle it is also apparent that the steepest overall crime increase in the criminal statistic between 1750 and 1850 coincides with the fear for social order, the fear of the mob, the fear of revolution and during the hungry forties the identification of and the anxiety about the dangerous classes, possibly served to foster the perception of a longer term crime wave in the first half of the nineteenth century. As people's concern about crime was heightened so arguably, more crime was reported and prosecuted. This would not be to deny that necessity and need prompted more people to steal simply to exist early in the nineteenth century, but rather to re-emphasise that the increase in the statistics was not just through the result of more crime. However in real terms crime was increasing during the period of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, but not as much as the statistics would have us think, as it must be acknowledged that the law defines crime and that legislators can criminalise or decriminalise activities as can be seen in Clackmannanshire with new offences being brought in by the new burgh council.

In looking at Clackmannanshire as against the trends/ published figures in England in the 1850s, we do not see a great rise in criminality in the figures available from 1844 to 1863; however this covers the greatest part of the period being looked at. What it does show up is the number of offences into which the prisoners were put in, which were five in 1844. By 1856 the number of offences had increased to thirteen which would give some credence to the argument, that government legislation had increased and criminalised more people with more offences. In

reading through the recorded offences we do not see any great acts of crime apart from the murder of a new born baby by its mother, which could have been brought about by Victorian attitudes to unmarried mothers. There do not seem to be any crime syndicates or an undercurrent of organised criminal gangs, this could have been the result of the new Burgh Police Force that had been set up within the county and was well established by 1863. Most offences were for disorderly behaviour, breach of the peace and assault. A sign that drink, which was usually blamed for these types of offences if listening to the church ministers at the time, can not always be used as an excuse. Of the twenty one people brought in for assault over a three month period in 1844, none were reported as being under the influence of alcohol, all being reported as brought in sober, and most were also recorded as being employed. However what does show up was that all the prisoners had no education above reading and writing. Significantly what can be seen is that the legislation on what constituted a criminal offence was bringing in more and more of the working classes and these new regulations were being brought in by the burgh council which was run and dominated by the middle classes.

Engel's comment that Britain was the most crime ridden country in Europe was or must have been based on the inner cities of the large industrial cities and towns, and the sensationalism as reported in the news papers. But this label can not be applied based on the evidence available as a true reflection on Clackmannanshire.

The national statistics look to show that during periods of depression crime increased, which does seem to be the same in Clackmannanshire as during the depression in 1852- 53, the crime figures for these years show a higher level. The vast majority of offenders would be labelled as working class , however by 1863, crime in the county had on average each year from 1853, dropped off considerably as the governor for the jail had stated that prisoners were a third down since he had entered service seven years before.<sup>79</sup>

## 5. CONCLUSION.

With national government passing legislation but not controlling how that legislation was implemented, Scotland became a state within a state with Edinburgh as a capital without a government. This led to the middle classes in the county taking over the local government of the towns in the area. Even at national level the county voted Liberal, a party that was seen to represent an ideology which was anti-landlord, non conformist and free trade.

The improvements that were made in Alloa took place in a rapidly expanding world capitalist economy. This meant that the fortunes of Clackmannanshire were tied up in the search for profit and power all entwined in a cash economy, improvements could not be carried out unless there was a cash surplus. These profits as made by the Patons would be seen as obscene by some, however the philanthropy of the Patons was large, this also gave them power in the area which they used to their benefit through their influence on the local authorities and their workforces lives inside and outside of the factory gate. Manufacturing in Clackmannanshire was a major player in the county's wealth and manufactures often regarded as the principal agents of modernisation and entrepreneurship and are viewed as a crucial element in the formation of the middle classes. Nenadic argues that in numbers, wealth and power manufacturers were a relatively small element of the middle class in cities that had a large commitment to manufacturing activity and a large factory workforce and they were not as influential in the creation of the middle class, this persistent and influential myth of the dominant manufacture would leave us to believe.<sup>80</sup> In Clackmannanshire this was certainly no myth, employers such as the Patons and the Youngers held great sway, especially in Alloa.

However although the county had numerous and various industries it was still marginalised economically with regards to the main industrial areas of Scotland never mind Britain. This in turn meant a lack of opportunity for a good part of the population.

The county had a large influx of migrant workers especially in the textile industry. This workforce was therefore fluid and would move to where the work was. The response from the

urban and welfare authorities suggest a community that was less endowed and more authoritarian and more collective than in England, especially with the local authorities being more authoritarian which exacerbated a class society.

Part of the remit for the new Burgh Councils as reflected in Alloa was to improve the sanitary and general conditions of the towns. It could be said that this was a middle class response to the crisis over the period from 1840 to the 1850s, regarding the living and working conditions of the working classes, and the rise of Chartism and the worker's unions. When you also take into account the 1848 revolutions that took place over most of Europe, the middle classes must have thought that their apocalypse was just around the corner, and unless they started acting to relieve the conditions caused by industrialisation and urbanisation the conflict could spread to Scotland.

The Victorian middle classes intended, through local and national government, to take control over many more aspects of the individual's life in order to shape society to their own concepts and beliefs. New factory inspectors now enforced the laws within factories; new posts were created by the burgh councils to look after sanitary, public health and housing. They also brought in new regulations that were intended to improve the health of the whole community in trying to eliminate the worst slum housing conditions. However, the new powers that were being implemented by the new burgh councils were not welcomed by elements of the working class who believed them to be interference in their way of life and considered them to be the unpalatable face of officialdom and social control.<sup>81</sup>

In looking at the first council election, the list of eligible voters in Alloa was compiled under the same conditions as parliamentary elections. This basically gave the middle class control over the town council leaving the landed classes including the small landowners with control of the Commissioners of Supply. Looking at the house valuations the main criteria for voting, most of the committee that was elected are at the top end of the valuation scale, would indicate that they were from the wealthier section of the town. This middle class representation would enable them to carry out a middle class agenda.

The middle classes did not see anything wrong with a council selected by them. Their idea of local government was an authoritarian one, whose justification must be a constant adherence to moral principles. Civic pride in towns was created by people working and creating wealth and benefits which were diffused, although unequally through society. However what did happen for many of the citizens of Clackmannanshire was that one set of obscenely rich, the aristocracy, was replaced by another, the urban manufacturers, which resulted in absolutely no working class contribution to local government whatsoever. What did happen was that the old self elected and frequently corrupt local administrations by openly elected bodies was seen as bringing in local democracy but what it did do in Alloa was replace the older aristocracy led authorities with a new middle class club with their own rules. For the working classes the change was only another management, but this time the management was not only wanting a bit of deference paid to them, the management wanted to control their behaviour and their way of life.

One of the first tasks they set out to fulfil was the formation of a burgh police force. This police force was not established to police the middle classes but to police the working classes or the worst elements of that class, as it was the middle classes who were the section of the community with the goods to steal and the property to protect, so you do not go to the expense of forming a police force unless you have something to fear. The working classes rented their homes and very few owned property or goods of any great value.

The new burgh council brought in by-laws with the purpose of ridding the streets of people whom they perceived as causing a nuisance, such as street peddlers, hawkers ,beggars and children playing, they also brought in laws against gambling in the streets, all of which activities were predominately working class.

Every day to day process was now being controlled by licensing regulations. As F. M. L. Thompson has argued 'It made the streets, or at least the principle streets more and more into sterile territory on which gave the public the right of passage but nothing else, not to meet, assemble, loiter, sit, gossip trade or play.'<sup>82</sup>

Of course the major part of society that was feeling the brunt of these new regulations was the working classes, especially the unskilled, for many sections of the working classes now felt that they were being prosecuted for behaviour that in the past was regarded as normal and not illegal and were now finding themselves criminalised. But in looking at the criminal statistics for Clackmannanshire, not one person of a middle class background had been jailed in an 18 year period, a remarkable statistic of its own.

The county had prospered as shown by new industries and buildings, in Alloa however with this new growth and prosperity in society became a more regulated and controlled system that now spread to all aspects of peoples lives. Prosperity for some had brought in a controlled state for the protection of property and their way of life and the values that made up that way of life. The rest of society was coerced into making a living within the parameters that were set by the middle classes backed up by their perceived betters the landed classes.

Richard Trainor in *Urban Elites in Victorian Britain* states that the higher echelons of the urban hierarchy acquired both basic and optional improvements more quickly and fully than did other localities, with the pace of progress being most dramatic in the smallest and newest towns.<sup>83</sup>

Where Alloa had been a backward town in the 1830s by the 1870s it was far more like those of Glasgow, the middle class elites in the area remained formidable rivals in the workplace as well as in civic life, for the emerging working class movement in Alloa they had a major job on their hands in trying to break down the middle classes influence and control.

With great civil influence and the economic power in the area, the middle classes had a significant role in shaping social change in Victorian Clackmannanshire.

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<sup>1</sup> Alex Murdoch in *The Oxford companion to Scottish History* ed Michael Lynch, (Oxford, 2001), p.277

<sup>2</sup> Ibid p277

<sup>3</sup> J. Cunningham and J.B.S. Gilfinnigan., *The Third Statistical Account of Glasgow*. (Glasgow, 1958),p.16

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- <sup>4</sup> David G. Barrie., *Epoch-Making' Beginnings to Lingering Death: The Struggle for Control of the Glasgow Police Commission, 1833-46.* The Scottish Historical Review, Volume LXXXVI, 2: No222 (October 2007), p.253
- <sup>5</sup> James Lothian,, Alloa and its Environs,(Alloa,1861), p.32
- <sup>6</sup> Ibid. p.32
- <sup>7</sup> Alloa Council Minutes Book 1854-1857, Meeting 28<sup>th</sup> December 1853
- <sup>8</sup> Ibid
- <sup>9</sup> Alloa Council Minutes Book 1854-1857, Meeting 19<sup>th</sup> January 1854
- <sup>10</sup> Ibid
- <sup>11</sup> Alloa Council Minutes Book 1854-1857,Meeting 19<sup>th</sup> January 1854
- <sup>12</sup> Alloa Council Minutes Book 1854-1857, Meeting 28<sup>th</sup> December 1853
- <sup>13</sup> Richard Trainor., The Middle Classes. The Cambridge Urban History, Vol III, 1840-1950. (Cambridge, 2000), p.418
- <sup>14</sup> Ibid.p.412
- <sup>15</sup> Ibid.p.403
- <sup>16</sup> T.C. Smout., A Century of the Scottish People, (London,1990),p.40
- <sup>17</sup> Lothian, Environs 1861, p.8
- <sup>18</sup> Alloa Council Minutes Book 1853-1858, Meeting 24<sup>th</sup> February 1854 (CDL)
- <sup>19</sup> James Lothian, (1861), p.8
- <sup>20</sup> Alloa Council minutes book 1853-1858, meeting 22<sup>ND</sup> March 1854 (CDL)
- <sup>21</sup> Ibid
- <sup>22</sup> Alloa Council Minutes Book 1853-1858, Meeting 7<sup>th</sup> March 1854,(CDL)
- <sup>23</sup> Alloa Council Minutes Book 1853-1858, Meeting 19<sup>th</sup> March 1855,(CDL)
- <sup>24</sup> David Barrie., Glasgow Police Commission, p.255.
- <sup>25</sup> Ibid.p.255
- <sup>26</sup> Clackmannanshire Parochial Board Minutes Book, 18<sup>th</sup> September 1847,(CDL)
- <sup>27</sup> Alloa Council Minutes Book 1853-1858, Meeting, 22<sup>nd</sup> March 1854,(CDL)
- <sup>28</sup> Alloa Council Minutes Book 1853-1858, Meeting, 8<sup>th</sup> May 1854,(CDL)
- <sup>29</sup> Ibid
- <sup>30</sup> Ibid
- <sup>31</sup> Ibid
- <sup>32</sup> Alloa Council Minutes Book 1853-1858, Meeting 4<sup>th</sup> June 1854,(CDL)
- <sup>33</sup> Clackmannanshire Parochial Board Minutes, Meeting, 15<sup>th</sup> September 1854,(CDL)
- <sup>34</sup> Alloa Council Minutes book 1853- 1858 meeting, 4<sup>th</sup> June1854 ,CDL
- <sup>35</sup> Ibid
- <sup>36</sup> Ibid
- <sup>37</sup> Alloa Council Minutes Book 1853-1858, Meeting, 7<sup>th</sup> June 1855,CDL
- <sup>38</sup> Ibid
- <sup>39</sup> Ibid
- <sup>40</sup> Alloa Council Minutes Book 1853-1858, Meeting ,1<sup>st</sup> July 1854,CDL
- <sup>41</sup> Ibid
- <sup>42</sup> Alloa Council Minutes Book 1853-1858, Meeting ,11<sup>th</sup> April 1856,CDL)
- <sup>43</sup> R.J. Morris., Structure, Culture and Society in British Towns, The Cambridge Urban History, Vol III, 1840-1950. (Cambridge 2000), p.398
- <sup>44</sup> Alloa Advertiser Jan 3<sup>rd</sup> 1891
- <sup>45</sup> Ibid
- <sup>46</sup> Ibid
- <sup>47</sup> Jannette Archibald., Clackmannanshire From Ice to Glass ,(CDL,2000) ,p.34
- <sup>48</sup> Ibid p34
- <sup>49</sup> Ibid p34
- <sup>50</sup> David Barrie., Glasgow Police Commission, p.256
- <sup>51</sup> C. Emsley., Crime and Society in England 1750-1900. ( Hong Kong, 1998),p.31
- <sup>52</sup> Ibid p.58
- <sup>53</sup> Ibid.p.32
- <sup>54</sup> F. M. L. Thomson., The Rise of Respectable Society (London, 1988), p.42



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- <sup>55</sup> C. Emsley., *Crime and Society*, p.42
- <sup>56</sup> *Ibid.* p.48
- <sup>57</sup> *Ibid.* p.35
- <sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* p.37
- <sup>59</sup> *Ibid.* p.58
- <sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* p.80
- <sup>61</sup> *Ibid.* p.80
- <sup>62</sup> Commissioners of Supply minute book, 28<sup>th</sup> August 1862
- <sup>63</sup> Register of Criminals Alloa jail, 1847. Ref, CC1- 4/7. ( CDL)
- <sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>65</sup> *Ibid*
- <sup>66</sup> *Ibid*
- <sup>67</sup> Register of Punishments Alloa prison, 1844-1878, CC/1/4/8 (CDL).
- <sup>68</sup> Alloa Prison report book, 1859-1862, ref, CC1/4/2. ( CDL)
- <sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>70</sup> Alloa Prison report book, 1856-1858. CC/4/1.
- <sup>71</sup> *Ibid*
- <sup>72</sup> *Ibid*
- <sup>73</sup> *Ibid*
- <sup>74</sup> Alloa Prison report book, 1858, CC/4/2. (CDL)
- <sup>75</sup> *Ibid*
- <sup>76</sup> Alloa Prison report book, 1862,CC/4/2. ( CDL).
- <sup>77</sup> *Ibid*
- <sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>79</sup> *Ibid*
- <sup>80</sup> Stana Nenadic., *Businessmen, The Urban Middle Classes, and the 'Dominance' of Manufacturers in Nineteenth Century Britain*, *Economic History Review*, XLIV, I (1991), p.66
- <sup>81</sup> Thomson, *Respectable Society*,p.356
- <sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*p.332
- <sup>83</sup> Richard Trainor., *Urban Elites in Victorian Britain*, *Urban History Year Book*, (1985), p.10

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **THE IMPACT OF THE CHURCH ON GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY.**

#### **Introduction**

For many people in Scotland, Scottish Presbyterian traditions were the mainstay of Scottish life. For them, nothing had been lost at the Union of 1707 that really mattered. It was the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland that the Scots looked to as the guardian of their liberty. After 1707 there had been no Parliament in Scotland, and so the state of the nation was most conveniently discussed in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.<sup>1</sup> In this chapter we will concentrate more on the after effects of the disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843. We will also consider what the established church meant too many Scots, because of its significant place in society, and the effect this split had on Scottish society in relation to politics, education and the Poor Law. However, religion still played a major part in Scottish society and took many forms.

Scotland in the 1840s was a country in the process of change; the Chartist agitation, the crisis in the Church of Scotland and the economic downturn in the country which started in 1841, had all given the government's of the time major problems, especially in Scotland. One of the major problems that had arisen was the existing Scottish Poor Law system, which was at breaking point as a result of industrialisation. In Scotland this problem was also exacerbated because of the schism in the Church of Scotland which had reduced its power and authority with the church being the administrators of the Poor Law throughout the country. We will therefore look at the Poor Law and its reform in 1845, the reasons why and how the reform was carried out, which brings to the fore who was now managing Scottish society and how society was functioning, and the role that government and the local authorities played within this.

With the disruption in the established church and the void this generated in many areas, such as education, we now see the middle classes filling these voids, which enable them in trying to direct and control society to their model and in doing so completing their hegemony in the county.

## **1. THE DISRUPTION AND SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE**

The established church in Scotland was Presbyterian and it was estimated that in 1840 it had 367,000 members. Furthermore, the largest group of Protestant churchgoers outside the Church of Scotland was also Presbyterian. The chief bodies of Protestant dissenters, except the Free Church, had combined by 1847 to form the United Presbyterian Church (U.P.), which in 1856 had 142,956 communicants. Presbyterianism was bound up with Scottish identity with John Knox being regarded, in the nineteenth century, as a hero rather than a villain. The established church was effectively, before the disruption of 1843, the bearer of the nation's traditions, but its security within the multinational state made it unlikely to provoke any political expression of nationhood. The disruption of the Church of Scotland occurred in 1843, when under the leadership of Thomas Chalmers; over one third of the ministers left the established church and formed the Free Church of Scotland. This schism between the established church and the break away unit arose mainly over issues of patronage, which had been forced on the Church of Scotland by a Westminster Parliament five years after the Union of 1707 and which had prohibited patronage. Patronage was a system, whereby the crown, large landowners, universities and town councils selected the parish minister which instigated widespread opposition and secession since the 1730s. The attack on patronage possesses some of the marks of nationalism. Firstly it was directed against an upper class that was significantly Anglicised. The Evangelicals who set up the Free Church wanted to take away the right of landowners and heritors to appoint ministers against the wishes of the congregation, a process they labelled intrusion. The primary concern of the non-intrusionists was that landlords tended to appoint men of sophistication and educated tastes like themselves, members of the Moderate Party in the Church, rather than Evangelicals, who would appeal to the consciences of their listeners.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Robert Peel believed that the Scottish Church was like the Anglican, Erastian, and Parliament was the ultimate seat of seniority, which reigned supreme in all matters. Peel could not conceive of relations between church and state in which the former was not subordinate to the latter. This meant that after 1843 'any political party that accepted the deadly embrace of English church men could expect nothing but bleak hostility and hatred from a large number of Scots'.<sup>2</sup> The political winner from the Disruption in Scotland was the Liberal Party as most Free Church men voted Liberal. Religious questions were to remain a cause of significant concern in Scotland, even between Protestant factions, who would join forces when it mattered against the perceived bogeyman of Catholicism.

In Clackmannanshire a large part of the population were dissenters this was a tradition that started after the 1707 Union with England, Dissenters would not endorse the prevailing party in church and state, because they believed it to be unworthy and because it was withdrawn from them, traditional rights and customs.<sup>3</sup> The extent of this hostility was in the new context of contracted farm service and waged labour, the Sabbath became not merely a day of rest but a day of freedom from the control of landowners, factors, farmers and the loom. By going to the parish church, with its ranks of authority figures they were seen as submitting to an extension of this control as seen in Alloa where the minister was a major land owner and was the first in the area to enclose fields. In this context the Sabbath, and especially the walk to worship in a dissenting meeting house, was central to the culture of puritan Presbyterians.<sup>4</sup>

In the mid 1750's the Relief Church was popular in Clackmannan with its appeal, which stretched to the American revolutionaries who found in its voluntarism a religious counterpoint to political liberty. For some commentators, the 'Relievers' were the 'Scots Methodists'. By 1847 the Relief Church had joined with the Secession Church to form the United Presbyterian Church which became a powerful, strongly middle class entity.<sup>5</sup>

A social and cultural transition within rural dissent was promoted by the influence of textile workers, and especially weavers. At Alva the Established Church minister owned the mill and his weavers walked out of his church in 1842 to form a Secession congregation.<sup>6</sup>

An example of these religious divisions can be seen in the report of a meeting that took place in Alloa in 1857, when Viscount Melgund, was standing for Parliament in Clackmannanshire. In 1857, fourteen years after the Disruption, religion was still a major political issue and a politician had to tread warily when religious matters were being discussed and how the unwary could be trapped. The questions from the floor and Melgund's answers were as follows: Question – 'Is the church property the nations'? - he replied 'Yes'; Question - 'should Protestants be compelled to teach Irish priests, thereby counteracting missionary works by Protestants' - he replied 'No'<sup>7</sup> This question was a result of the anti-Romanist passions in Scotland. In Ireland, St. Patrick's College had been founded at Maynooth in 1795 and had been endowed with an annual parliamentary grant of £8,000. By 1845 this grant had been increased to £9,500, and was always the subject of annual debate and acrimony. In the same year Sir Robert Peel raised the grant to £26,000 and by putting it on the Consolidated Fund, removed it from annual discussion. The Act was greatly criticised, Gladstone resigned, and there were protests in Scotland.<sup>8</sup> Question – 'should the Rectum Donnum to Irish Presbyterians continue'? Again he replied 'No'. Question – 'should the Irish Church establishment be maintained inviolate', Melgund states that 'It is the greatest anomaly that exists in this and any other country'. Question – 'if the church of the minority should be abolished in Ireland, what should be done with the Church of Scotland'? This question he refused to answer.<sup>9</sup> If Melgund had answered yes or no to this question he would have been committing himself to stripping or supporting the status of the Church of Scotland as the national church, which was a major issue at the time. Divisions on religion were still very strong between Protestants and against Catholicism.

The Disruption of 1843 led to many hardships and sacrifices for the ministers of the new Free Church, with much suffering for those, who through conscience left the national church with its

comfortable living. In Tillicoultry the Rev. Anderson, immediately after his sermon, announced that his services in the Parish church terminated with the exercises of that day. He gave a brief statement of the reasons behind his decision to cast in his lot with his brethren who had left the established church. He informed them that until they had a church of their own erected, he and his congregation would be accommodated in the Secession Church, which had been kindly granted to them, at such hours as would suit the convenience of both congregations. It was worthy of notice that not only had the Seeders granted their church for the use of the Free Presbyterians, but as Mr. Anderson could procure no proper accommodation for himself and his family, their minister, Mr. Young, had given up part of his house for that purpose. In Tillicoultry the Seeders and Free Presbyterians were not only worshipping in one building but their ministers and families were living together in one house.<sup>10</sup>

This kindness shown by the Secessionists to the new Free Church ministers and congregations was not uncommon in places where dissent had been strong previous to the disruption. The reason for this was that the evangelical party in the established church had much in common with the UP's; they had been fighting very much the same battle. Consequently, there were actually fewer of such to leave the national and form the Free Church in these areas.<sup>11</sup>

The decision of a parish church to break from the establishment was usually taken by the minister. In St .Mungo's Parish Church in Alloa there was controversy. The Rev. Peter Brotherston, nicknamed 'Peppery Peter', although sympathising with the Seeders, decided to remain within the established church,<sup>12</sup> but this did not please some of his congregation, as can be seen from a letter to the *Stirling Observer* in June 1843. The writer stated that the Minister, during the controversy leading up to the split, had been a most uncompromising defender of the principals advocated by the late dominant party. Over and over again he was said to have denounced people who were of contrary ways of thinking, and frequently, in his discourses held up to ridicule and contempt the government and legal tribunals of the country. On one occasion it was stated that he was so fierce and fiery against Lord Melbourne and his friends in office, that he

accused the party of undermining the constitution. The Reverend also strongly recommended church defence association and building schemes, presiding usually at such meetings and holding up to the admiration of his auditors such individuals as were poor, yet friendly, and willing to contribute as much as they could in aid of a cause he promised to follow up, 'by the Grace of God even unto death.'<sup>13</sup> But he is accused of changing his mind at the eleventh hour, and announced to his congregation that he was remaining in the established church. 'Having found from prophecy that he was one of the witnesses that are to suffer for the cause of truth. That although ready to be slain, he was not prepared to fly.'<sup>14</sup>

His argument in remaining at his post was that he would be more effective in serving the church by lending his aid in counteracting the acts of the moderates. But, at the same time, he was still preaching against Sir Robert Peel and those acting along with him, as being reckless and infatuated and declared open war on the Voluntaries. He accused his late friends (now in the Free Church), the high flyers of having been guilty of a rash, suicidal and sinful act. The writer then stated

*that because of the minister's turn around and under the circumstances in which we are now placed, it is impossible to come at the truth as regards the actual number who have left the established church at this place on non intrusion principles, many having deserted the minister who had not the slightest intention of leaving the Kirk, and who cannot think of remaining under a pastor who has acted in such a glaring and inconsistent manner.'*<sup>15</sup>

The above letter gave us a flavour of the divisions within the church and the community at the time of the disruption, and the strong beliefs that each side held.

We can also gain insight into the split by looking at Dollar and Muckhart. For many years dissent had been a powerful factor in Muckhart ecclesiastical affairs and the established church was weak in the area.<sup>16</sup> Mr. Thomson, the minister of the Parish Church in Muckhart came out on the side of the Free Church. He was followed by a majority of his congregation but they were too few in number to finance a new church building. It was the same in Dollar, and although the minister,

Rev. Dr. Milne, stayed with the established church, a part of his congregation seceded to the Free Church.<sup>17</sup> An estimate of the numbers in Dollar who left for the Free Church can be found in the Minutes of the Kirk Session. In 1842 there were 339 members by 9<sup>th</sup> July 1843 this had reduced to 244. The Minutes also showed the acceptance of the resignation of a Mr. Kirk and a Mr. Gibson, two elders who had defected to the Free Church,<sup>18</sup>

The Secessionists from Dollar and Muckhart together decided to build a church, at Shelterhall, without it seemed, any of the intense feeling and bitterness that was evident in other areas of Scotland, where landed proprietors and heritors treated the non intrusionists with scorn and contempt, refusing them sites for churches and manses.

James Thomson, the new Free Church Minister at Shelterhall, was a man said to be greatly loved by all parties. He had been the Clerk to the Auchterarder Presbytery during the ten year conflict which culminated in the 'Auchterarder Case'. Several of the principal heritors of Dollar and Muckhart, such as the Haig's of Blairhill and Dollarfield and the Moir's of Hillfoot 'treated him and his congregation with marked respect'. The Laird of Dollarfield's two sisters also joined the Free Church at Shelterhall.<sup>19</sup>

The Disruption did not only split the Church, the events of this decade marked a stage in the loss of the traditions and distinctiveness of Scottish life. The agitation for parliamentary reform which gained a partial success in the Reform Act of 1832 and the popular appeal of Chartism showed that the minds of men had ceased to look for guidance from the old national institutions and were turning to Parliament, centralised government, and the bureaucracy associated with such centralised agencies.<sup>20</sup> Everything was declared simply subordinate to Parliament. There now could be no superior theory of law, because the law was simply what had been passed by Parliament. If the intrusionists had won, this would have defined parliamentary sovereignty as non absolute.<sup>21</sup> Consequently the state had just to look on while great numbers walked out of the national church, the established position of which it was, in principle, committed to defeat. As a



result of the schism there existed no real national church in Scotland. This was undesirable given the problems of the age, quite apart from the fact that it smashed the compact of 1707.<sup>22</sup>

When a Scottish affair became more than Scottish and a line had to be adopted, ministers were happy to grasp at the ready packaged solution from the Scottish Court of Session, a doctrine of absolute parliamentary sovereignty with an acceptance that it was the British context, not the Scottish tradition that mattered most. 'The Eighteenth', said Henry Cockburn in 1847 'was the final Scotch century'.<sup>23</sup>

However it was not just a question of patronage and who was the national church, as the Church of Scotland was the main instrument in delivering education, the Poor law and the countries guardian of its moral standards. With the break up, this now brought these issues to a new battlefield, which was to be fought over by different sides with different philosophies.

## **2. EDUCATION**

The Church of Scotland had a vested interest in the schooling of the young and, no doubt the state was jealous on occasion of the church's influence and power in education as well as in other areas. The Presbytery of the Church of Scotland had the power to select teachers who had to sign the 'Confessions of Faith' and the 'Formula of the Church of Scotland'. The ministers also acted as school inspectors. This power of superintendence extended also to non parochial schools as was confirmed by the list of schools incorporated in the Presbytery records.<sup>24</sup> In the case of Clackmannanshire, there was listed the non parochial schools in the areas such as Westfield County, Ferrytown, Foresthill, Sauchie Colliery and other small schools in the village of Clackmannan. There were also six schools recorded for Alloa, two in Alva and one in Dollar.<sup>25</sup> The major concern of the church was the teaching of religion. The General Assembly's committee responsible for receiving official returns regarding the schools specially commended the Presbytery of Stirling (which Clackmannanshire came under) for its valuable comment

regarding the 'use of such books in school as tend to promote the moral and religious instruction of the rising generations'.<sup>26</sup>

The major event around mid century in terms of the general decline of church influence in education was the Disruption of 1843. The fact that in law, the Statutes of 1693 and 1707 were normally held to be valid, led to widespread dismissals of Free Church teachers by the Church of Scotland authorities, this was one of the factors which contributed to the Free Church decision to establish schools of their own.<sup>27</sup> Considering that the Free Church educational scheme was not launched until May 1843, it was remarkable that by 1847 the total number of children attending Free Church Schools was virtually the same as the numbers attending all the parochial schools in Scotland.<sup>28</sup> The position of the education system in Scotland had become so complex that the ultimate fate of church assisted and church controlled education was called into question. The Free Church soon found that strains on its funds to be such that it could not cope without government grants and government inspection, as grants would not be given unless the government could inspect the school. The situation was a mess, as only a small minority were attending the parochial schools of the Church of Scotland. Repeated attempts by the Lord Advocate James Moncrieff to establish a system of non sectarian publicly financed schools to be controlled by a central authority sitting in Edinburgh, failed. The Bill that he sponsored in the years 1854-55-56-62 and 1869 all fell because MPs south of the border feared that any move in Scotland to deprive the established church of its privileged position in the parochial schools would become a stalking horse for a similar attack on the Church of England.<sup>29</sup>

This issue was frequently aired in the Clackmannanshire Press. All denominations other than the Church of Scotland tended to favour the introduction of a system of education which made no provision for sectarian instruction and which offered no opportunity for the established church to retain its dominance in this sphere. In 1847, for example, a meeting of Mr McDowell's congregation, (Minister of Moncrieff United Free Church) was held for the purpose of considering the government's scheme of education. The outcome was that the congregation

recognised the right and duty of the government to furnish a secular education for the whole body of the people. Unhesitatingly they opposed the current measures which made provision for religious instruction either of a sectarian or latitudinarian character, by a grant of public money.<sup>30</sup>

A major blow to the established church in remaining in control of education in the area came over Dollar Academy, the most prestigious school in the area.

The Stirling Presbytery in 1842 had discussed the extent to which it felt responsible for the superintendence at Dollar Academy; John McNabb's Will had made the Kirk Session of the Parish Church of Dollar the managers of the institution. The interference of the church in the workings of Dollar Academy eventually led to Dr. Miller, the school rector, finally resolving to petition Parliament to appoint a new board of trustees. In 1847 a new board was established which reduced the church input on the committee to the parish minister and only four of his Session. Any person in possession of £200 annual income from heritable property in the county of Clackmannanshire and paying taxes in the parish of Dollar was eligible to be a trustee. The principal of the University of Edinburgh, the Lord Lieutenant, Vice Lieutenant, Convenor and Sheriff of the County of Clackmannan also became trustees, thus reducing the church influence on the running of Dollar Academy.<sup>31</sup> The Stirling Presbytery became so unsure of their position that they asked council whether they had 'any rights'<sup>32</sup> that could be enforced to examine the said institution and to interfere in any way in regard to the branches of education or the method of teaching. However, as confirmed in the Education Committee's Report for 1852 and 1853, Dollar Academy refused to accept this supervision.<sup>33</sup> This was a severe blow for the established church as Dollar Academy was a prestigious school, not only in Clackmannanshire, but in Scotland. Dollar Academy was the only school outside London that was allowed by the government to prepare students for the Indian civil services candidate exam.<sup>34</sup>

Two Free Church schools were also built in the area. Their managers strenuously opposed the idea that their schools should in any way be subjected to the supervision of the established church, and indeed, refused to recognise the established Presbytery's supremacy over them.

Although the Free Church schools were few, their presence within the bounds of the established church's Presbytery of Stirling was a small but positive contribution towards eroding the latter's authority in education. Other schools in the area were also operating and would not submit to the established church authority, such as The United Presbyterian School in Primrose Street, and an Episcopal School which was built in Alloa in 1853. They all conspired to reduce the church's role in education. Although the parish minister still retained, in practice, an important part in the appointment of a teacher, especially in view of the ministers' power to nominate teachers to other parochial offices, the declining role of the established church was evident. When the Education Act of 1861 was brought in Scottish teachers were no longer required to subscribe to the 'Westminster Confessions of Faith' or be communicants of the Church of Scotland and when the Education Act of 1872 was brought on to the statute book it was removed completely.<sup>35</sup>

The main achievement of the 1872 Act was secondary schooling for the middle classes, as R.D. Anderson argued that the Scottish secondary school system which emerged during the second half of the Victorian period both unified the middle class and accentuated its social distinctions.<sup>36</sup>

Education, in this era, was not only for the purpose of educating but was one of the main tools of social engineering and social control by the middle classes. The *Educational News* informed us that the use of musical drill and gymnastics in schools was for the purpose of installing the habit of acting in concert of strict obedience to the word of command, of deference to authority, and military precision which all contribute to the formation of a character in which a sense of duty, spirit de corps, respect for authority, and affection for and loyalty to school and conspicuous pupils imbued with such spirit will go out in the world well prepared to play their part as good citizens.<sup>37</sup>

W. W. Knox argued that schools were not only transmitters of literacy and numeracy skills, but also agents of discipline and order. The habits installed in children were designed to make them amenable to the discipline of work, the rhythm of the factory and workshop as well as the authority above them.<sup>38</sup>

Education during this period was not just about the three R's. The attack by the middle classes was not only on the cultural aspects of the working classes, but it now involved how working class children were to be educated by middle class teachers, who were not just teaching religious tracts or what had been deemed fit by the local minister but were now preparing, particularly male children for work in the expanding industrialised society in which the vast majority of management was middle class. Therefore the teaching of discipline and the need to respect their betters was a prime ingredient for a disciplined capitalist society as seen from a middle class point of view.

The middle class vision now taught in schools was a vision of empire in which Scottish children were being denied a past, Scottish history was regarded by many and depicted in schools as a squalid and wretched tale with little evidence or development, as a business chairman of the Govan School Board put it 'Scottish history and geography begat provincialism.'<sup>39</sup>

### **3. POOR LAW, POVERTY AND UNEMPLOYMENT**

Due to the disruption of the Church of Scotland, London became the centre of Scottish affairs. The Westminster Parliament would now make all major legislative changes. It legislated on a wide range of issues, one of them was the welfare of the poor, which before had been the direct responsibility of the Kirk. Scotland had a Poor Law since mediaeval times. However rapid economic growth caused by the Industrial Revolution had made payments and distribution of its funds inadequate and the system could no longer cope with poverty on a modern scale.<sup>40</sup>

The earliest recorded means of providing for the poor was through a collection box at the Kirk door. This was supplemented by the Church Session through various means such as charges for the hire of the hearse and mort cloth, sales of burial lairs, fines imposed on parishioners for misconduct i.e. fornication, sales of pauper's effects and private bequests. The funds raised were administered by the Parish Minister and Session, but by 1843 there had been so many splits away from the Church of Scotland that giving to the Poor Fund collection had been severely reduced.

Some areas were already being compulsory assessed with the result that people were even more reluctant to put more money into the collection plate. The thinking being that they are already paying, and why should they pay twice.

The make up of the committee in Alloa for dispensing money to the poor before the 1845 reform, comprised the Rev. Peter Brotherston, Rev. Williams, Mr. Andrew Roy, Rev. John Wright, Rev. MacDowall and two other committee members whose names were illegible from the records.<sup>41</sup>

When compared to the new committee set up after the introduction of the 1845 Poor Law, we can see the lessening of power by the Church of Scotland. The first Clackmannan Parochial Board in 1846 consisted of Robert Bruce of Kennet, Chairman; Rev. Balfour, Robert Maneton, Mr. Alex Drysdale, William Paterson, John Sharp, Rev. Haldane. This new committee was not run or dominated by ministers.<sup>42</sup>

The Scottish system of poor relief, pre 1845, as compared to the English system, was cheaper to administer, there being few paid overseers and little emphasis on the removal of paupers. The English system was wasteful because of administrative costs, especially regarding expenses caused by the settlement acts, with the result that there was an overstatement of expenses per pauper for England as compared to Scotland.

In Scotland, there was a defence of the poor relief system before the change in 1845; its major defender was Dr Thomas Chalmers, who attempted to restore the parochial concepts to a parish in Glasgow. His attempts, although admired, also received severe criticism from the administrators of poor relief in Glasgow. The administrators in Glasgow argued that the problems were too acute to place the major emphasis of relief on the generosity of relatives, neighbours and voluntary sources of finance. They argued that the survival of an urban-social industrial labour force depended upon organised assistance in times of severe need.

The business cycle of the country played a significant part in the discussions on poor relief with the resulting recessions creating large-scale unemployment. Even when these discussions did take

place they largely failed to recognise that destitution was also the result of trade fluctuations and not always personal behaviour or morality of the individual concerned.

An example of the need, for poor relief during a turn down in the economic cycle of Scotland can easily be seen in Paisley during the economic crisis of 1841-1843, which hit the town badly. Paisley can be seen as important in a number of respects. The effect on the fifth largest town in Scotland was absolutely devastating, with the town council declaring itself insolvent. Sixty-seven of the town's manufacturers and at one time around one quarter of the town's total population were directly dependent on poor relief as their only means of avoiding destitution. During a period of seven months in Paisley £12,500 was distributed.<sup>43</sup> Historians have argued that the scale of the Paisley crisis gave the authorities a stark illustration of the inadequacies of the Scottish Poor Law provision at the time, and was instrumental in setting in train the events which were to lead to the reform of the Poor Law legislation in Scotland with the 1845 Act.

The Scottish Royal Commission on the Poor Law in Scotland, when it reported in 1844, was forced to admit that in many areas of the country the rise of manufacturing and coal mining 'had created a new order of things.'<sup>44</sup> The commission never the less, managed to close its eyes by stoutly maintaining that the existing Poor Law was not inadequate to deal with social distress. However, one of the main factors that the disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843 singled out was the end of the 'parish state,'<sup>45</sup> poor relief and moral discipline had all been organised through the medium of the parish, since the Reformation and much of the legislation on which it was based also went back to the sixteenth century. The break up of the established church ended its monopoly powers in such areas.

Before a Royal Commission was set up to look at the Poor Law in 1843, The Association for Obtaining an Enquiry into the Pauperism of Scotland was founded on the 23<sup>RD</sup> March 1840 at a meeting in Edinburgh City Chambers with the Lord Provost in the chair. According to Rosalind Mitchison it provided at least two reports favouring a relief system nearer to that in England which shared the views of Alison. The association's mere existence seems to have provoked a

massive response with a gathering of the upper and landed classes, on the 20<sup>th</sup> April 1840 in the Hoptoun Rooms in Edinburgh, this was attended by a large assembly of landowners drawn from all over Scotland and chaired by the Earl of Lauderdale.<sup>46</sup>

The prime function of the Hoptoun meeting was to back the existing system of poor relief and monitor the activities of the Association. The Association tried to organise a meeting with the Hoptoun Room committee, but the committee refused to co-operate in any such meeting. They believed that any meeting might in effect alter the Poor Law in Scotland as they would have been seen to be negotiating and therefore giving the Association credence.

It was the recommendation by Alison of features of the English Poor Law, and support for this by the Association that seemed to have been the main offence in the eyes of those who had met in the Hoptoun Rooms. It had also been circulated that the Association had asked the English Poor Law commissioners if they would undertake an investigation into Scottish pauperism, however there does not seem to be any actual facts that corroborate that this was ever requested and could have been a ploy to circulate disinformation within the country about the activities of the Association, as alluded to in a letter by the chairmen of the Association in 1842 to Robert Peel the Prime minister<sup>47</sup>. In 1842, Lord Dunfermline led the Association, (James Abercromby had been the first reform MP for Edinburgh and of course part of the Abercromby dynasty from Clackmannanshire, George Abercromby, James's brother was at this time MP for Clackmannanshire.

Even before the church had split the social welfare system had been under increasing strain trying to cope with the emerging needs of an industrial economy. The pre-1845 poor relief system had been designed for local communities to provide short term support when local shortages appeared in a subsistence economy, not for long bouts of unemployment in the emerging industrial towns.



Income for poor relief was expected to come from voluntary church giving, but by the 1830s most of the populous areas had come to rely mainly on local assessments. However only 239 out of 879 parishes had been formerly assessed by 1839.

In the industrial town of Alloa the talk of introducing assessment had induced debate and argument. However by 1839, the Poor Law committee in Alloa had enlarged. This now included members of the public who acted in concert with the heritor's and ministers of all the congregations who contributed to the funds. This plan had been found to have benefits both to the funds and the paupers maintained by them. By carrying out these improvements it was hoped that a compulsory assessment would not be required. One principle object of the committee was to induce the inhabitants to be more liberal in their voluntary contributions, they were being asked to contribute as per their means and substance, to enable them, so long as they had it in their power to prevent a legal assessment taking place. Another was to limit public begging as much as possible, and to make some addition to the allowance 'of the most necessitous and sober of the poor, for it is notorious that a few of them do pass the bounds of sobriety, whenever they have it in their power'.<sup>48</sup>

Abercromby's committee was in contact by correspondence with the Prime Minister, Robert Peel; their main thrust was that they did not want the Poor Law in Scotland to be altered to that, which was being proposed for England, (These English proposals became law in 1843.) In a letter to Peel on the 15<sup>th</sup> April 1842 at the height of the Paisley crisis, Abercromby refers to a communication from Peel in which he had considered the application for an enquiry 'to be a subject of so much importance that you would take the opinion of government upon it.'<sup>49</sup> Abercromby had seen this as an encouraging reply and the committee had followed with another letter again trying to urge Peel into setting up a Royal commission into the Poor law in Scotland. He was arguing that a commission set up by ministers of the Crown would more likely be conducted with efficiency and success than one that might be forced on a reluctant government,

on a vote by either House of Parliament. For this reason alone the committee had decided to make their first and most earnest application to the government.

Abercromby presented their case, that an early enquiry into the facts and merits on the question of poor relief and the success of any measure which it has for its object.

*The relief of that destitution which exists in Scotland to a fearful extent, and which is either imperfectly or wholly undressed .It would be dishonest to disguise the fact that there exists in Scotland much misapprehension, much alarm among certain classes of the community and much prejudice. (This could have been referring to the landowning elite at the Hoptoun Room meeting) These impressions have in part been produced by statements made to the effect, that it was proposed to adopt at once the English Poor Law Act and to entail a heavy burden on the country<sup>50</sup>. He informed Peel that the people of Scotland had long been accustomed to consider that they were fortunate to have escaped from the evils of the English Poor Law, and that they were to be honoured for the voluntary provision which they made for their own poor, this altogether overlooked the changes that have been produced by the changing condition of society, by the amendment of the English Poor Law and the fact that multitudes of their poor are kept in a state of total destitution.<sup>51</sup>*

England relied mainly on the poor house system, where in Scotland it was only used as a last resort as the poor still stayed in their own communities, also the English system of poor houses was found to be expensive. These points he tells Peel

*have been stated generally, merely as an indication of the character of the difficulties that are to be encountered and that the committee are deeply impressed with the conviction that the only means by which the judgment of the public can be brought to a sound conclusion is by a full fair and authoritative statement of the whole facts of the case. Here the whole circumstances connected with the law and the facts of the case distinctively lay before the public there seems to be no reason to doubt that in this as in most other instances they would eventually come to a right and sound conclusion.<sup>52</sup>*

Abercromby wanted to put pressure on Peel to grant an enquiry quickly in order to put any public opinion on the back burner until that enquiry was over. If the enquiry was not granted

*if on the contrary an enquiry be delayed the question will be discussed by the public on very imperfect information, it may, as most other questions are made more or less a party question and what is still worse it may come to be a struggle between classes. Attach pressure on the larger towns from the influx of pauperism in becoming most oppressive, and the inhabitants of these towns will be urgent in their demand for redress, while it is probable that they will be approached by the inhabitants of agricultural districts influenced by their views, which have been averted to. This would produce a state of things to which the committee had always looked with apprehension as calculated to indefinitely surmount all chance of relief for the destitute. The approaching discussion in parliament on the English Poor Law will naturally be looked to by 'The Friends of Enquiry into the Pauperism of Scotland', as a proper occasion for pressing their views and there is a reason to respect that the subject will then be taken up by some of the members from Scotland. There being no facts which could be appealed to as resting on decisive authority would render any debate at this time unprofitable and perhaps even mischievous from the hazard of awaking fears that might be unfounded or making impressions that might be unfounded or erroneous. From these dangers the committee sees no certain escape but in the hope which they trust that you may find yourself in a condition to give such an early assurance of your purpose to enquire into the pauperism of Scotland, as will have the effect of tranquillity on the growing impatience of the large towns, and of the sincere thanks of the friends of the cause throughout the country.*

*The committee would not have felt that they were justified in thus earnestly pressing their case, if they had been asking the government to adopt any specific measure of relief. They are on the contrary firmly convinced that it is both prudent and just to abstain on their own part from forming at present any opinion as to the way in which relief might be giving, and to discourage others from discussing or adopting any specific measure until the whole matter has been*

*disclosed. The committees fear that they may be blamed by 'The Friends of Enquiry into the Pauperism of Scotland', for not having used more active measures to call forth the feeling of the public on this urgent question. The reasons which have governed their conduct, have now been stated and if it appears to you, that the committee have acceded respectfully towards the government and yourselves and honourably with reference to the cause with which they are connected, these considerations may perhaps induce you to imitate them when you think that the proper time for doing so has assumed the decision which you may have formed.*<sup>53</sup>

Peel in his reply to Abercromby on 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1842 agreed with Abercromby and the committee. He replied that he would delay any decision on the Scottish Poor law until they had discussed the Poor Law amendments for England that were before Parliament before looking into the Scottish Poor Law. Changes in the Scottish Poor Law were to remain until the 1845 Poor Law (Scotland) Amendment Act was passed by Parliament.

As previously referred to, the Paisley crisis sheds some light on the Poor Law system and its failings, which Abercromby's letter eludes too and the extraordinary intervention by the authorities at Westminster, an intervention which called into question the system of laissez-faire government.

Operating informally through the London Manufacturing Relief Committee the Westminster authorities with the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Peel) himself, as a prime mover channelled enormous sums of money into Paisley to supplement money raised locally for poor relief. What does the Paisley incident tell us about the system of social and political control in nineteenth century Scotland?

The statement by Sir James Graham the home secretary at the time 'It is a case study in the efforts of rulers to maintain social stability in one locality on the long and bumpy road through industrialisation,'<sup>54</sup> has led some to believe that this emphasis upon social stability clearly showed that the authorities might have been influenced in their actions in relations to Paisley by the fear of the threat to social order resulting from the severity of the crisis. Looking at the letter sent by

Abercromby to Peel, the argument he made is that intervention in the distribution of funds to the poor was to stop social unrest not as a matter of social concern. The concern comes more from the fact that they fear the introduction of a similar system to the English Poor Law and that they (mainly the middle classes and the landowners) would have to pay for this in high assessments on the communities, especially the landed classes. Their only interest in social concern was the cost; however they will pay to enable the status quo to remain if it is a matter of social unrest.

When the new Poor Law was introduced in Scotland in 1845, Sir James Graham the home secretary, in relation to the change stated 'that nothing but a conviction of the great sufferings that had prevailed in the manufacturing districts had induced him to disturb a system which on the whole, had acted well'.<sup>55</sup> Therefore, the conclusion was that it was the system that had failed in Paisley, thus highlighting the inadequacies of the Scottish Poor Law. Thus the fears of the Westminster authorities were not solely for the threat to social order in Paisley, but also for the wider possibilities it could foreshadow.

One of the main issues that came out of this was the manifest inability of the existing system of poor relief in Scotland to deal with the dimensions of an urban crisis in early industrial capitalism, and the possibilities for social disorder this raised were clearly evident as Abercromby's letter alludes. Abercromby knew that there was a problem with the poor relief system and if not somehow fixed, would exacerbate fears of social unrest in the rising industrial towns and cities. However he knew that the main problem was who was going to pay and realised that there could be a backlash from the landowners and the middle classes who would be expected to pay for a new system of poor relief. The main problem was that the Church of Scotland backed by the landed aristocracy, especially in rural Scotland, had failed to adapt to the changing conditions created by urban growth and since the traditional mechanism of social control were inappropriate, change had to occur.

The Scottish Poor Law reform in 1845 was only one part of a more general re-alignment that Dickson and Clarke argue, was to prevent the type of alliance between classes which threatened

to establish itself in Paisley, and supports the Marxist argument that the events in Paisley by raising a general problem in a particular acute way, helped to shape the policies of the British state aimed at destabilising a potentially explosive situation<sup>56</sup>. If the Paisley crisis is set in more general context it becomes readily apparent that considerations of social control were the major influence in the government's actions.

The issue also raises the question, was the Paisley crisis critical in the influence of future policy in Scotland and did it effect or influence wider changes in the institutions of social control in Scotland? Dickson and Clarke's statement

*that they are clear indications that at particular times between 1790 and 1850, the fears of the authorities concerning working class unrest in Scotland were entirely justified. It is however, difficult to evaluate where and at what times these fears were well founded if historians start from the assumptions that societies are well ordered and stable entities.*<sup>57</sup>

The whole disastrous period in Paisley had destroyed many of the views expressed by the landowning classes in the Hoptoun Room meetings. Widespread poverty had been shown as barely relieved in many other manufacturing towns, with rural police being forced to patrol the roads to prevent armies of unemployed workers begging with menace in small towns and rural areas.<sup>58</sup> More and more towns were bringing in and establishing police forces and within ten years most urban areas had established them, especially after the introduction of the 1853 Burgh and Police Acts.

The Poor Law Amendment Act 1845 when introduced did not attract the animosity in Scotland as the 1843 Act in England this was mainly due to the fact that the system was to be more efficiently administered and relief would be more adequate ( not greater), and that applicants would be able to enforce their claims. The new Act tried to balance the localities with a central body, a Board of Supervision, which exercised general oversight and powers from Edinburgh along with parochial boards, partly elected in each parish. The immediate effect of the Act in tackling the existing amount of under provision were shown by the rise in the registered poor from 2.8 percent of the

population to about 4,4 percent by 1850. Although the main administrative body was in Edinburgh, decisions were made in the local area by the new local Poor Law Inspector.<sup>59</sup>

#### **4. THE CHURCH MINISTERS ATTITUDES TO POVERTY, UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE WORKING CLASSES.**

During this period and using the Statistical Accounts of Scotland, we can discover the attitudes of the ministers in Clackmannanshire to the poor and the unemployed, especially during the country's economic crisis caused by a dip in the trade cycle.

The Statistical Account of Scotland was instigated by Sir John Sinclair the agricultural improving landlord of Caithness and a Member of Parliament. These accounts taken in 1790s and 1845 give us a unique record of the attitudes of the Scottish clergy in the returns which were made during such a time of change in Scotland's industrial agricultural and church history as they identify what the ministers considered to be important issues in the changing face of Scotland. Among these was a concern with poverty and the operation of the system of poor relief, especially as the Statistical Accounts immediately precede the reform of 1845, and therefore occupy a position of considerable importance in giving us an insight into their attitudes.

In the period between the first two Statistical Accounts, the population had increased in Clackmannanshire from approx 13,000 to 23,000, an increase of 75%. All areas in Clackmannanshire showed increases; however the major population increases were seen in Alloa, Tillicoultry, Clackmannan and Alva. Most of these increases in population were caused by the textile industries. In Clackmannan the increase was caused by mining, but one area in Clackmannanshire where the rise in population was not due to the result of industrialisation was Dollar. Due to McNab's School or Dollar Institution, now known as Dollar Academy, a great number of teachers their families and boarders came to Dollar. Also with the Academy's growing reputation several families had also come to reside in the town for the purpose of their children's education. There was also an increase as a result of two new tile-works starting up in the area.

This increase in population also brought with it more pressure on the poor relief system in the area. It was against this background of significant social and economic change that Alloa became the county town in place of Clackmannan, with Tillicoultry becoming a major player in the textile industry in the area. The clergy had compiled the Statistical Accounts, and in doing so it has been pointed out by C. F. Smith, that their attitude was one of ambiguity. On the one hand they welcomed the industrial revolution and gave their blessing to the men of enterprise who were providing employment and with it material prosperity, better housing and improved diet for the Scottish worker. On the other hand, the clergy were not insensitive to the evils of the industrial system in child labour and conditions of work and to the strain on the system of poor relief created by the movement of population to the new industrial areas and the uncertainties of employment. In addition there was nostalgia for the Scotland that was disappearing.<sup>60</sup> 'To have a population rapidly increasing in numbers and material wealth was a development that they undoubtedly approved, to have an increased poor roll, a declining standard of health and lowered morals amongst the people were so manifest as to be disconcerting.'<sup>61</sup>

In looking at the Clackmannanshire ministers attitudes, we have to remember that all the ministers who were reporting their thoughts were from the established church, although Clackmannanshire had in Scotland one of the highest dissenting percentage of churchgoers.

The overwhelming majority of the ministers perceived that the cause of poverty lay in the individual's failings rather than in the consequences of the social economic changes of industrialisation or the unequal distribution of wealth and poverty in society. Smith, in looking at the early industrialisation of society, used a variant of the principle that traditional Calvinist determinism tended to support the existing order of society; some had been born to riches, others to poverty, with the belief in pre-destination it emphasised the importance of personal piety, industriousness and the conscientious fulfilment of the duties of one's social position within society. The variant Smith alludes to, sought to incorporate the newly emerging middle class theologically, just as they had been incorporated politically with the 1832 Reform Act. Success,



wealth and prosperity became an indication both of divine favour and of the diligence, thrift and industry of the individual. Thus 'the self made man could think of himself and be thought of by others as the righteous man.'<sup>62</sup>

With these beliefs being prevalent in society, poverty was on the whole viewed as an individual's problem. The able bodied poor which, of course was made much more of an issue with industrialisation and brought more into focus the trade cycles that affected the Scottish economy, and whose right to public support had long been denied in pre-industrial Scotland had only themselves to blame for their situation.

In Tillicoultry, the minister in 1792 commented that, 'It is said that forty or fifty years ago, people were very shy in receiving money from the poor funds, but this delicacy seems now to have entirely vanished.'<sup>63</sup>

This statement contradicts some of the beliefs that in Scotland at this time people were reluctant to take poor relief. However, in the same area the minister in Alva in 1841 backs this statement that 'examples are not uncommon of individuals refusing to accept charity from the parish, and with that patience and honest pride peculiarly Scottish undergoing privations untold, rather than ask or take relief.'<sup>64</sup> Even in 1792, the minister in Tillicoultry had seen a great source of improvement in the area and put this down to 'honesty, industry, sobriety and a regard to religion, without which and the blessing of God, all human schemes will be nugatory and vain.'<sup>65</sup>

One of the problems he mentions is that the population of Tillicoultry would decrease if more attention was not taken and encouragement given to the weaving of Tillicoultry serge. He did acknowledge, however, that the establishment of the Devon Company in the neighbourhood would perhaps, overbalance all these apparent disadvantages. The minister's prayers were answered the population of Tillicoultry increased from 909 in 1793, to 3,213 in 1841, a massive rise by any standards. The main increase in the population that had taken place was chiefly caused by the rapid increase of manufactures in the shawl trade, tartans and other branches. Many of the people employed in these new industries were 'outsiders, who were not stationery,'<sup>66</sup>

however the poor roll during this period was quite small 15-18, with another five to eight, who received clothing and fuel on a short term basis. However, even for these few individuals the costs were such that the church collections were not enough and the heritors for some years had found it necessary to assess themselves to defray the heavy expenditure on poor relief. The minister laments however 'that too many seem to consider the Sabbath as merely a day of cessation from labour, and spend it just as inclination or companionship may dictate'.<sup>67</sup> Also that due to the growth of drinking establishments 'Saturday evenings would be more quiet and our Sabbaths more solemn, were fewer opportunities afforded the thoughtless and the dissipated of injuring their health and morals, and exposing themselves to all the evils which drunkenness entails.'<sup>68</sup> So for Tillicoultry, industrialisation also brought its problems, and it has to be asked who benefited, in the town when the vast majority of its inhabitants were outsiders?

Alloa had a population of 6,867, in 1841, although double that of Tillicoultry, had 235 Poor Law claimants, on its regular poor roll and 99, on its temporary role, compared to a maximum of 18, and 8 in Tillicoultry. This was a great increase in Alloa from its 1790, level of 111, on the regular and 36 on its temporary roll. Various reasons for this were given by the minister 'but we presume the chief of them are, the increase of the population since the former period, the great increase of manufactures in the parish, and the increasing improvidence of the working classes, arising in a great measure from their intemperate habits'<sup>69</sup> Alloa even with this high amount of poor relief had still not gone down the road of a compulsory assessment, although the minister wrote, that how long the present system would continue, they did not know.

On the subject of the deserving poor or otherwise the minister had a strong view 'that there are now few persons who reckon it any degradation to receive parochial aid, and some able bodied young men who are in circumstances to enable them to assist their aged parents, allow them, without scruple to be supported from the parish funds'.<sup>70</sup> He also hit out at the number of premises that served alcohol, which mounted to 72. 'Which are more than the necessities of the people require'.<sup>71</sup> He does give the working classes some credit that their habits had certainly

improved during the last forty years, although again in many instances the abuse of spirituous liquors had an opposite tendency. 'The number of illegitimate births in the whole parish, during the last few years, cannot be ascertained but the illicit intercourse of the sexes has of late become lamentably frequent'<sup>72</sup>. How he substantiates this claim we can only guess.

The minister in Dollar also backs up the claim of the Alloa minister that 'during the three years preceding 1841, there have been no less than twelve illegitimate children born in the parish.'<sup>73</sup> He also records an increase in the poor roll from the usual number of twelve or thirteen increasing to twenty at times, putting the causes for this as various and 'may be assigned for this increase of pauperism, among others, we may notice McNab's legacy which has been the means of inducing a number of worthless, at least not very respectable, characters from other parishes to settle in Dollar'.<sup>74</sup>

McNab's legacy of course, when realised was the Building of Dollar Academy. However the Minister would not have been too pleased if the legacy had been carried out as per McNab's wishes, which was that

*the other moiety or share I would have laid in the public funds or some such security on the purpose to bring one annual income or interest, for the benefit of a charity or school for the poor of the parish of Dollar, where I was born, in North Briton or Scotland. That I give and bequeath to the ministers and church wardens of that said parish for ever say to the minister and church said parish for ever, say to the minister and the church officers for the time being and other person shall have pour to receive the annuity but the aforementioned officers for the time being, or the agents appointed for the time by them the sum of £56,000,*<sup>75</sup>

As explained by James Lothian the owner of the *Alloa Advertiser* 'for many years there was a fear that the money would be appropriated for a poor house, and great indeed would have been the calamity had so many thousands of pounds been employed in rearing in our midst a splendid caravansary for beggars.'<sup>76</sup> This was averted by the local minister and the session of Dollar, aided by the council of Crawford Tait the Sheriff of the county and the Judgement of Lord Eldon, when

the use of the will was taken to court. So much for the benevolence of the minister, his church session and the landed class in the area to the poor in their own community, which speaks volumes?

Again, the minister in Dollar brought in the sale of alcohol, which, of course, is a subject of great concern to the clergy especially if it is being sold on a Sunday. The number of alehouses and retail shops for spirits had of late diminished in Dollar but without the effect of increasing temperance. Clubs had been formed for the drinking in houses and he was 'sorry to be obliged to add, that whisky is often sold in retail shops on the Sabbath. One of the greatest nuances arising from whisky drinking is the licensing of the house at the toll bar.'<sup>77</sup> With regards to an assessment, Dollar had not gone down that road, as both the heritors and the Kirk Session were very averse to have recourse to an assessment, 'but if the numbers of poor increase as rapidly as it has done of late years, it will be impossible much longer to stave off an assessment.'<sup>78</sup>

In Clackmannan the problem of the poor appears to be more acute, though the numbers are not mentioned the amount of annual expenditure over annual income amounted to a sum of £35 4s 4d. To pay for this differential and

*to obviate the evils arising from what the preceding financial statement presents, the heritors resolved, first to allow themselves to be assessed for the amount of the arrears, and secondly to allow themselves to be assessed annually for sums as might be found necessary for the maintenance of all lunatics thereby of course relieving the ordinary session funds of the burden of supporting lunatics. This plan being now in operation, the belief is entertained that the sessional income will be made to meet the sessional expenditure.'*<sup>79</sup>

The Clackmannan minister puts the strain on the poor relief system in the area at the door of the mining industry. 'Among the purely agricultural part of the population a determination is shown to fend for themselves as long as possible, but among the persons connected with the different colonies, there is, in general a disposition evinced to come upon the sessions as soon and as much as possible.'<sup>80</sup> The accusation against the mining industry around Clackmannan was not the same

in Clackmannanshire as a whole. The mines in Clackmannan were under the auspices of the Clackmannan Coal Company, during this period they were going through a bad time and had been for quite a few years, making very few profits. However, in most of the rest of Clackmannanshire the mines were owned by the Alloa Coal Company and within these mining areas the miners had developed their own support system. While the miner was still in bondage the colliery owners had to support those who were too old to work. However when the bondage system was abolished, the owner's obligation to aid was terminated.

The Mar family who owned the mines at this time, to their credit continued paying allowances to the aged colliers totalling £200 to £500 a year according to the price of oatmeal. After 1837, the mines were sold to the New Alloa Colliery Company. They considered it unreasonable that they should be expected to support men whom it had never employed, but after negotiations it agreed to pay one third towards the annual sum, with the Earl paying one third and the balance being met out of the parish church poor funds.<sup>81</sup>

The miners also had a hardship fund and by 1843 had accumulated a fund of £1,000. This fund paid for all the christenings, doctors and teachers' fees and a weekly allowance to widows, sick persons and old men unable to work. The Alloa Colliers fund or Friendly Society as this association was called had been founded in 1775. Therefore taking the above into account not all mining areas were reliant solely on the poor funds of the county. Again there is the Clackmannan ministers tirade against the drinking of alcohol; however there is now a mention of the intervention of the temperance movement and its impact in the area, with his comment that *the great multiplicity of public houses in the parish is an evil exceedingly to be deplored, since it might be shown to have been productive of the most disastrous effects. It must however in consistency with truth, be stated that the amount of intemperance has been of late considerably diminished by the influence exercised by the advocates of total abstinence.*<sup>82</sup>

On the subject of poor relief, the minister from Tulliallan the Rev George Hope Monilaws sums up what the prevailing thinking at the time was within the ministry of the established church in Scotland.

*One of the causes of pauperism is the increased population of many parishes where not one half of the people are known by the minister or the elders. Applications are put on the poor roll of whose name and circumstances, the session knows nothing. Wherever the carcasses are, there will the eagles gathered together. The success of one applicant encourages others and in a few years the poor roll of the parish may be crowded with the names of those who may be among the least necessitous of the poor. In any parish where the population exceeds 3,000, this may happen, and the one practical sufficient remedy for this evil is, the reduction of our large parishes to such an extent as shall enable the minister and elders to be acquainted with every family and individual within their bounds. The heritors of Scotland would consult their best interests by aiding the church in any device for bringing the people under a strict efficient parochial superintendence, and thereby mitigating the manifold evils which flow from the ignorance, poverty, and vice of a neglected and disconnected population. In this parish however, every individual is known by name to the minister and elder. Application for relief is made by the elder of the district in which the applicant resides, and the case is disposed of according to its merits.*<sup>83</sup>

The ministers report is dated 1842, before the split in the Church of Scotland.

The ministers within Clackmannanshire were reporting the same type of thoughts as the ministers in the adjoining area of Stirlingshire, where the perceived problem of poverty lay as documented in a paper by D. E. Gladstone (from the University of Exeter) attributing to intemperance a large proportion of the crime, poverty, ignorance and misery of the working classes. The ministers of the Stirling parishes were in no doubt about the deleterious effect on the health and morals of their people with the increase in the opportunities for obtaining spirits. Another point made was that if intemperance was seen as one factor predisposing the lower orders to poverty and pauperism, another was the inadequacy of pastoral superintendence and the failure of church

accommodation to keep pace with the growth and concentration of the population. This, of course is where, the minister from Tillicoultry argued, the problem lay. As Gladstone argued with the above conclusions, a number of ministers came to think

*the practical solution to the problem of pauperism and perhaps even that of poverty therefore was quite clear. It lay in moral counter activities, a programme of church extension based upon Chalmers principle of locality, a return in the industrial centres to the religious institutions and social relationships of traditional agrarian Scotland.*<sup>84</sup>

Even before the major church extension programme, which the General Assembly embarked on in 1834 under Chalmers dynamic leadership, the ministers of Stirling declared.

*Let churches be built or decent places provided for the accommodation of the poor and their manners would soon be corrected at much less expense and much more effectually than by thousands expended on the building of bridge wells and correction houses. Charity employed in preventing vice is charity indeed.*<sup>85</sup>

The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland had produced a report in 1839, reinforcing the churches position as the main agent of local government; it claimed that the system, with its reliance on voluntary support, was still functioning effectively. However, it had to admit that the practice of assessment was spreading and the ministers were becoming uneasy. At the same time an increasing number of medical men were making themselves heard due to the soaring death rates in the cities, they argued that it was brought about by the meagreness of the poor relief system on offer. W.P. Alison, Professor of Medicine at Edinburgh University, undermined Chalmers arguments for retaining the old system in a substantial pamphlet published in 1840, and had already aired his views anonymously in Blackwood's Magazine in 1836. Although Alison's concerns were the public health consequences of retaining the old system, his argument was basically a philosophical one, in which he demonstrated that the consequences of guaranteeing a basic level of subsistence to the population as predicted by Malthus was fanciful and unproven.<sup>86</sup>

However, one of the most interesting statements comes from a Stirlingshire minister in, *The Report on the Proposed Enquiry into the state of the Poor in Scotland*, which was presented to the General Assembly in 1841. Intemperance, it considered was the most immediate cause of the destitution now in action. 'How can it for a moment be doubted that besides throwing away on drink what would otherwise be employed in sustenance, clothing and education, it incapacitates from labour and undermines habits of industry.'<sup>87</sup>

Gladstone argued that the main significance of the report, published the year after Alison's pamphlet had opened the movement to reform the Scottish Poor Law, was its ardent advocacy of moral remedies to prevent the development of a reliance on public charity. (The letter from Abercromby to Peel, as previously discussed confirms this statement.)

*The only effectual means for permanently improving the physical condition of the working classes of materially diminishing the amount of pauperism or even checking its growth consists in religious, moral and intellectual cultivation. It is in this way alone that a people can be secured against the devices which inevitably lead to poverty, that they can be trained to steady habits of industry, that they can acquire the prudence, forethought and self command necessary to their making provision for a evil day, the spirit of righteous independence which would make them shrink from maintaining themselves out of the sustenance of others.'*<sup>88</sup>

The arguments, therefore, lay within two camps, the prevailing view as we have described by the ministers and the writers of the report on '*The Proposed Inquiry into the State of the Poor in Scotland*', and the view by Alison and representatives of the medical profession during the debate about poor relief reform in the 1840s.

On the basis of his analysis of the changes in Scottish society and his comparison of the amounts paid in poor relief in England, Alison was led to advocate a more general level of assistance. Both his analysis and prescription thus represented a fundamental challenge to the prevailing attitudes of the Scottish clergy. While for Alison the evils are poverty, destitution and mendacity with the legal provision being the remedy, for the overwhelming majority of the ministers of the Church of



Scotland, it was the legal provision that was the evil in terms of its effect upon the moral values of the lower orders. As Thomas Chalmers expressed it

*moral counter actives were the only excellent way because its provides for the two elements at once of the peoples comfort and the peoples character and through the medium of their own reformed habits raises them to a state of sufficiency and independence which a legal and artificial pauperism can never secure for them.*<sup>89</sup>

In looking at the majority of the ministers and their prevailing thinking we have to also look at their position within society. The ministers who had written the Statistical Reports on Scotland had risen within their parishes, into a privileged position in the community. The economic hardship experienced by some of the clergy from the mid eighteenth century was reversed after 1810 when, mainly at the instigation of Dundass, the government established a minimum stipend of £150 per annum plus manse and glebe. Though there was considerable disparity in stipends between parishes, the rising price of grain up to the end of 1830s meant that most stipends rose considerably above the minimum. By that date they represented an average of ten times the labourer's wage and five times that of the parochial schoolmaster, their nearest educated rival. It was, therefore, from a vantage point of considerable security and elevation that the ministers of the Church of Scotland engaged in the practical operation of poor relief. Added to this, that in the majority of parishes, ministers owed their charge to the exercise of patronage by the local heritor or landowner, the position of privilege created by education and income has to be borne in mind when considering the attitudes of the Scottish clergy to poverty, pauperism and poor relief.<sup>90</sup>

In December 1844, in Clackmannan there had been a meeting of the inhabitants of the town on the subject of concerting measures for the purpose of 'Adverting the imposition of a legal rate for the purpose of the paupers in the parish.'<sup>91</sup> In a report in the *Clackmannanshire Advertiser* there was some advice from a householder on the implications of the introduction of a compulsory tax. He argued against the imposition of such payments on the grounds of fairness. The estimated amount of the poor roll within the parish of Clackmannan for the current year (1845) was £380.

Of this sum the principle heritors have agreed to pay £240, including the collections at the church door which average about £40 leaving the sum of only £140 to be made up by the other inhabitants. Now if a legal assessment were adopted the heritors as such according to the present law would only be obliged to furnish one half of the £380, and the inhabitants the other half. It is therefore clearly in the interest of the latter to subscribe the smaller sum of £140 in order to prevent its imposition. But instead of the sum above stated, were a legal assessment resorted to a much larger amount would be required, even to begin with and all experience shows, that it has a constant tendency to increase.<sup>92</sup>

One of his main complaints about a compulsory assessment was that

*it would be erroneous to form an idea of the burden of assessment upon moveable property in this parish from their working in the neighbouring parish of Alloa, He complained that they (Clackmannan) have not the fine town, the opulent merchants or the wealthy shipowners, and even the very proximity is one reason why the burden would be heavier. For instance, a considerable proportion of the money paid in wages in this parish is spent in the town of Alloa, individuals reside there and elsewhere who derive profits from trade carried out with us.*<sup>93</sup>

He proposed that for the purpose of the poor rates the two parishes should be joined.

He also brought to our attention the result of Alloa imposing a compulsory levy. Before the levy was imposed the cost for the poor was no greater than £600, under the compulsory system it had recorded by its second year of its existence the sum of £1,200 and was expected to go higher. The correspondent to the newspaper was correct in his argument with the rise in the Poor Law cost. The poor in the parish of Alloa were supported, prior to 1843, by the voluntary contributions of the inhabitants and up to that year from £200 to £400 per annum, this was found to be an adequate sum for the maintenance of those on the roll. Many individuals however, refused to give voluntarily their equitable contributions to the parochial funds. It was found necessary to have recourse to a legal assessment which accordingly was reluctantly imposed by the heritor and the Kirk session in October 1843. A Mr Brydie who at this time was a banker in the town had acted

as collector of the poor rates, but with the introduction of the new Poor Law in 1845, a full time inspector of the poor was put in position.<sup>94</sup>

Under the old Parochial Law, the assessment was imposed according to rental. Under the new Poor Law the means and subsistence mode was adopted, but in 1856, the Parochial Board reverted to the rental mode of assessment, with a classification of lands and heritage. The annual assessment for the poor of the parish had reached a level as high as £1,900 in 1856.<sup>95</sup>

With the new Poor Law in 1845 the role of the Poor Inspector was introduced and was responsible for a general viewing of all properties within the parish, to report on faults, defects, hygiene and health problems. This new hygiene and health duty can be seen in operation within Clackmannanshire when a cholera outbreak occurred in 1854. The Parochial Board appointed their inspectors, Dr. Cameron and a Dr. Moore, to go through the parish and inspect for nuances (dunghills) and instruct the owner that if they were not removed within 48 hours the Procurator Fiscal would have the authority to remove them and charge the owners. However, the scavengers appointed by the board to remove these dunghills did not possess a barrow or shovel, which the Board had to purchase.<sup>96</sup>

Although the 1845 Poor Law Reform Act had basically removed the Kirk from the administration of poor relief, the new legal assessments on both heritors and tenants proved difficult to implement, with so many in Scotland falling behind in their contribution that police enforcement was introduced in 1849.<sup>97</sup> Thus legal assessment and a bureaucratic approach to the Poor Law were to become the norm. There was no real change in the circumstances of the poor, especially among the able bodied unemployed who were still denied assistance from the public funds; only the aged, orphaned and impotent were regarded as proper objects of charity with allowances continuing to be viewed as supplementary in nature. Little therefore was gained by the new Poor Law in Scotland.

However, what we have seen is that the cost for the poor had risen considerably and most areas in Clackmannanshire were now assessed, with the voluntary system at the church door now only

making up a very small portion of the costs required and would soon disappear. The Church itself was no longer in control of the poor funds. The question then has to be asked, why should the church be able to dictate who was eligible for poor relief.

## **5. WORKING CLASS MORALS.**

In Scotland, especially in the Victorian era, there was great discussion on the behaviour and morals of the working classes both urban and rural, not only by the ministers but especially by the expanding middle classes. This seems to have increased after the 1832 Reform Act and the formation of local councils which brought the middle classes more into a supervisory role over working class peoples lives, in work or out of work. Their morals were also called into question by the ministers as we have discovered.

We also had Clackmannanshire's Sheriff Tait informing us of their loose morals. In 1859 he addressed a meeting at the established Church General Assembly, the subject was the great and increasing amount of immorality in the rural districts of Scotland which he and others believed, must be brought to the attention of the assembly 'and he prayed that the assembly should take the subject into consideration with the view of adopting such measures as might seem fitted to ascertain the extent of the evil and the best means of countering it.'<sup>98</sup> Tait referred to the facts brought out in the General Registers returns as to the immorality of the rural districts of the country and had noticed as among the cause of that immorality the bothy system, deficient housing and the hiring markets. He submitted that it was all perfectly clear when the extent of the evil was admitted, that it was the duty of the Church of Scotland as not only the religious instructors of the country but also the established guardians of morality (which in 1859 he still maintained they were) and to take some steps for ascertaining what were the causes of the evil and whether it was possible to discover any remedies.

One of the remedies put forward by Tait was the importance of the increase of religious ordinance. However his next solution to the problem was consistent with the prevailing thinking

at the time. The way to stop this immorality was for the working classes to ape their middle class cousins 'as their morals were of the best type,'<sup>99</sup> (Sheriff Tait who was a member of the landed classes) wanted to attend more to the amusements and recreation of the working classes and explained that 'in the upper ranks the different sexes meet without the evils to which the assembly was now called, but in the lower ranks there was no opportunity for the two sexes meeting , and they almost always met by stealth.'<sup>100</sup> His solution was that if they were giving more recreation and amusement,

*as it was natural to humanity that there should be so, and if there was some means adopted for the sexes meeting for innocent amusements under the surveillance of the parents and natural guardians, as was done with regard to the upper classes, they would do away to a great extent with the existing state of matter*<sup>101</sup>

There was he thought a necessity for a thorough investigation of the subject and he begged to conclude by proposing that a committee be appointed for the purpose of taking the subject into full consideration. This committee would have the power to communicate with presbyteries in those parts of the country within which the greatest extent of the immorality was proved by the returns to exist, and with power also to cooperate with other religious bodies who might take the subject into consideration. A Mr Balfour from Clackmannanshire backed these proposals, with a Dr Pirie also supporting.

Tait also informed his audience that there were other evils in the rural areas, especially Clackmannanshire. Small farms were being swallowed up into larger ones, young persons wandered about as farm servants from place to place with no attention being paid to their reputation and character, nothing being apparently looked at when they were hired 'but their sinews and physical strength.'<sup>102</sup>

There was another evil present in the county which was the out of door working female who was exposed to language of a kind which led to 'the most mournful and disastrous results.'<sup>103</sup> Discipline had been lost in their parishes for when a party was brought before the established

church they would plead that they belonged to another church. When they were brought in front of that church they would claim that they belonged to another. The bonds of discipline were being relaxed.<sup>104</sup> What Tait was commenting on was the breakdown of control by the church on the subject of morality of the working classes.

From this we can suppose that the Church of Scotland believed that it had or was loosing its grip on the people's moral conduct, this was at least in part because of its dilution in the community through the establishment of the Free Church of Scotland and especially in Clackmannanshire where the dissenters held the majority over the established church in membership.

The dissenters responded to the call for action, with evangelicalism, which was for the Victorian middle classes a source of identity, affirming separateness from the older landed elites and from the working classes. The dressing in Sunday best clothes, the sense of belonging conferred by the family name inscribed at the end of the family pew all affirming bourgeois values and separateness through the power of missionary work to improve society. Congregations were rarely, if ever purely composed of the middle classes, but as towns and cities grew in size between 1750 and 1900 there was a strong tendency for congregations especially of the dissenters, to become more socially different<sup>105</sup>. This again helped in the middle classes gaining hegemony.

At the same time as the General Assembly of the established church was meeting, its rival the Free Church of Scotland was having its own assembly with the same matters being discussed. The morals of the working classes. A Dr Begg in his report to that body's committee on housing for the working classes,<sup>106</sup> he showed the fearful influences of certain causes operating in agricultural districts promoting vice because they hindered the formation of family relations. He was reported to have traced the prodigious effect of this upon the pauperism and the poor rates of Scotland. He employed the statistics of lunacy and morality in illustrations of fearful moral evil, which prevailed. He traced a large share of these evils to the state of the habitations of the labouring classes. He went on to describe some efforts that were being made to alleviate the

problem by some English noblemen in providing cottages for their employees. However, during the debate on the subject, Dr Begg confirmed his opinion that. 'It must however be mainly with the working classes to raise themselves, and that man who would not tell them so was not true friend of theirs.'<sup>107</sup>

## **6. THE INADEQUENCIES OF THE 1845 POOR LAW AND EMIGRATION IN CLACKMANNANSHIRE.**

With the new poor system being in place after 1845 and the ongoing discussions about the morals of the working classes, the real world and its harsh realities prevailed. In Clackmannanshire during 1851 there was a crisis in the textile industry that showed up the flaws in the new Poor Law system introduced in 1845.

The woollen industry in the Hillfoots was mainly in Tillicoultry, Alva and Menstrie. It is recorded in the second statistical account (1841), that the first half of the nineteenth century witnessed the transformation of Alva from a village into a manufacturing town 'a very rapid increase in the population has taken place of late, it having been almost doubled in the last thirty years and a evident cause for this is the great recent improvement in manufactures.'<sup>108</sup> In 1801 only one woollen mill had been established. Now there were eight mills and many smaller places of manufacture. The accounts also give an indication of what the mills were manufacturing. Formally the manufactures of the district was confined to serge, plaidings, blanketing and coarse material for the West Indies. In addition, carpets, shawls and trouser clothes were made for foreign and home consumption. The Second Statistical Accounts recorded that nearly 600 souls were employed in the woollen industry. In 1832 chequered cashmeres began to be made, and by 1843 they formed a considerable branch of the business. These goods found markets in Stirling, Perth and Edinburgh, with the main trade being in Glasgow. The eight woollen mills in Alva had an annual consumption of no less than 480,000lbs of wool which was chiefly English wool, which cost £1 6s per pound.<sup>109</sup>

Similar statistics pertained to Tillicoultry the main woollen manufacturing town in the area. In 1837 the population was 1,803, and by 1841, the population had rising to 3,213. Again the Statistical Account records that the great increase in population was chiefly owed to the rapid increase of manufacturing in the shawl trade and tartans. Much of the labour involved was from outside the area. The original manufacture of Scotch blankets and Tillicoultry serge was being supplemented by the manufacture of shawls and tartans which had been found more lucrative. Again there was approximately 600 people employed in the industry while the amount of wool being used, was approximately 420,000lbs.<sup>110</sup>

It is evident therefore, that this period was critical in the industrial history of the area. In January 1851, Clackmannanshire started to experience a down turn in employment especially in the woollen industry; this was a consequence of the unfortunate bankruptcy of two of the largest manufacturing companies within the woollen trade in the county, and a great many weavers and other workers were thrown out of employment as a result. It was further aggravated by a downturn in the manufacturing trade at this time of the year with the consequence that many families of the unemployed were throwing into poverty and unable to buy the necessities of life. Although Clackmannanshire had experienced unemployment, it had never experienced it at these levels, nor had Scotland, especially in the central belt. The great rise in unemployment, it could be argued, was due to four major factors, the industrial and commercial revolution, agricultural improvements and the changes in the nature and pattern of land holdings, and the most vital of all a staggering growth in population which had been fuelled by the above.

In Clackmannanshire, as we have shown, there had been a large increase in the textile industry especially in Tillicoultry as by 1851; the population had increased to approx 5,000. This was a startling growth which was comparable in percentage terms, to that experienced by many of the industrial cities in Scotland and the UK. The major rise in the population of the town was caused by the construction of the numerous textile mills, making the area one of the three premier woollen textile centres in Scotland. The Hillfoots alone, by 1850, accounted for 25% of all the



woollen mills in Scotland, forty-five in number, 33% of the total wool spin capacity and 38% of all Scottish woollen manufacturing workers, approx 3,669 with the number of spinning spindles was estimated at 72,095.<sup>111</sup>

The weavers a century earlier were semi-independent producing for a local market. They could supplement their income with seasonal work if there was a down turn in the textile market. Now that they had become factory workers within the commercial world, they were totally dependent on the success of that factory and were paid in cash. In bad economic times, unemployment had become a social, political and economic factor in the life of most of the working classes.

With the result of unemployment in the mills and other trades in Clackmannanshire, combined with the inadequacies of the new Poor Law of 1845, which become apparent with the economic turn down, the unemployed held meetings, elected deputies and approached the Earl of Mar, Lord Abercromby and other benevolent individuals in the county. The main aim of their approach was to ask if something could be done to alleviate their plight. Under the Poor Law Act (1845), being unemployed did not automatically grant the right to parish relief for these unemployed workers. Lord Abercromby and others decided that a subscription fund should be set up to relieve their distress; however, there was a sting in the tail as reported at the time. This was to be the last time that relief was to be given, and therefore, the operatives must from now on depend on their own resources. Being able bodied they had no legal claim to assistance and consequently, the aid they were about to receive must clearly be considered as a free will offering by individuals who felt for their distressed situation. In other words, they did not want to establish a precedent.<sup>112</sup>

Various quantities of oatmeal were procured and distributed amongst the unemployed and along with their own resources this was to carry them through the winter. It was also reported that for many of them life did not get much better as there was only three months work in the following fifteen months.

In 1852 the same plea had to be made again because of unemployment 'a large number of persons are now in a state of destitution.'<sup>113</sup> Again, £30 was raised, with oatmeal being distributed

to families in need of it. Although these were bad times, the nature of the Hillfoots weaving trade was such that a good season provided regular employment from the end of January till perhaps November. The slack period over the deep winter months was usually taken into account. What could not be taken into account was a short season from April or May through to August or September, or in this case an eighteen month to two-year period when little work could regularly be gained.

Again, the unemployed had become desperate and again they approached Lord Abercromby. This time with a radical plan and armed with a petition that they required him to take to Westminster. The address read as follows:-

*To the Honourable members within the commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland in parliament assembled, the petition of the unemployed woollen weavers and spinners and others of Alloa and the vicinity. The petition outlined their conditions and their request. A lengthy periodical depression in trade has reduced them to a state of privation and distress. They have had only three months work in the last year with little hope for the future, but familiar with the agricultural work, would prey your honourable house to put a measure of free emigration to Australia where being able to procure labour and remuneration for that labour, they may be able to maintain themselves with that degree of comfort which God requires and which the bounties of nature afford.<sup>114</sup>*

The idea of emigration, forced or voluntary was not just a Highland phenomenon. It was also thought to be a solution to the problem of unemployment in industrial areas and was sanctioned by the government. Lord Abercromby was said to be, at first, reluctant to acquiesce in fear of being seen as interfering in the labour market. However, he later warmed to the idea to the extent that he agreed in principle to attempt to help those wishing to emigrate through his own resources, if Parliament should refuse to help. This, however, applied only to those who could produce testimonials from their minister and last employer.<sup>115</sup>

Australia, during this period, was in the midst of what has become known as the Australian gold rush. The rush for gold and quick riches in Australia was harming the sheep farms there, as labour was being stripped from these. With four fifths of the wool being used for manufacture in Britain, this meant that any labour shortage on these sheep farms would interrupt the supply of wool for the home market, thus dislocating the manufacturing trade further. Therefore, the thinking at the time was that, what could be better than shipping surplus labour in Britain to meet labour shortages in Australia, this in turn, would help the industry here. This case was argued by the woollen manufacturers from the west riding of Yorkshire in a separate petition to Parliament later in the same year. This petition was granted to Parliament and an announcement made by the Colonial Secretary on the 29<sup>th</sup> May 1852. The rate of emigration was to be immediately increased, beginning in June. The subsidy was to be increased and costs of transportation reduced from £5 per emigrant to £2. In addition, an increased number of children could be taken by each family. 'It was explicitly stated in Parliament that with this relaxation they hoped to be able to promote emigration from the Highlands and the hand loom weavers from the West of Scotland.'<sup>116</sup>

The editor of the *Alloa Advertiser*, in which the above report appeared, asked that the above quotation be specially observed, as worthy of being noted by the numbers of unemployed. How many of Clackmannanshire's unemployed did emigrate to Australia is not known, but it could have been a considerable number. In 1853, when there was an upturn in the woollen market, there was an actual shortage of labour in the local woollen textile mills. In November 1858, during another bad period it was reported that in Alva, as a consequence of bad trade, as many as forty five individual men, woman and children emigrated by means of assisted passage to Atago, New Zealand. A month later it was reported that a further eighty individuals were leaving Alva for Atago<sup>117</sup>.

In 1853, there was an upturn in the textile industry, as a report in the *Stirling Journal* indicated. 'The emigration panic which prevailed among the operatives of the Hillfoots a few months ago has entirely vanished with the return of good trade and plenty of work'<sup>118</sup>. This would give

credence to the report of labour shortages. The paper also reported that the government had also given notice that for the present, weavers would not be sent out on the free emigration system. This statement seems to be quite superfluous, 'when the weavers are busy plying the spindle and the loom, the nuggets lose their magnetic charm in the imagination.'<sup>119</sup>

For the woollen workers who remained the boom of 1853 was short lived. However between 1858, and 1861, there was a period of relative prosperity. The period after this time of boom alternated with times of slump, which of course, has dogged every nation especially with the rise of industrialisation.

The woollen industry established itself by broadening its market to include woollen fancy goods as well as blankets and shawls which had been its staple. This reliance on the staple had been seen by many as the cause of its misfortune in the 1850s. Another important development during this time was the start of tweed production in order to serve the male market as opposed to the more fickle whims of female fashion. As a result of the change and the introduction of the power loom, to the woollen textile trade of the Hillfoots becoming a predominantly female occupation.

## **8. CONCLUSION.**

This struggle between the Church of Scotland and the Free Church became a central issue in Scottish politics and as shown affected areas such as education and the poor fund system. However, the break up of the Church of Scotland also divided political thinking with the Liberals being the net gainers. Most Free Church men voted Liberal especially in the Highlands where it broke down to a fight between the landed classes who tended to stay with the national church, and what would be referred to as the dispossessed, in regards to their fight for land and crofting rights. However, although a Scottish problem, the main crux was that Westminster could and would not allow the dissenters to win over the role of patronage in the church as this would affect the role of the Church of England, within The English constitution, with its tie to Monarchy and Parliament, with Parliament having supreme authority within the state.

Education was affected by the disruption. With hindsight education would always have had to be reorganised to suit a now developing and industrialised economy. The church split had put this in focus and the rush by the Free Church into education could only have helped children's education in localities that the established church had retreated from. However, the main beneficiaries from education being gradually removed from church control from 1843 to the end of the century were the growing middle classes. This was particularly evident with the growth of secondary education where only the middle classes could afford the time or the money involved. This trend was supported by legislation coming down from government and the local councils which mostly favoured the middle classes.

The government now took over the role of administrator of the Poor Law in the country. However, what was evident was that the minister, once an administrator, an arm of the state, a prop of the social order before the schism, was now becoming just a pastor and preacher.<sup>120</sup> His supervision of local affairs could not continue and his duties were taken over by others, the educated middle classes. The Kirk ceased to play a central part in the country's life. Sectarian disputes now spilled over into every public question, since no denomination was strong enough to defeat the rest, which brought bitterness and frustration.

The Church could not cope with the rise of industry and commerce. The towns and cities became too large for individual contact and the control that each individual minister could bring to bear was diluted and lost within a larger expanding section of the population, especially the working classes. The new parochial boards, as in Alloa, were being run by the middle classes, with the minister taking a more minor role.

The change in the Scottish Poor Law system was brought about by the changes in society and the industrial and social conditions it now found itself in. The economy, rather than just the harvest, was now playing a major part in people's lives, through wage employment and the trade cycles. The arguments made by the administrators in Glasgow at the time that the survival of an urban – social industrial labour force depended upon organized assistance in the time of severe need was

a viable one, as can be seen in Paisley. If no help had been given, Abercromby's vision of social unrest and violence, driven by urban dwellers and influencing the agricultural areas might have been realised. Changes in the management and structure of the Poor Law system were vital. Evidence of what might happen can be gained if we look twenty five years earlier at the 1820 radical war in Scotland and in 1848, at revolutions breaking out all over Europe. Abercromby's committee knew that changes had to be made. Their problem arose in deciding who was going to pay for this, as the landowners that took part in the Hoptoun Room meetings were strongly against any monetary burdens for the poor or unemployed being put on them.

The prevailing attitude of the middle classes, including the landowners, can be summed up by the Hoptoun Room meetings and the ministers of Clackmannanshire with their views on the working classes, in regards to the poor and unemployed. The massive increase in the population had brought more pressure on the poor relief system in Clackmannanshire. Apart from bringing in material wealth which they approved, it also brought an increased poor roll, a declining standard of health and especially lowered morals. The loss of control of the working classes by the ministers was also increased by the new industries attracting outsiders, who had no alternative but to chase work around the country, with the ministers, accusing the outsiders of having low morals.

In most of the parishes in Clackmannanshire the clergy blamed the rise of the poor role on drinking establishments, illegitimacy and generally loose morals as brought to our attention by the sheriff of the county Crawford Tait, who was also involved in stopping McNab's legacy in Dollar being used for the education of the poor. Instead, what was built was mainly an elite academy for the education of the middle classes from the area and beyond, which was backed by the ministers in the area and the editor of the main county newspaper.

The leading members of the community, even when giving a gift of £56,000 by McNab, which if invested could have paid for the poor in the whole of Clackmannanshire for decades; they would not use it for that purpose. In 1872 the total expenditure for the area was £6,311 9s. This

demonstrates that there was a prevailing attitude among the middle and upper classes that they wished to pay as little as possible into the poor funds of the parish, even if that money was generously donated by others.

The community leaders did not mind taking the profits from the working classes skills when they were employed, but as soon as the work stopped they wanted them out of the county. They believed that most of the workforce was transient and therefore the responsibility for them lay elsewhere.

The church ministers' attitudes can be summed up, that the problem of poverty lay in moral counter activities and they advocated for a programmed church extension based on Chalmers principle of locality, with a return in the industrial centres to the religious institutions and social relationships of the traditional agrarian Scotland. This, they believed would enable them to take back control over the lives of the population. They saw society, especially the working classes, as a populace to be controlled by the moral codes that ensued and consisted of religious, moral and intellectual cultivation that would train them in the steady habits of industry and therefore, prevent them from maintaining themselves out of the sustenance of others.

It was not only the industrial areas of Clackmannanshire that had a perceived problem with declining morals as sheriff Tait informed us. There was also a perceived problem with the rural dwellers with their ever changing place of work resulting mainly from the hiring fairs.

Even when the new Poor Law was introduced in 1845, the problems especially for the able bodied unemployed persisted. The crisis in Tillicoultry showed with even greater clarity that the new found industries were now at the mercy of the trade cycle, that was now the price to be paid in becoming a global economy, the only answer that the Westminster Parliament had was to pay the fares of the workers and their families to emigrate to New Zealand and Australia to alleviate the burden on the State.

However, what was evident was that the minister, once an administrator and arm of the state, a prop of the social order before the schism, was now becoming just a pastor and preacher. His

supervision of local affairs could not continue and his duties were taken over by others. The Kirk ceased to play a central part in the country's life.

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## **CHAPTER 6.**

### **SECOND REFORM ACT, (Scotland) 1868**

#### **Introduction**

This chapter will examine the run up to the 1868 Scottish Reform Act and the reasons why the bill was passed in the House of Commons and how it impacted on the electoral system and voting in Clackmannanshire. We will also look at the social changes in the make up of the electorate to examine who was now eligible to vote by analysing the voting rolls to see if they show a shift in power from the middle classes to the working classes in the area, and the implications this could have on future elections.

We will also look at the hegemony that continued in Clackmannanshire with the continuation of Adam as the MP, although, as will be seen, was coming under pressure from different factions of the community, however one of the main findings is that by 1868 class antagonism is now becoming evident, with a large part of the middle classes in the area, especially the ruling Liberal elite openly opposed to the working classes receiving the proposed franchise. Not only from the Liberal MP for the area and his supporters, but also from the Liberal leaning middle class press.

#### **1. PRELUDE TO THE SECOND REFORM ACT.**

Although the Chartist movement was all but over by 1848 the fight for electoral reform was not dead. Lord Russell had announced that he did not believe the 1832 settlement was final, which contradicted his statement made in 1837, when he declared that 'the Reform Act was a final solution to the constitutional crises.'<sup>1</sup> Different organisations and governments fought on for reform in different ways. In 1849 Joseph Hume and Joshua Walmsey formed the National Parliamentary Reform Association, calling for equal electoral districts. Russell in 1852 introduced a bill in Parliament to extend the vote to householders with a rental value of £5 in the boroughs and £20 in the counties but his government fell before it could be introduced. There was

also the formation of the Ballot Society, to campaign for secret ballots. Russell tried again to introduce a bill to extend the franchise, using a rental value of £6 for householders in the boroughs and £10 in the counties, and to disenfranchise certain small boroughs, transferring their seats to other counties or boroughs, but this was also withdrawn at the outbreak of the Crimean War.

Russell did bring in an Act on bribery and treating, which provided the first workable definitions and prescribed fines for election misdemeanours and for the first time election accounts were required to be kept, however the Act's effect was limited.

By the late 1850s social tensions had perceptibly slackened, with social conflicts being less frequently characterised as class conflict. Within this atmosphere the enfranchisement of the sober and educated members of the working class seemed much less threatening than previously; with some parliamentarians now beginning to think that an increase in the franchise was the best means of creating an inclusive political nation for the benefit of all. This type of argument was put forward by wealthy reformers such as the son of Earl Grey who visualised that the House of Commons should include among its members men representing all the different classes of society, thus bringing to the table the different interests and opinions that could be found in the nation as a whole.

In 1858 a small move towards democracy was made when the requirement for MPs to own property of a certain value was abolished. With new reform organisations springing up and debate taking place in the country on reform, the pressure was beginning to build within the country. This collimated with The Derby Conservative government putting a bill forward to the House of Commons in 1859.

## **2. ALLOA REFORM MEETING 1859. (DERBY'S REFORM BILL))**

In 1859 Derby's minority Conservatives government introduced an extensive bill on reform, its main proposals being a uniform £10 borough and county franchise and a £20 lodger franchise,

together with the re-distribution of seats, mainly to the counties. It also proposed votes for members of the professions and university graduates, the so-called fancy franchise. The proposed bill did cause some excitement in the country but nothing compared to 1832.

In Alloa a reform meeting was held in the Assembly rooms, on Thursday 10th March 1859, 'sixty one gentlemen'<sup>2</sup> were reported to be present with no woman in attendance. Mr Moir the senior Magistrate (Town council) had taken the chair declaring that he knew nothing of the object of the meeting, however as he was the magistrate of the area he would take the chair. He stated that he would not be held responsible for opinions that might be expressed

In 1832 there was no shortage of opinions, however there seemed to be a pause at the meeting with individuals being reluctant to express any views. A Mr Ewing then rose and made a few observations, and gave his opinions on the various government proposals for the franchise and then proceeded to explain the various changes which the proposed bill would make in the county.

The proposal was to reduce the county qualifications from fifty pound to a ten-pound tenancy. He argued that if there was no restriction to be used on the occupancy of the property which the vote was acquired, he would be 'distinctly opposed to this proposal'<sup>3</sup> believing that it would only be a means of manufacturing votes, however if the occupancy was to be held as essential to the franchise he would support the proposal. He was also against the savings bank proposal as he considered its only use was again the manufacturing of votes, he gave an example of why he believed this to be.

He informed the meeting that in Alloa there were gentleman who would think nothing of expending a few hundred pounds in this way to secure the election of their candidate. He then referred to the proposal to enfranchise those who derived a yearly sum of £10 from government, East India or bank stocks. To this he had no objection, but the proposal to give the vote to pensioners he called an outrage upon common sense and said he had been astounded that any government had brought forward a proposition so manifestly absurd, and thought that the country would be better rid of pensioners altogether, (although he doesn't mention how he proposed to do

this) and they should be the last class of the community to be giving the vote. He did not object to other proposals in the bill such as the fancy franchise referred to earlier or to give the vote to lodgers who paid 8s a week in rent.

Mr McEwan then informed how the government's proposal would affect the voting strength in the community if the bill was passed and that the number of voters in Alloa and the surrounding area was 150 and this would rise to 300. In Dollar he found that it would have the same effect, a rise from thirty to sixty.

A Mr Drysdale then rose and after a few remarks in favour of the motion being proposed by Lord Russell against the government measure and said he thought that the meeting could do no better than adopt the terms of the motion which he read from an old copy of *The Scotsman* which he had slightly altered to suit the circumstances. His words are as follows:-

*That it is the opinion of this meeting that it is neither just nor politic to interfere in the manner proposed by the government bill, with the freehold franchise in England and Wales, and that no readjustment of the franchise will satisfy this meeting or the country, which does not provide for a greater extension of the suffrage in cities or burghs than is provided in this Bill.*<sup>4</sup>

The seconder of the motion, Mr J. Kirk, stated that he did not have any confidence in the government's reasoning and that they had no conscientious desire to reform the representation of the country and had only been acting under compulsion, and the sooner they were rid of the Tory ministry the better it would be. He believed that the government bill left the old pocket boroughs in their entirety with little change in their operation, his main objection to those boroughs was that they were numerous in England and returned two members to Parliament with populations of only a few thousand and a voting franchise of a few hundred for the election of an MP, where as large and important cities where many thousands of voters resided only returned one. This being one of the most glaring defects within the bill and he believed 'that every honest Liberal'<sup>5</sup> thus showing us where his party loyalty lay, should support Lord John Russell's motion against the bill, Russell was the leader of the Whig/Liberal opposition.

Other individuals raised points at the meeting in support or objecting to the government bill, some saying that they would support it, if modified to include a more extensive franchise to the cities and boroughs by a reduction of the franchise to £5 rental. With Clackmannanshire being a county seat, this would have included many more of the skilled farm workers.

One motion presented to the meeting gives us an insight into the class of the people who had been in attendance. The reporter informed us that a Mr Douglas rose and delivered an impressive speech upon the rights of the working classes, to have a large voice in the representation of the country. He considered that they were more entitled than any other class to be represented, particularly as it was them, the working classes who fought the countries battles, (this is a good point as to be born into the middle or upper classes you did not go to war, unless of course you bought an officer's commission, officers in the main came from the landed classes or the upper middle classes. For the most part the middle classes did not go to war.) He also required that no reform should be recognised that did not give the vote to any man of sound mind, who had not breached any laws of the country, and proposed a motion to that effect, but could not find a seconder within the hall. <sup>6</sup>

This tells us that, either there was no person in attendance who fitted the description of working class to back the motion of giving themselves the vote, or that the people in attendance believed themselves to be members of the middle classes who did not support the idea of the working classes receiving the vote.

The meeting was held at 1.00pm on a weekday, this would have made it hard for those referred to as the working classes to attend. The meeting broke up with no great consensus or drive to form a reform committee as had previously happened in 1832. When the meeting was breaking up, Mr Kirk rose and said 'that he supposed that the original motion might be held as correct'<sup>7</sup> and with nobody saying anything to the contrary it was left at that.

The Alloa meeting probably summed up the feeling of the county as a whole, with no widespread enthusiasm, especially from the working classes, evident as they did not see any great proposals

in the bill for them. The bill was brought in by Derby's minority government due mainly because it had been a Conservative pledge at the last election. The bill was defeated and some ministers thought that the government would now be freed of the pledges that had fettered them since they had taken office. The motion by Lord Russell against the bill was not, as he said a vote against reform, but that it was not the right reform that was being proposed, and if the Parliament voted down the bill, they the Liberals would bring in a better one when returned to power.

The same tack was used by the Conservatives in the devolution debates in Scotland during the 1979 campaign, and in both cases it could be argued that this argument won the day, however many other issues also come into play. Although both parties never had any interest in following through with proposals, it was a stalling tactic in the hope that if defeated the issue would be forgotten and put on the back burner. However like all these issues they usually come back with a stronger case. Timing being everything.

*The Times* probably summed up the mood of the establishment and the middle classes at the time of the debate with an article that informed us,

*that although it was true that no question can concern a nation more deeply than reform, it was not to be supposed that in any quarter that this debate would be as 1832, to bring about any enormous or convulsive changes in the political system, with the only persons advocating this type of reform was Mr Bright and his friends and they had made no secret of the fact that any changes to this effect were at least five years away, with all other parties appearing to concur that the thinking at this period was that parliamentary reforms may be very serviceably instituted there really did not exist in their opinion many destructive abuses in the representation or the government of the country.*<sup>8</sup>

They do admit that the distribution of seats was indeed unequal and this had to be addressed, but nobody maintained that the House of Commons as then constituted was not as a whole a 'pretty faithful reflector of true public opinion.'<sup>9</sup> The paper argued that if there is no wonderful revolution through reform to be anticipated and no deep feeling involved which they described as



the universal interest in which the debate had taken place. This they believed was partly due to the critical position of ministers, partly to the uncertainty hanging over the division in the house which brought about a debate that was instructive and fruitful and it was probably this and the anomalies of the occasion that in no small degree brought about what they regarded as a remarkable result.

The main point that the newspaper was making was, that apart from the rights and claims from various classes to be represented in Parliament, there was the obligation of making the Parliament such an assembly as should be competent in the discharge of its functions, and that the House of Commons ought to be armed with talent fortified with knowledge and be able to show public spirit, independence and integrity. However the Parliament must and should be distinguished by certain qualities, it stated that these must be kept in view even during the distinct and independent process of distributing electoral power. They argued that they had been instructed to collect and employ every variety of suffrage, not just for the sake of comprehensive enfranchisement, but in order to get an 'equivalent variety of information and ability of the members returned'<sup>10</sup> which they stated, The paper argued that an election could not bring in more talent than that which would be nominated by a court or minister 'might undoubtedly include all the talent of the country'<sup>11</sup> and a Parliament elected through a wider franchise could not be relied on to be upright in its proceedings or loyal to the nation at large, intimating that if representatives of the working classes were elected they would only pursue their own objectives, which they believed to be against the existing constitution and the present order of the country.

The debate on Lord Derby's bill for reform was concluded when the House of Commons voted on the issue, with 330 for Lord John Russell's amendment and 291 against it. This led to a crisis for Derby's Government with only two main courses open to it, in the first place it could resign and in the second they could withdraw the bill and proceed as if nothing had happened. They chose the first option which led to the dissolution of Parliament and the return of the Liberals to office under Lord John Russell.

Russell in 1860 did propose a bill to extend the voting franchise to £6 in the borough and £10 for county householders, together with the redistribution of seats. However this was withdrawn after evidence of hostility from his own backbenchers, which would indicate that for most liberal/ Whig MPs, they had no intention of extending the franchise.

In 1864-65 the Reform Union and the Reform League were both founded, the former being mainly a middle class organisation and the latter supported by the skilled working classes although financed substantially by middle class money.

### **3. W. P. ADAM AND THE CLACKMANNANSHIRE AGITATION FOR REFORM.**

In the election of 1865 only seventeen parliamentary seats were available to be contested in Scotland. During this period the W.P. Adam the MP for Clackmannanshire was now beginning to take a major role within the Liberal party, especially in the organisation of the party in Scotland, and was regarded as an able young MP. He was the son of Sir Charles Adam, our friend from the 1832 Reform Act. He became the MP for Clackmannanshire and Kinross in 1859, when he took over the seat from Viscount Melgund and was elected unopposed; he then proceeded to represent the constituency through five Parliaments from 1859 to 1880, when he resigned after being appointed Governor of Madras. He was educated at Rugby and Trinity College Cambridge and received a BA in 1846. He became a Barrister of Law and joined the inner temple in 1849, and became the private secretary to the governor of Bombay (Lord Eliphstone) 1853-1858. He must have been taken by Eliphstone as he named his first son Charles Eliphstone Adam after him. He became a Lord of the Treasury in 1865-66, and in 1868-74 Chief Commissioner of Works, and finally Paymaster General from 1874-80.<sup>12</sup>

In 1865 the Liberal election management was in his hands and he started the organisational work that would transform his party into more of a modern one that we would recognise today,

The 1865 election in Scotland was helped by a revision of the county voters roll, carried out under Moncrieff. Conservative electioneering in Scotland had almost ceased, but the registers

were still cluttered with faggot voters, many long dead or their qualification lapsed, and the task of purging the roll in any seat or of creating enough new voters to win had been too expensive to contemplate. The clearance of the rolls had startling results in Scotland, of the 58,000 names on the registers, 21,000 were removed and 14,000 added. In Clackmannanshire and Kinross the electoral figures take a dip, in the 1859 election there were 1,952 voters on the roll, but in 1865 after the purge only 1,162 were registered, an astonishing 40% drop <sup>13</sup>. The fact was that many who were entitled to vote had not bothered to register within the county, mainly because the seat was being contested infrequently.

The new electorate for Scotland totalled 51,000, about the same as 1841, but more genuine in the legality of the voters. In the 1865 election the Conservatives did well to take back Aberdeenshire, but elsewhere they were helpless before the Liberal onslaught in Scotland.

In Clackmannanshire Adam was only opposed twice during his period as an MP in 1874 and 1880, he was also opposed in the 1868 election, until the opposition candidate withdrew at the last minute. The 1868 election however gives us an insight into his political agenda and his stance on the Second Reform Bill. There was a meeting of the electors in the county of Clackmannanshire in the Royal Oak Hotel in Alloa on Wednesday 22nd November of that year which gives an insight into the way elections were contested in the area.<sup>14</sup>

The so called meeting of the electors turned into a meeting to elect a Liberal committee. The chairman at the meeting Captain Christie of Hillend informed the meeting that its main purpose was to reconstruct the Liberal committee for Clackmannanshire in consequence to requests from some of the electors. The last committee had been disbanded six or seven years previous, as there was no opposition against Adam since he was elected unopposed in 1859. Mr Younger (of Younger Breweries, who would eventually become a patron and staunch supporter of the Conservative party in the area.) informed the meeting that the Liberal committee was for the support of Mr Adam and moved that it was desirable and necessary to reconstruct and extend the committee. This call for the resurrection of the Liberal committee fits in well with Adams

strategy of organising and transforming the Liberal party. During this period both the Conservatives and Liberals were becoming parties that we would now recognise. This process was accelerated after the 1868 Reform Act, which had created an electorate whose size made it impossible to manipulate along the old lines in all but a few seats. The solution, by Adams, was to replace liaison with an oligarchy through a national electoral organisation under professional workers.

In 1867 the Scottish Conservatives set up a National Constitutional Association to co-ordinate their works and extend it to a local level. The Liberals, more hostile to central direction were slower to follow, but Adam worked doggedly to the same end. When his party left office in 1866, he tried to keep the Scots Liberal MPs together as a disciplined body and fostered links between London and the constituencies, attempted to raise funds and sketched out an electoral strategy. The Liberal party's performance in 1868 was a single success for him and he did especially well in organising the burghs, though the counties, resentful of outside interference, were much more difficult, with the Dukes of Argyle and Sutherland refusing him all cooperation<sup>15</sup>. We therefore can see why Adam wanted a committee formed in his own area and we can presume with good reason that he was behind this move to set one up.

Returning to the meeting in Alloa, the attempt to set up a committee was not going smoothly, with questions from the floor asking if the committee was just for Mr Adams or was it a Liberal one that was to be set up. Mr Younger took exception to this remark and stated that in his opinion no person against Adam should be allowed on the committee. The chairman intervened 'This meeting is to reconstruct the Liberal committee, of course Mr Adam is a Liberal member and the committee is expected to support him.'<sup>16</sup> The debate raged on in the hall with participants such as Mr Maclay of Maclay brewers, who although a Liberal would not promise to support Mr Adam if a better candidate came into the field. There was a proposal to vote for a new chairman at the meeting, but this brought objections from the floor, arguing that they should correspond with the electors in Tillicoultry, Kincardine and the neighbouring towns to make it a more encompassing

committee with a chairman that could represent the whole area. This idea had some backing from the floor as a Mr Blair stated 'that the electors should have the right to speak, as the people might say that they had no voice in its appointments.'<sup>17</sup> They eventually elected a committee; however the election of a chairman was postponed until a further meeting which would be notified to all parts of the constituency.

As we can see from the meeting there is still not a formal Liberal party structure within the constituency or in the vast majority of the constituencies in Scotland, the power still lay with powerful individuals, both landed and moneyed.

#### **4. REFORM AGITATION TAKES HOLD.**

By 1866, the agitation for reform was starting to bite among the wider populace. This was caused by a different climate in the country than had been prevalent before hand. The Reform League had been gaining membership throughout the country reaching 65,000. With more coverage and debate appearing in the press, including attacks on the working classes by the Liberal critic of reform Robert Lowe, who it has been said, became one of the best recruiting sergeants for the league with his vitriolic attacks on the working class. He accused them of an inability to use a vote sensibly, which only antagonised them into demanding it.<sup>18</sup> There was also a short, sharp economic slump in wages and employment that no government could ignore.

With these events in the background and in compliance with a requisition signed by sixteen members of the Burgh of Alloa<sup>19</sup>, Mr. A. Mitchell the chief magistrate called a public meeting of the inhabitants of the burgh for the purpose of considering the proposed extension of the electoral franchise and what measures should be taken to promote its attainment.

On the platform at the meeting we find the following, Messrs Mitchell and Younger magistrates; Captain Christie, Hillend; Mr Ewing, writer; Mr Blair, Brewer, Mr Kirk, candle maker; Mr Cumming, druggist; Mr Duncanson, Mr Drysdale and Mr Clachan, blacksmiths; Mr Stirling, hatter and Mr McCloud, mason. Some of the above names are well known Liberal sympathisers

and we must remember that at this time they are talking about the Liberal government's proposals for reform. As we will see when the Tories proposed reform a year later, the Alloa reform committee did not comprise any of these individuals, however the new Liberal committee did, which would indicate that the principal Liberal supporters in the area had taken umbrage when the Tories proposed a larger franchise than the Liberal party was prepared to give, and they did not take any great part in the reform campaign in the area.

There had been some objections to the meeting with the objectors claiming that there was no clamour for reform in the country, but the chairman of the meeting had called this a false accusation and the country was ready for reform. He also went on to tell us, what in his opinion the 1832 Reform Bill had achieved.

In 1832 there were no representatives at all in Scotland, even the town councillors were self elected, and as a whole the bill had done a great deal of good in the country, He tells us that people in 1832 had said, that if the bill was carried through the Houses of Parliament, the whole country would be ruined and turned upside down, (meaning that the lower classes would be dominating the landed aristocracy.) However the consequences were quite different as there was no revolution in the country, although this statement made thirty years on does confirm the arguments made by some historians that the fear of a revolution was genuine and that while other countries who did not have the liberal spirit had been revolutionised and shaken, this country had always been quiet. He also stated that the luxuries and necessaries of life were cheaper; including periodicals and information was given free to the people, compared to what it had been before 1832. These thoughts on what the 1832 Reform Bill had achieved were also backed up by a Mr McDowell, a prominent member of the community, and confirmed that when the last Reform Bill was brought into the House of Commons some men had said ' that if it was passed the country would not be worth living in, it did pass and in his opinion the country was a better place to live in,<sup>20</sup> and if the franchise is extended to £5 or £6 of yearly rental, he had no doubts that the enemies of reform would find the country in thirty years hence a better place worth living in . He

rejoiced in the thought that so many working men could be brought into the pale of the constitution, for in his opinion their growing intelligence and their demeanour in times of difficulty and distress, abundantly proved that they deserved the privilege and the possession of the franchise which would be an additional motive to good behaviour. He made the following observation, 'Suspect a man and you tempt him to deserve suspicion, on the other hand you must trust him if you wish him to be trustworthy.'<sup>21</sup>

One of the workingmen, that McDowall was referring to, can be highlighted during the on going reform debate within the county. Alva weaver David Malcolm had written to the letters page of the *Alloa Journal*<sup>22</sup> which gives us an insight into his working life and his opinion on reform.

He told us that he was anxious to stay in the house at nights to improve his writing to enable him to give the papers readers an idea of how the weavers of the parish managed to 'get the dull winters put in'<sup>23</sup>. To begin with they (the weavers) are employed about six months of the year on average, there may be some firms in some years more fortunate and continue a little longer, but this did not often happen. There was in most cases pretty good work in the area in the months of June, July and August, however at the end of this period, usually at the beginning of September would bring the letter carriers from Galashields, Selkirk and Hawick, advertising better paid work in these districts. They would then try and secure before they left Alva letters from companies, securing if possible their jobs for following the winter, and as soon as they could they left Alva for Gala Water and Selkirk. He explained that it was very disagreeable for the fathers to leave, being severed from their families and for their daughters to leave their mothers, however 'they are considered by the many to be the fortunate few to have employment'<sup>24</sup>

He informed us that there had been a great noise made throughout the country when the American Civil War was going on as to the hardship endured by the people in Lancashire. He had no doubt that they suffered very severely, and had no doubt that they were very patient under their difficulties, seeing that the members of the House of Commons applauded them for their conduct. But he thought that the Lancashire distress was little compared to the suffering of the weavers in

Clackmannanshire, as their distress was yearly and if the Lancashire people deserved an electoral vote for their conduct, the people of Alva deserved that plurality of the votes which the Tories proposed, which he did believe, 'was to become law for their own preservation.'<sup>25</sup>

The Alva weaver believed that the workers in Lancashire although troubled through the American Civil War still had better conditions and wages in regards to themselves, but were at least getting backing from their own MPs. He was prepared to back, although only vocally, his support for the Conservative party who were his common enemy, the landed aristocracy, but realised that they were only pushing reform because it had been a party election pledge.

Returning to the meeting, Mr Mitchell then rose to propose the main motion, which was to urge his Majesties ministers to bring forward a Reform Bill in that session of Parliament 'The Liberal ministration of 1866.' He again informed us that the campaign was not as vigorous as 1832, things were done differently. They were now a different class of individuals in 1866, than they had been in 1832 when the upper classes looked on the middle classes with great suspicion and on the working classes as a discontented rabble, 'each considered the other as their enemies, but now to a certain extent the peer and the peasant are on an equal footing and hoped that class distinction would soon fade'.<sup>26</sup> To back this statement up he gave a few examples which he believed showed some shifts in societies thinking and attitudes, and informed us that 'they do not look up to the minister (church) in that spirit of fear, which required a strong volition of the will to approach him, but if he does his duty they can approach him with feelings of love and admiration; if he does not, they care nothing about him.'<sup>27</sup>

Another example he sites was that the magistrates who had been looked upon, with their only object being to mount the bench and punish, but now the working classes understood the necessity of a law for the lawless and that the magistrate was no enemy to mankind because he punished evil doers. They also used to think that it required a superior class of men to act as members of influential committees, but after reading and hearing the saying and doing of certain Liberal committees in council, he is not sure that they are in the same opinion now, the reason



being obvious that they had now arrived at the point of intelligence which now enables them to understand the affairs of the country and how they ought to be managed.

The three issues that he brought up gives us an intriguing indication on what has been said in previous chapters, that the ministers were beginning to loose their power and authority in the community and only those that worked for it would be respected. Due to the rising crime statistics there could also have developed a perception that the magistrates were now jailing the criminal classes and were not just the old authority working on behalf, and put in place by the old landed aristocracy. The demand for skilled engineers could be seen as an indication of the working classes intellectual achievements in adapting to the demands of the new technology.

The meeting then debated what size the franchise should be and what it would mean for the area, the meeting was also informed that there were many against giving the franchise to the working class, and their arguments for this can be summed up as follows.

The fear was that their votes could be bought for a few shillings. 'If you give the workingman the vote, you will give them too much power and they would be apt to abuse it.'<sup>28</sup>

Mr McLachlan, referring to himself as working class and did not posses the vote, made an appeal to the audience refuting this accusation. On the first point he argued that 'who was to blame if a bribe was offered for the mans vote, the party who offers the bribe or the person who takes it, and that it was unfair to ask of working men to have a greater measure of virtue than you measure out for yourselves.'<sup>29</sup> A comment that would suggest that the meeting is full of the middle classes. On the second point he was quite willing to admit that there were exceptions to every rule and that many men would not do as they say, but as a rule he argued, that the opposite would be true. He saw many employers in the hall who employed a great many men and directed his speech to them and appealed to their experience as employers. He argued that if you raise men to a position of responsibility in your business then these men will feel an extra responsibility and will do their best to keep that position, therefore that being the case with the individual, what right have they, the employer, to suppose that the same would not be done by the mass of the working class. He

acknowledged that the extension of the franchise if given would be in better hands and believed that if they admitted the working class they will be granted 'the right of free citizen in the land that they love and are willing to defend. He then asked the audience in all He then asked the audience in all seriousness ought this to be.'<sup>30</sup>

The year 1866, he told us had been prophesied to be full of great events and he trusts that it will prove an era in the history of the elective franchise and hoped that it would break down all the barriers to that confidence brotherly feelings and friendship, which he stated ought to exist amongst all the classes of the community, and that it would be the beginning of the glorious time that their national poet had sung off

*When man to man the world o, er*

*Shall brithers be an al that (Burns) <sup>31</sup>*

Dr Duncanson was the next to speak from the floor, although not on the platform he was to become the President of the Scottish National Reform League branch in Alloa in 1867. On seconding the motion he warned the audience that they must act now, when the country was quiet and prosperous, but believed that the continuing agitation for reform must be taken in hand by either the Liberals or the Tories, as it would sooner or later force itself on the attention of the legislature and demand a settlement. He stated

*that when reform is proposed obstacles arise from the lukewarmness of friends as well as from the enemies of reform, who's allegations must be replied to and refuted, which is not happening at present and they (working classes) are entitled to claim the franchise as a right from those who are at presently denying it and the working classes are as well qualified to exercise it as those who poses it.<sup>32</sup>*

Dr Duncanson had explained that the 1832 act had passed power from the aristocracy to the middle classes and he believed that the proposed reform act would change the balance of power from the middle to the sub-middle and the working classes.

And in the future he maintained that the process of lowering of the franchise qualifications could not be stopped until you have a full franchise. He played on the fears of those who had the vote by conjuring up their nightmare scenario that once a full universal franchise is given, the working classes would vote to please themselves in a democracy, this would only last a short time until a persuasive military dictator took over. This he stated was drawn from his imagination but was founded on a political superstition far from being extinct in the minds of the learned with the delusion that political power can be taken away or given by an Act of Parliament. This was the monster he believed was really behind those that were against the bill.

When he looked around the hall what he saw was not the existence of a tyrannous majority claiming rule, and ready to trample all interest but their own, but the prevalence of political apathy. He believed that people were more concerned about their own occupation and those dependent on them and therefore he believed it was a selfish interest that kept them from finding out the problems of others. They may have had a vague idea that they were members of a great community but they had little conception of what the state cannot or what it can do for them, their rights and duties were as members of the body politic and were bound up with the common interest of the country and the race. This approach he was happy to say was no longer applicable to a large part of the working classes and asked of his audience

*why then should such men as these come forward and ask to be franchised, is it their number that is the bug bear? He does not envisage such an invasion as it is only the upper section of the working classes who have awakened to political life as the others have no grievance to drive them and no extended views or desires to lead them to political action.*<sup>33</sup>

He believed that when this section of the community had come to the same level as the upper working classes, then they could be admitted and stated that the future of the working classes was wholly in their own hands.

He informed, that in Clackmannanshire a great many of those who vote were directly from the working class or the sons of working class parents and therefore there should be no jealousy in welcoming among them those that are worthy.

Other speakers joined the debate and they required a resolution that, what Scotland wanted was justice in the number of seats it was entitled to, and that England was at present having an unfair advantage with London alone being proposed to have more seats than Scotland. They also demanded that these should not only be proportioned by population alone but by revenue which Scotland yields to the state. By using the population figures they argued that England should have 150 MPs less than the 500 MPs they had at present. He also stated that Scotland in comparison to England is perceived to be a very poor country 'quite as poor as she is proud'<sup>34</sup> and he believed that Scotland with its three million people contributed more than their fair share of the sum total, of the revenue of Great Britain and which amounted to nine million pounds sterling, while the other sections of the kingdom with a population of 26 million contributed sixty one million pounds sterling. This meant that the population of Scotland paid £3 a head into the Chancellors purse, while the other parts of the country only paid £2 7s a head and if representation was worked out on the revenue paid, Scotland would have eighty two to eighty three members. These anomalies they required to be looked at when dealing with the reform question. They also wanted Clackmannanshire to be looked at, as with a population of 21,000 they only had half a Member of Parliament. Their argument for this, being that Bute with a population of 16,000 had one member and Selkirk and Peeblesshire also had one member, while Clackmannanshire had a population of both put together.

Another point raised up was the grievance that many Scots were beginning to feel with regards to Scottish business at Parliament, that when Scottish business was brought before Parliament it was shuffled about and 'shoved by' with as little ceremony as possible just as if it had no right to be there. The main complaint was that English members pretended that they could not understand Scottish questions and voted them a 'confounded bore'. His argument was that if they had

sufficient Scottish members they could bring a weight upon the government which would ensure they were giving due and reasonable attention to Scotland's concerns.

He goes on to explain that

*just imagine what a figment, what a miserable figment of the public revenue to which we contribute so largely, is expended within Scotland. All the great naval docks and government manufacturing establishments which employ so many thousands, and circulate such vast sums of money, are to use an old fashioned phrase – furth of Scotland, and it is only when any of our shipbuilding or manufactures are lucky, or I might say unlucky enough to under bid their English rivals on a estimate job that we get any of the government orders* <sup>35</sup>.

He points out that the Turkish government has spent more money on Clydeside than the British Government had done since the time of the Union. This went down well at the meeting with the reporter commenting that these statements had been cheered in the hall. He then went on,

*that if they (Scotland) asked for any money from the public purse for any necessary public purpose, what a fight and struggle and a waiting we have before we get it. And if they do get it he claimed that it is stingily giving and parsimoniously it is doled out if anything is wanted for the convenience or the adornment of London it is given or if anything is wanted by our restless and dissatisfied brethren across the channel (Ireland) how readily and lavishly it is bestowed.* <sup>36</sup>

As an example of this he told us of a proposal that had been made to the Institute for a Chair of Geology at the University of Edinburgh. This proposal which he believed to be proper and reasonable was supported by the Highland Agricultural Society of Scotland, a society that he claimed had expended a large sum of money in making geological surveys of Scotland and had formed a collection illustrating the mineral wealth of the country, which surveys and collections they handed over to the government for use in the national museum of science and art. However their application was refused, which he stated is the usual one 'My Lords must decline to do anything in the matter in the meantime'<sup>37</sup> and he stated that if the request had been made by an

English or Irish university it would have been attended to at once. He proposed that a resolution should be issued to the government:-

‘That in the proposed Reform Bill this meeting would urge the claims of Scotland to be represented in the same proportions as to Members of Parliament, as the other divisions of the British Empire, according to population and the revenue she yields the state.’<sup>38</sup>

The meeting had turned not just from a discussion of who in the working class should get the vote, but into a rally regarding the unjust way Scotland was dealt with, regarding its parliamentary numbers within the union and the way that Scottish business was being dealt with at Westminster, which a great part of the audience felt was unfair and that Scotland was being treated as a side issue. The feeling of the meeting was that a Reform Bill that did not just confer this simple justice on Scotland so far as Scotland is concerned would be a miserable delusion and unworthy of the authorship of a Parliament, which considered itself the embodiment of wisdom, justice and honourable dealing.

A Mr Cummings then went on to give a speech backing all the previous statements and making his rallying call for support from the audience which would not be out of place at a Scottish National Party broadcast today. I have given this in full to demonstrate the nationalistic sentiment that was being displayed by a predominantly middle class audience, a sentiment that some historians have claimed was not evident at this time, however it does back up Graham Morton’s unionist/ nationalist arguments.

*Let it not be regarded as a matter of small moment whether our country shall be adequately represented in the British Parliament or not. The Scotchmen who regards such a matter with apathy has not the feeling of true patriotism in his breast. Let us show then that we are Scotchmen of the right stamp, aye ready and anxious to maintain the dignity and right of our noble old land. Let it be manifest that we are animated by the same spirit that glowed in the bosoms of our brave forefathers when our fields beyond the Forth they contested so nobly for their rights that blessed freedom which is our most prized inheritance. Yes let it be seen that we*

*are not the degenerate sons of those of the noble sires but that we are leal and true natives of the land which boasts the thistle as its emblem and nemo me impune lacessit, as its motto,*<sup>39</sup>

this was greeted with loud and prolonged applause from the hall. The resolution was accepted by the chair without a show of hands.

The resolutions for an increase in the franchise and especially for the increase to the representation in Parliament of Scottish MPs were all accepted and it was agreed that these should be copied and issued to Earl Russell and the representative of the county be requested to support the same in Parliament

As we can see from the discussions and the resolutions from the meeting it was not just the debate on giving some elements of the working classes the vote, but on the wider issues how Scotland was being represented and governed and the way Scottish matters were being dealt with. We can see that Scottish Parliamentary issues were not being dealt with to the satisfaction of at least some of the residents of Clackmannanshire, where they perceived that Scotland was not being dealt with fairly by the Westminster Parliament, a Parliament that was over-represented by the other parts of the United Kingdom, which led Scottish issues to be dealt with as an aside.

These grievances were not new and had found numerous supporters, as in 1853 an 'Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights' had been founded, which had demanded that Scotland should not be left to the ministrations of an overworked Lord Advocate, loosely supervised by the Home Secretary, and that a Scottish Secretary should be restored to head a reformed and separate administration.

As Sir Archibald Alan, declared 'we do not wish the dissolution of the union, we do not deny its benefits, we wish to carry out the union in its true spirit and we wish to obtain that justice for Scotland which the union promised, which the English promised, but which we have not received.'<sup>40</sup> This probably sums up the feelings of the people at the meeting at the time; they could see the benefits of The Union and Empire but believed that Scotland was not being treated properly within the Union or the Empire.

## **5. DEMOCRACY, BLACKIE V JONES**

The arguments for and against electoral reform became a problem that all countries, past and present have come up against over the centuries not only in Scotland, where at present, we are still going through the process to find the best form of democracy. We can look at arguments made in the past, which, are still brought up within the world today, especially among the developing countries. But also the arguments forward against some parts of the population having the vote in the so-called western democracies. Electoral reform or the fight for some form of democracy can be charted using certain stereotypical arguments that have been used historically, and the question under discussion is one that for over three thousand years society has been trying to resolve either through violence or peaceful agitation.

Politics has never been an exact science and has to be speculative; it can only be experienced through actual events and past experiences in looking back into history. For example, Greece and Rome have been used in describing types of democracies; however Scotland in the nineteenth century presents us with vastly different conditions than prevailed under the Greek City or the Roman State.

Reform of the electoral system in Britain gained momentum after the Napoleonic wars, and all through the nineteenth century. What brought reform to the fore was the demand by the middle and working classes to be part of the governmental decision making process. Before this time possession of land was deemed paramount and with the land you controlled the lives of the people that lived on it.

It was not only electoral reform that was being sought, people were fighting to reform the prison service, the poor law, corn laws, the army, business and industrial laws such as children working in mines and as chimney sweeps where they were used more as the brush than the sweeper. However the great cry for reform was politically, people wanted a say in how their lives were



managed and controlled, and here the arguments being made were various in the run up to the Second Reform Act and the debate was again raging in the country for and against reform.

In January 1867 a debate took place in Edinburgh between Professor Blackie and Ernest Jones which was widely reported at the time. Blackie was well known in his time, he had been a Professor of Humanities at Aberdeen University before becoming Professor of Greek at Edinburgh university from 1852-82. He became a fervent nationalist and promoter of Celtic culture. He also founded and endowed the Chair of Celtic studies at Edinburgh University in 1882.

In Clackmannanshire the debate was reported in the local press, the *Alloa Advertiser*<sup>41</sup> which in looking at the two protagonists described Blackie essentially as a thinker of much liberality, with Jones being described as a dreamer and an advocate of equality, freedom and radicalism in its extremist forms. Blackie was also regarded as an advocate of cultivation, tradition, refinement and of good laws well administered. We can now see from the *Alloa Advertiser's* editor that the paper was not for any extension to the voting franchise for the working classes. Its arguments against ran as per Blackie's and proceeded to back these up with its own comments.

America, the editor argued, was regarded as a different country from the United Kingdom, the institutions that suited one nation may not suit another. America had an unlimited territory, which had giving to every citizen land for cultivation. England as a state had a restricted area, which was unable to produce sufficient for the wants of its people. It is interesting to note that the editor refers to the country as England. The new country America had an abundance of nature to support it where the United Kingdom could only survive by its artificial arrangements (trade) which enabled it to supply the necessities of the population. The United Kingdom had no parallel with which it could be compared and therefore when it is considered how thoroughly conventional the United Kingdom was, is it not to be wondered that many were averse to any great sweeping change. With only one in forty eight of the labouring population having possession of the vote it

could be presumed that a change was desirable. However would it be in the interest of the country that a large number be allowed to enter into the great political partnership of the state?

However the argument that the *Alloa Advertiser* was pursuing, was that if the country had no pauperism, no ignorance and no crime, only then might they presume that the laws and legislation were just and beneficent and that change was required in their political system. But the question was whether a pure democracy or rather universal suffrage would really ameliorate the conditions of the country in such a way as to benefit the whole of the nation? Though the country had advanced the paper believed that the elector did not seem to have made a more rapid stride in their knowledge than any other member of the commonwealth, 'and regards to the electors independence they regret to say that he had often showed a great want of that special elevation of character which has to be of a particular attribute of the enfranchised in the future'.<sup>42</sup>

The great mass of the uneducated, in the editor's opinion referring to the working classes, with regards to their exercise of judgement

*he realised could only be compared to children and were in a relative state of bondage. Therefore to crave their assistance in making the laws of the country would be in his opinion a lugubrious error, but to hand over literally the control of the middle and landed class's destinies to them (the working class) would be an act of political suicide.*<sup>43</sup>

The editor's attitude informs us that he believed that poverty, crime and illiteracy were all the fault of the working classes. (Previously discussed in chapter 4,) and there was no way that they would let the working class dictate their lives.

In looking at France as a democracy the paper also treated Jones example with scorn, with every adult of the country having the power of the vote. He gave us as an example of how this vote had been used. The newspaper claimed that the French had voted in a despot Napoleon III, who had manacled liberty, gagged the press and prohibited public meetings in France, all from a country that the editor claimed had once possessed a constitutional government Democracy, the editor believed enforced and sanctioned this and asked 'should we follow the example of France?'<sup>44</sup> He

argued that if the people had been universally educated this might not happen. The *Advertiser's* editor stated that the people of these isles were in fact less educated than those on the other side of the channel and therefore it 'behoves them to be more warned by what is happening in France'<sup>45</sup> This does not say much for the education system at the time if he is to be believed, as he sanctions the theory that democracy is only for the few and only for the educated.

The *Advertiser's* backed Professor Blackie in his main opinion that there will always be a class of person of the quick and superficial conclusions, who have the opinion that the government of human beings was a simple art, bringing in the examples of France and America, believing that due to these countries having more democracy they were inferior to Britain with its arts, arms, and politics becoming a beacon to the world. He warned that a dictator could rise due to the votes of the selfish for short term gain.<sup>46</sup>

The editor is of course damning the working class as having all these vices and is frightened that if the working class is given the vote they would all vote en masse as a class, for themselves to the detriment of all others. However many argued at the time that this was happening with the landed classes being in control of Parliament, as they had been accused of running the country to suit their own class and their own ideals to the betterment of the country as a whole.

As an example against democracy of the masses the editor sites that the American House of Representatives, in January 1867 had entered in a discussion to impeach the President and voted to do so by a large majority, even though the President only represented in his policy, nine out of twenty electors in the USA and believed that this showed that the large minority had no more voice in the legislation of the country than if they were entirely unrepresented. 'Democratic majorities have no ears except for there own voices, and temperate reflectiveness, ripe judgement; caution and cultivation are silenced in a din of great confusion'<sup>47</sup>. The *Advertiser* editor summing up 'craved that the time is not too far distant when a grand and liberal scheme of reform may be proposed. But he trusts that the day is indeed remote when the enforced political equality of

democracy and men whether good or deprived, shall possess the common right and be equal arbiters in the fate of the country'.<sup>48</sup>

We can see from these comments that Scotland is a divided society based on class, especially with the middle classes continuing and promoting class attitudes to differentiate themselves from the working classes in their continuing attacks. Democracy was only for them and to be used by them to control the working classes perceived excesses.

## **6. GLADSTONE AND DISRALI'S REFORM BILLS.**

The debate for reform again brought forward another Reform Bill in Parliament, when the Liberal government under Gladstone produced his Reform Bill, which was not even remotely radical<sup>49</sup>, on which he staked the existence of his government. The bill however was received with howls of protest, disgust and disappointment, even from the Liberal press.

The bill proposed to lower the franchise to £7 in the boroughs and £14 in the counties, with votes also proposed for £10 lodgers and those with £50 deposits in savings banks. A minor redistribution of seats was proposed with no actual disenfranchisement but eight small boroughs were to lose one seat and another sixty-three were to be grouped together to return twenty-two MP's. The biggest beneficiaries were to be the counties, with twenty-six extra seats. Six entirely new boroughs were proposed, with four more seats going to London, five more for the large English cities and three more for the larger Scottish boroughs. The Liberal government's bill was defeated in the commons, 315 to 304 on a hostile amendment with the result that the government was replaced by a minority Conservative Government led by Lord Derby.

The new Conservative government also faced a problem when it took power after the collapse of Russell's government, as the Reform League was to hold a rally in Hyde Park, which the Home Secretary had banned and brought troops in ready for action. But the Conservative government backed down and the demonstration went ahead. There followed growing unrest throughout the

country in the summer months. The 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Shaftesbury wrote to Derby then telling him that a measure of reform is indispensable.<sup>50</sup>

The new Tory Government with Disraeli taking the lead on reform took advantage of the situation and promptly ditched the Whigs and introduced a bill offering household suffrage for all males who paid poor rates in the boroughs and for all tenants renting at over £14 in the counties. This proposed Reform Bill introduced by the Conservatives was beginning to stir the population in Clackmannanshire with the formation of a branch of the Scottish National Reform League which had been formed in Glasgow and advocated universal male suffrage; it was set up under the presidency of James Moir. By mid-1867 it had fifty branches with up to 5,000 members, drawn from Liberal electors and enfranchised workers. The purposes of the two groups within the Reform League were not identical. To Liberals the campaign was a means of driving the Conservatives from government, although most workers were Liberal minded they saw reform as a step towards their long term aim of forcing the ruling classes to pay more heed to social and industrial problems, with some union leaders hoping to get the suffrage extended to allow the direct representation of labour in Parliament. They were willing to co-operate with the Liberals to achieve this aim, but in pursuing their larger aspirations they had little reason to prefer capitalist Liberalism over aristocratic Conservatism. They were ready to associate with politicians of any party promoting legislation favourable to working class interests.

On Friday 16<sup>th</sup> March 1867 a reform meeting was held in McGeehan's Hall, Mill St, Alloa, for the purpose of considering whether it was advisable to organise a branch of the society. Dr Duncanson was nominated to the chair and delivered 'a very lucid and in a forcible manner,'<sup>51</sup> the great advantages to be derived from such an institution to the people of Scotland and especially the un-enfranchised. A show of hands was asked for to ascertain how many were inclined to enrol their names as members, with the result that it was proposed that a branch be formed and office bearers elected. Dr Duncanson was elected president of the branch with a Mr

Breingan appointed as secretary and Mr Mc Gechaen as treasurer. As can be seen from the names mentioned, this committee was of a different make up from the Liberal committee in the area.

The Reform League held regular meetings which were open to all, where lectures were given, such as Dr Duncanson's on the subject of 'The connection between morality and political rights'<sup>52</sup>.

The bill for Scotland was passed in 1868, to the muted disgust of the Liberal press in Scotland, which indicated that the Tory proposals erred on the score of liberality.<sup>53</sup> The main terms of the 1868 Reform Bill in Scotland were that, Glasgow's representation changed from two to three members. Dundee's representation also increased to three members, in the counties, Aberdeenshire, Ayrshire and Lanarkshire gained an extra seat but were divided into two member constituencies. Peebles and Selkirk were united to return one member and Hawick district was created with one member. Two university seats were created, Edinburgh and St Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen being allowed one member each. Seven small boroughs were disenfranchised in England to make way for the new Scottish seats. In the boroughs the inhabitant occupier and lodger franchise were brought in. This meant that an inhabitant occupier of a dwelling house, if resident for at least 12 months could now vote, as well as a lodger occupying a lodging house worth at least £10 year if resident for at least twelve months.

In the counties, owner franchise was changed to owners or leases of at least 60 years or more of property worth £5 per year and occupiers of land with a rateable value at £14 per year who had paid poor rates on the property, and those who qualified under the 1832 regulations.

The main franchise implication of the 1868 Act for Scotland was that the numbers of voters increased substantially. By 1869 more than 230,000 were on the registers, from a total population of 3.3 million, with the total number of seats in Scotland being increased from 53 to 60, the Act had brought in the skilled working class, however the skilled farm worker was still excluded because of the higher franchise qualification in the counties which of course affected Clackmannanshire, which although now a highly industrialised area, in certain pockets of the

county was still regarded as a county seat which did not go down well with some of the inhabitants of Alloa. ( see section 8, Adam, Post Reform Election)

## 7. EXTENSION OF THE ELECTORAL FRANCHISE TO WOMAN.

IN 1867 a subject not normally given much time or discussion in political circles was the extension of the voting franchise to women. However the subject was not completely dead as a discussion took place in the *Alloa Journal* regarding the position of women in the country; the *Alloa Journal* had supported the extension to the franchise, where the *Alloa Advertiser* was against. The *Journal* was also advancing the right of women to vote.

The *Journal's* article brought some interesting aspects into the Reform Bill that had just been passed. The main claim was that the bill laid open the legal claim that woman should be allowed to vote and this had been recognised by many competent authorities. The presumption was based on two Acts of Parliament bearing on each other, the Representation Act of 1867-68, section 3, which enacts that 'every man shall (if) and after the year 1868 be entitled to be registered as a voter and when registered to vote for a member or members to serve in Parliament for a burgh'<sup>54</sup>. The argument was based on the wording of the act 4.13 vict, cap2 on a point of the language used with words importing the masculine gender,

*be deemed and taken to include females and the singular to include the plural and the plural the singular unless the contrary as to gender or number is expressly provided, there was in Representation of the Peoples Act 1868. With no express provision to prevent the application of the enactment just quoted. In addition to the above argument was the fact that neither law nor judicial decision exists to disqualify woman for exercising the right for voting which they enjoyed in the earlier days of English history.*<sup>55</sup>

They went on to agree that the Reform Bill of 1832 may have formed an exception, by removing that the right of suffrage belonged to all, male persons only qualified. But this, it was argued was cancelled by the wording of the new act. These arguments were brought to the forefront by the

overseers of Salford in a letter to the Mayor, in which they gave their backing to their reading of the new Reform Act. That in their judgement they had no alternative but to place all qualified females on the next Parliamentary register for the borough. Salford, for example, had 1,245 females who qualified under the act and this decision was followed up by twenty other English towns.

John Stuart Mill had brought an amendment to the Reform Act in Parliament, which was rejected by 196 votes to 73 on extending the franchise to woman, although his amendment was only to include spinsters and widows. While many members had thought Mr Mill's amendments were necessary for enfranchising woman. Mr Deuman MP was of the opinion that the bill as it stood conferred the franchise on those otherwise qualified. Another Member of Parliament had declared that every vote he had giving to the bill was with the knowledge and the intention that it should apply to woman.

Disraeli on the question had in one of his speeches on reform in April 1866 said

*I observe that in a debate that recently took place not only in another place but another country, on the suffrage some ridicule was occasioned by a gentleman advocating the rights of the other sex to the suffrage, but as far as mere abstracts reason is concerned, I should like to see anybody in this house who is a follower of the Hon gentleman get up and oppose the claim. I say that in a country governed by a woman (Queen Victoria) were you to allow woman to form part of the other estate of the realm. For example, where you allow a woman not only to hold land, but to be a lady of the manor and hold legal course, where a woman by law may be a church warden and overseer of the poor, I do not see where she had so much to do with the state and church, on what reasons should she not have a right to vote<sup>56</sup>.*

The article concluded that the assessors of the Scottish burghs would do well to consider those claims before rejecting the names of woman, otherwise qualified as voters under the Reform Bill.



However in the end women were banned from voting in parliamentary elections, some were allowed to vote in the Burgh Council Elections in 1881 when the Householders of Scotland Act was introduced. Dollar was the first area in Scotland to vote in a woman Lord Provost in 1913.

Woman in mid-Victorian society were on one hand idolised and put up on pedestals through their role in family and home and on the other regarded as inferior with a child like intelligence. Their role was to instil the household domestic values and be the home maker. Women were encouraged to be woman, and to do woman's things confined to the home and family. With the middle classes the big threat to family life was prostitution which infected family life and broke up homes. However Victorians blamed woman for this because it was believed that woman did not have the moral stamina of men had. If woman mixed with the opposite sex it was moral contamination.

Victorians men believed that they had to protect woman from this situation, companies such as Coates of Paisley would not employ married woman in their factory as married woman would have opportunity. Woman's chastity had to be safeguarded as any offspring born outside marriage would end up being paid for by the poor rates and therefore society would be paying for illegitimate children.

A divorced woman under the law would loose the children and her property, and under English law you could beat you're wife with a stick. However the reality was that child murder and child prostitution was rife. With regards to voting it was believed by many that woman were intellectually unsuited to the task, mainly because of the belief that their brains were too small and therefore incapable of understanding the issues, also they had husbands and fathers who would vote for them. Woman had a long way to go before they achieved the franchise.

#### **8. 1868, ADAM UP FOR RE-ELECTION. (Post-reform election.)**

After the Reform Bill was passed in 1868 there was to be an election under the new franchise rules in the month of September of that year, however all was not well within the Liberal camp in

Clackmannanshire, this was mainly because of the way the campaign for electoral reform had been handled in the constituency, especially Adam's part in it, and for once there was a more vocal opposition to his re-election.

One of the local newspapers, the *Alloa Journal* came out against Adam in its editorials in August of that year in the run up to the election, after the passing of the Disraeli government's Reform Bill.

Adam's conduct during the debates on the Reform Bill had been criticised, one of the main criticisms being that he did not stand up for Scotland during the reform debates, Adam's explanation with regard to the indifference manifested by himself and others, was on the question of increased representation for Scotland. He refuted these allegations and replied that if anybody had said 'that the Scotch members neglected their duty and that they should have got ten new members instead of seven, he had to tell them that this was not the case and that we should think ourselves very lucky in obtaining what they have got'.<sup>57</sup> This however had been dismissed in some quarters as an unfortunate statement as it had been admitted by all sides that the accusations had been true, and had the Scottish members accepted the proposal the government made before the discussion of Mr Baxter's amendment, ten additional members for Scotland would have most certainly been secured.

The *Alloa Journal* also stated that,

*while it could be said, and it could be equally true that while all Scotland had been looking on with intense anxiety on the discussion of the Scotch reform bill, there had not been a member present in Parliament who had sufficient courage to lift up his voice in favour of the increased representation for Scotland. The editor argued that with facts like these that were well known over the whole county are they not warranted in characterising the explanation from Mr Adam as most unsatisfactory.*<sup>58</sup>

As we have seen from the meeting in Alloa during the reform debate, one of the major gripes was that Scotland was under represented in Parliament.

Another attack on Adam was that although professing to be a Liberal he was being attacked for voting with the friends of landowners and bishops by members of his constituency, who accused him of being in Tory company within the division lists of the House of Commons. During the months of February and March he was found to have voted with the Tories against Mr McLaren's Annuity Tax Bill and was said to be one of only four Liberals to do so. All the leading men among the Liberals of England including three members of the last Whig Government voted in support of the second reading of the bill, the opposition of the bill being essentially Tory, both as to the number and the position of the members taking part in it.<sup>59</sup>

Adams was also reminded of the fact that the United Counties was to a large extent composed of dissenters, and he was being reminded that the great bulk of his support was amongst that class, therefore if he was left to the mercies of the portion of the constituency that belonged to the established church, it could be presumed that he would have little chance of being elected.<sup>60</sup> The presumption being that those in the established church voted Tory. The warning to Adam was plainly put, that the dissenters in the county were not likely to continue to vote for a representative who has found it his proper place to vote with the High Church Tories when a measure for the abolition of an obnoxious ecclesiastical tax was to be maintained in opposition to the demands of the Liberals in Parliament. Adams was again accused of being found in the same bad company, such as the Cumming, Bruce, Montgomery, Ferguson, Smollet and other Tories, voting against Sheridan's motion for a reduction of the fire insurance duty, while the whole of the Liberal members for Scotland were found voting for the motion.<sup>61</sup>

Through the year the criticism of Adams in the constituency was growing, while addressing a meeting in Culross and giving his support for the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland, he was accused of not informing his constituents that he had voted with the Tories in support of the established church in Edinburgh, and that by throwing the whole amount of his influence against Mr McLaren's Annuity Tax Abolition Bill he had succeeded in 'riveting firmer and fighter the

fetters of ecclesiastical intolerance around the necks of the dissenters in Edinburgh.<sup>62</sup> Adams explanation of his voting on the Annuity Tax Bill further aggravated his critics.

The main criticism from the *Alloa Journal* was its belief that to Adam his party was everything and his constituents were to be viewed as the means of obtaining power, and the comprehension of this would now weigh heavily against him, 'as well as his want of independence from his position within his party. Any independent judgement cannot be exercised by him as he must follow the course that his political chiefs have set out, no matter if that course is right or wrong as the party direction must be obeyed, or he will forfeit the position that he holds under their jurisdiction'<sup>63</sup>.

The *Journal* argued that this position prevents all freedom of thought or of action and the constituency that elects such a member 'cannot but suffer'<sup>64</sup>. The *Alloa Journal* had detected that the political system in the country was now becoming more party orientated, with this development it argued that the constituent MP would lose his ability in Parliament to represent the views of his constituents or even his own views, therefore always being in the power of the party system, and not in the paper's view that of his constituents.

Opposition to Adams was also beginning to show in the letters' pages of the local newspapers, a correspondent who signed himself as a 'despiser of humbug', asked, does anybody know of anything that Mr Adam has done for the community during the long period that he has been the member? His main complaint about Adam was the stance he took during the electoral reform campaign, and he reminds every working man of Alloa that if it was not for Mr Adam and his party, every working man in Alloa would have had the vote, as the Conservatives had proposed to confer upon Alloa the privileges of a Parliamentary Burgh (Alloa is in the county seat) but for the opposition by the Scotch Whig members 'Liberals they are now calling themselves'.<sup>65</sup> (He could of course be pointing out to the readers that Adam was a member of the landed class with the Blair Adam estates believing that he is only a Tory in disguise, now using the Liberal tag to disguise this.) However the Liberals were so vociferous that the proposal had to be withdrawn

with the result that now they had Mr Adam and his party to thank for withholding from them those rights which the working men of nearly every other working town in Scotland of equal size and importance now enjoyed. (What must be remembered is that Clackmannanshire was a county seat, and before and since the 1832 Reform Act it had always been held by members of the landed classes.) If the town of Alloa had been giving the status of a Burgh town there would have been a lot more people of a working class background eligible to vote, including some of the skilled farm workers who lived in the town.

Another letter in the paper signed 'a new elector' is also critical of Adams with his opening remark that this is the first time in at least six years that Adam had consented to speak to his constituents in Alloa, which he believed had only come about due to the standing of an opposition candidate, Lord Erskine and if this had not come about they would have been treated with his usual silent contempt. He alleged that Mr Adams all along had cared for nothing but 'place',<sup>66</sup>

Meaning that his prime aim was to be a member of the House of Commons and that, 'as long as he had this he did not have to heed the wishes of those he professed to represent, and they could have sent any man for the amount of good he has done for the area'.<sup>67</sup>

The *Alloa Journal* in its columns had been saying that his day of reckoning would arrive and the editor believed that this day had now come and that Adams would find to his bitter experience that he would have to give way to a better man also believing that the right man in the right place would be the one who is independent and 'one who expects not and needs not anything from the hands of a party',<sup>68</sup> consequently not requiring to pin his faith, conscience and all as Mr Adams had allegedly done to a party line. He stated that Adams has tacitly declared that he sits in the House of Commons for the purpose of saying nothing against Mr Gladstone. He referred to a speech given by Adams in the corn exchange on Monday the 18 August, after twice denying what he characterised as, 'the fact',<sup>69</sup> he had coolly told his audience that it was his opinion that no Member of Parliament should act independently, but should attach himself to some party or other. The correspondent believed that you would be as well sending a puppet to Parliament enabling

Mr Gladstone to pull the strings as often as he liked. In looking to Mr Adams own showing in Parliament, 'as soon as he enters it, he surrenders entirely to the hands of Gladstone like a schoolboy engaged in a game of leap frog following his leader where ever he goes irrespective of his principals and the wishes of his constituents.'<sup>70</sup> He asked,

*would any sane elector see this as a fit and proper person to elect and represent the united counties, a man who can not think for himself, a man who can not express a personal opinion on the questions that occupy the attention of Parliament, a man who allows himself to be used as a whip in the hands of the Jesuits of the party to whose vehicle he has nailed his colours. He urged his fellow voters not to vote for Adams and to show to the country that they will no longer tolerate Mr Adams as their misrepresentative nor submit any longer to be the pocket burgh of the house of Blair Adam.*<sup>71</sup>

This is referring mainly to the old system before the 1832 Reform Act where the old burghs were deemed to be corrupt. After 1832 this was mostly eradicated. Adam was a Gladstone supporter and was one of the instigators in getting Gladstone to stand in the Midlothian seat in 1879.

The *Alloa Journal* had also alleged that Adams in trying to read the sign of the times was way off the mark. In an election speech that he had made to the constituents of Kinross the paper confronts him on the following points that he had made.

Adam claimed to be dedicated to the constituency and had worked hard on its behalf; however the *Journal* claims that his parliamentary duties were more taken up in being the government whip until 1866 and after that date the opposition whip. This of course conflicts with Adam's claim that he was an independent member of the legislature, The *Journal* claiming that 'his position was utterly incompatible with that character, and that if there is such a thing as a slave of any kind in these free and happy dominions he is to be found exercising the functions of a whipper- in to his political party'<sup>72</sup>. The *Journal* also brought in doubts about his patriotism, on his assiduity to vote at all times and on all occasions as his party leaders might direct, The paper also objects to Adam's choice of Russell as the new Whig leader to whom they objected partly

because of Russell's opinion that W.E. Gladstone 'was the most earnest, sincere and that a fairer man never lived in the country'<sup>73</sup>. The news paper thought differently and accused Gladstone of being one of the most unconscientiously and unfair men that ever aspired to be the first minister of the crown. They proclaimed that Gladstone had been a member of almost every administration in the previous thirty years. He had been a member of several governments of the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, Lord Aberdeen, Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell and although not a member of Lord Derby's government of 1858-9 he accepted office under the administration, and voted with it, the paper claimed that true to form he joined the opposition to Derby's government the next day. The newspaper was claiming that Gladstone was an opportunist of the worst kind and could not for a moment be depended upon. They also take the opportunity to remind *The Scotsman* newspaper of what it had printed about Gladstone when he was included in the cabinet of Lord Aberdeen's government 'that he was the one black spot on the administration of all the talents'<sup>74</sup>

*The Journal* was now informing us that Gladstone in their opinion was 'the black spot on the disc of the present time and generation'<sup>75</sup> and as *The Scotsman* had thought in 1852 (*The Scotsman* at this time was a Conservative supporting paper) so should 'all wise men think now'<sup>76</sup>. The *Alloa Journal* is quite clear where its allegiance lay in Parliament and that was with Disraeli, it also described Adam as being the Kinrossshire candidate (the Blair Adam estates were in Kinrossshire) rather than being the candidate for the united counties.

The *Journal* gave its support to what it called the Clackmannanshire candidate the young Lord Erskine who they believed to have an independent position and although they had called Adams the Kinross candidate they do not by any means desire it to be inferred that Lord Erskine has no support in Kinrossshire, nor did they wish to set one county against another, but then state that the eastern county has had a great deal more than its fair share of parliamentary representation. *The Alloa Journal* stated that it is only asking for a 'fair field'<sup>77</sup> and no favour is asked, and they had no doubt that the heir to the chief of the ancient house of Erskine will commend himself to the

people of the United Counties and would elect him to represent them as an independent in the British House of Commons.

The comments against Adam that the *Alloa Journal* and some of the correspondents had referred too came to the fore because for the first time in many years there was a candidate opposing Adam in the constituency. That candidate was Lord Erskine, the eldest son of, The Earl of Kellie and Mar who was described by the Journal as supporting the Conservative interest in the county. Adam was on a whirlwind election tour of the main towns during August 1868; the meetings had attracted large crowds.<sup>78</sup> Adam took the opportunity to brief the audiences of where he stood on certain issues and what he thought would be the major issues in the next Parliament that would have to be resolved, giving us an insight into the main issues as perceived at the time. The first main issue in his opinion would be that of the Irish Church. He advocated the disestablishment and the disendowment of the Church of Ireland and had called upon every true Liberal to support the policy of Mr Gladstone, he especially appealed to the newly franchised voters to support this policy and appealed to them to support the party who had really tried against many difficulties to carry reform principles, which he believed were the principles of progress in the country. He informed his audience that it was all very well for the Conservatives, who were Liberals of yesterday to say that they were for the people, claiming that they had changed their principals, but not their true nature. He pointed to the strong case that the Liberal Party had put forward on the question of admission of dissenters to the emoluments of the English and Irish Universities, which the Conservatives had successfully blocked through the years, including the Bribery Bill and on many others that the Liberal party had not yet been able to succeed but hoped to do so in the future.

The Liberal Party's attitude to the issue of the Irish Church was called into question and they were accused only taken this up for party purposes, which he distinctly denied. He argued that the Liberals were bound to grapple with this question and if they had not done so they would not be deserving of the name, Liberal Party. The question was not whether Popery would be increased.



or whether the rights of property which would be respected, or the effect giving to the nonsense that had been talked about the coronation oath, but whether the Liberals could do justice to Ireland. The benefit of its disestablishment and disendowment would advance the cause of Protestantism and true religion. The benefit of disestablishment would do much to restore peace and respectability in Ireland. Adams we have to remember was from a family of dissenters.

His view on the Irish Church was totally opposite to the editorial in the *Alloa Journal*. The week after Adams electoral address, in which they pointed out to Adam that he knew well that the disaffected in Ireland would not be satisfied with the abolition of the Church of Ireland. What they wanted, the paper said was the supremacy of the Catholic Church and the civil powers to themselves, and until the Catholic Church was established, and the Union (Union of Great Britain and Ireland established in 1801) repealed, they would continue their agitation.<sup>79</sup>

Adam also supported a national and non-sectarian system of education for Scotland, again a great issue for the dissenters, other issues to gain his support were for the alteration of the game laws and for a large modification in the law of hypothec which in 1868 and for long before that date was a bone of contention within Scotland. In the neighbouring county of Stirling a Tory seat for twenty-five years and uncontested for most of that time was lost in 1865. The sitting MP, Peter Blackburn was dislodged as reported by the *Stirling Observer* a Conservative supporting newspaper which said 'the Game Law has really been the bug bear in this election, the more so as Blackburn had actively assisted in the passing of the Night Poaching Act'.<sup>80</sup> This reason was used by the Conservatives in other seats, blaming the Game Laws and Law of Hypothec as the bones of contention in the election.

Hypothec was a legal right giving the landlord absolute security for rent over a tenant's crop and livestock, and furnished far more effective protection than the English Rights of Distress. The economic result of hypothec, according to aggrieved farmers, was that landlords could impose very steep rentals in the confident knowledge that they would always be able to extort payment.

On the Reform Bill that had been pushed through by Disraeli's Conservative government he was rather scathing. The bill had been regarded as a Conservative success throughout the country, but all he would say was that speaking as a Liberal he would be sorry indeed to have any Liberal triumphs of the sort. Before he would consent to any such triumphs and give up in 1868 all the principles, which he had voted for in 1866, he would rather cut off his right hand. He informed us of what the real Conservatives were saying about this Conservative triumph, referring to a speech by Lord Cranbourne, now Lord Salisbury, who he regarded as a Tory of Tories. Salisbury had left the Conservative government as a result of his stance against the Reform Bill saying 'that it was impossible to tell how much this bill is altered since it passed the second reading. It then bristled with precautions, guarantees and securities, they have all disappeared.'<sup>81</sup> Adam tells us that he would like to see the demands of Mr Gladstone put side by side with improvements that had taken place in this bill, for he sees with enormous astonishment that the bill is spoken of as a Conservative triumph. If he Gladstone had anything to do with it, it can not be a Conservative triumph. Adam informed his audience that he was in the House when Lord Salisbury had uttered these words and that his fellow Conservatives had listened in astonishment and looked as if Salisbury had taken a great whip and struck them across the face, and explained 'that he never saw such dismay in the House.'<sup>82</sup>

Adams argued that certain demands that were brought forward by the Conservative's Reform Bill, the Liberals could not accept and though it included for household suffrage this was one that could not be accepted by the Liberal party, as it gave with one hand and took away with the other. He claimed that Mr Gladstone made certain demands, declaring that they might seem 'imperious but they were carried.'<sup>83</sup> They were the lodger tax, the prevention of corruption, the abolition of distinction between compounder and non compounder, the abolition of the taxing franchise, the dual vote to be omitted, redistribution to be enlarged, a large reduction of the county franchise, the educational franchise was not to be allowed, to name but a few. These were all claimed by Adam to be instigated by the Liberals and conceded by the Conservatives 'yet the bill is being

claimed as a Conservative triumph'.<sup>84</sup> Technically this statement by Adam is partly true as Disraeli had brought on board Liberal rebels who had favoured the Reform Bill, but the majority of the Liberals in Parliament voted against it.

Adam's electoral views could be regarded as common among the Liberal MPs from Scotland, especially the burgh MPs. The Conservative view from England was that it could not be expected that any burgh members from Scotland would under the existing order of 1867, join the Conservatives because the Conservative party was a landed interest, Church of England, middle class party in which the latter element was only just beginning to be recognised in 1867. The belief was that the Scotch Burghs were opposed to the landed interest elements of the Conservative party, because of the exceeding strictness of the old laws of entail which had concentrated the ownership of land into so few hands, which the writer in an understatement tells us that it had created inconvenience and dissatisfaction in Scotland.<sup>85</sup>

He also believed that the constituencies of the Scotch burghs were also opposed to the Church of England element in the Conservative party, as they were 'also traditional haters of Episcopacy'<sup>86</sup> and the belief was that they also disliked their own church establishment (The Church of Scotland). The writer also stated that the only chance there was of winning any of them over to the Conservative Party was to bring its middle class element into greater prominence, as this may excite in them a sympathy which would be sufficient to overpower or at least to moderate their antipathy to be associated with the friends of landowners and bishops.<sup>87</sup> This critic on the Scottish burghs was not far off the mark, but the striking thing is that he has grasped where the Tories could get votes in the Scots burghs by bringing in the middle class element in the burghs to support them, which was used in future elections and in turn brought in the skilled worker, especially the Protestant voter, into the Tory camp when the sectarian card was used by the Conservatives, later in the century.

Lord Erskine fighting the election for the Conservatives in the constituency fought the seat on the principle that he would reserve to himself entirely, independence of opinion on actions on

particular questions. He sets out his stall by considering that national education was one of the most important questions of the day in which he hoped to see a comprehensive measure introduced in the next parliamentary session. Education in which, while elementary religious instruction is not neglected, the conscientious scruples of parents and guardians will be respected and any considered scheme calculated to attain such results would receive his support.<sup>88</sup>

His opinion on the law of Hypothec and the Game laws is that 'he wished them to be revised, and they would cease to interfere with the friendly relations, which it is most important that should exist between landlord and tenant'.<sup>89</sup>

Also an interesting statement by Erskine was that 'he would give his earnest attention to any measure calculated to elevate the condition and increase the prosperity of the working classes, and he would gladly see the benefit societies made more secure in possession of their funds'.<sup>90</sup>

On the Church of Ireland issue he used a delaying tactic, until he has had an opportunity to consider the report of the commission that had been appointed to enquire into the state of the Church of Ireland and thought it premature to pledge himself to any particular course of action on the subject. He hoped however that a satisfactory means could be devised for doing away with existing anomalies in the church without the necessary of its disestablishment or disendowment. He also took the opportunity to say that he would consider it his first duty to attend to local affairs and the interests of the constituents.

Mar dropped out of the election which left Adam with a clear run, and was elected unopposed. The pledge by Mar before he retired from the race that to act as an independent mind on some issues, and the complaints by the *Alloa Journal* on Adam's stance for party and not of an independent mind has to be looked at in the make up of the House of Commons in 1868. At that date the vast majority of MPs were either Liberal or Conservative, but they were MPs first and foremost. The party machine as we have discussed was only in its infancy and governments were regularly defeated on votes in the commons despite having theoretical majorities, with members being swayed either by oratory or team loyalty to support their nominal leaders.

Adam was elected unopposed in 1868, fifty two of the sixty seats went to the Liberals. The main aspect of the new franchised electorate in Scotland which differed from England was that its size made it impossible to manipulate along the lines of the old system in all but a few seats. A commons enquiry found.

*In England tenants generally vote in accordance with their landlord's wishes. In Scotland it is known that in instance they voted in a body against their Landlords. This has been attributed partly to the nature of relations between landlords and tenants in Scotland, which are usually of a more strictly commercial character than in England , partly to the fact that the Scottish tenant farmers take a very warm interest in certain public questions in which they consider that their own and their landlords interests are not identical.*<sup>91</sup>

One of the main products of the Act was that the dominance of the Whig grandees, progressive members of the aristocracy passed to be replaced by the radicalism of men who owned their positions in society to talent and ability, not accident of birth. This put a stamp on Scottish politics which would last to almost the end of the century.<sup>92</sup> However it was to continue in Clackmannanshire well into the next century. The elected MPs of the area were all members of the landed classes. Although still Liberal, this could be claimed to be the remnants of the old style Whiggery in the county, with Adam in support as can be seen in 1874 as Adam's adjutant in Scotland reported that two of the sitting MPs, both somewhat Whiggish, retired, and reported that the city Whigs naturally put up two of their own to replace them.. 'Two good men got for Glasgow.'<sup>93</sup> Adam was becoming more concerned at a possible threat by the Conservatives to stand in the Liberal county strongholds, than with any potential in urban constituencies'.<sup>94</sup>

## **9. THE NEW ELECTORATE.**

The new 1868 electorate in Clackmannanshire changed the social economic grouping that were allowed to vote and although there was a massive increase in those allowed to vote in urban areas

such as Glasgow it was different in the county electorate as can be seen of Clackmannanshire, where the numbers eligible were similar to the pre-reform electorate after the cleaning up of the electoral roles took place.

**Table 5: The following tables show the social economic groupings of the Clackmannanshire county electorate in comparison to that of the Glasgow urban electorate for pre and post reform elections.**

|   | <b>Glasgow</b> |             | <b>Clackmannanshire</b> |             |
|---|----------------|-------------|-------------------------|-------------|
|   | No             | %           | No                      | %           |
| <b>Pre-reform electorate</b>                |                |             |                         |             |
| Upper business and professional             | 317            | 17.3        | 63                      | 13.5        |
| Lesser business, professional and clerical. | 860            | 47.0        | 220                     | 47.5        |
| Manual workers skilled                      | 413            | 22.9        | 155                     | 33.4        |
| semi skilled                                | 167            | 8.5         | 20                      | 4.3         |
| unskilled                                   | 79             | 4.3         | 6                       | 1.3         |
|   | <b>1836</b>    | <b>100%</b> | <b>464</b>              | <b>100%</b> |

|   | <b>Glasgow</b> |             | <b>Clackmannanshire</b> |             |
|---|----------------|-------------|-------------------------|-------------|
|   | No             | %           | No                      | %           |
| <b>Post-reform electorate</b>                 |                |             |                         |             |
| Upper business and professional               | 436            | 9.1         | 95                      | 9.8         |
| Lesser business and professional and clerical | 1209           | 25.2        | 376                     | 39.0        |
| Manual workers skilled.                       | 1659           | 35.0        | 384                     | 39.8        |
| Semi skilled                                  | 831            | 17.1        | 83                      | 8.6         |
| Unskilled                                     | 650            | 13.6        | 27                      | 2.8         |
|   | <b>4785</b>    | <b>100%</b> | <b>965</b>              | <b>100%</b> |

In dealing with the Clackmannanshire electorate I have taken out the voters who were eligible as proprietors of house or land as there is no way of knowing their occupations they totalled 218 voters which made up 18.4% of the vote. (For a complete list of voters occupations see appendix 11.)

The obvious observations from the tables are that in the post reform election it can be seen that in Glasgow there is a far bigger percentage in the semi and unskilled workforce than in Clackmannanshire. This can be easily accounted for in that most farm workers, which would be among this category, were not eligible to vote in county seats. These categories in Glasgow amounted to 30.7% almost a third of the voters where as in Clackmannanshire they only amounted to 11.4%.

In Clackmannanshire we can still see quite a dominance in the voters from the middle classes with there still being 48.8% and although a drop of 12% from the 1832 electorate is still a healthy percentage of the voting strength coming from the first two categories and in addition when you also take in the fact that we have not included those who are proprietors of land or houses, and that it is a county seat where land was a basis of wealth, it would be reasonable to conclude that in Clackmannanshire the middle classes still ruled the roost in voting strength.

The figures also show a large drop in the percentage of lesser business and professional and clerical jobs, especially in Glasgow where we have a 22% drop. In Clackmannanshire the figure is only 8.5%. In numerical terms in Clackmannanshire this category rose by 70% whilst in Glasgow the growth was only 40%.

What the figures show us was the unevenness of the voting franchise with the vast majority of the working class in Clackmannanshire still prevented from voting. This of course helped the Conservatives in the county seats especially in England. However in Scotland the Conservatives in the county seats had the problem of church dissenting voters in these areas. Who would not vote Conservative because that they were perceived to be the party of the established church in

Scotland, as a result many Tories believing that the new electorate would be mere cat's paws of the Dissenting clergy.<sup>95</sup>

## 10. CONCLUSION

For the first time in history the working classes in Britain formed a majority of the electorate and for many Conservatives and Liberals, the nightmare concept of democracy had apparently become a reality. However one sector of workers in 1868 had still not received the franchise was the farm worker. The largest recorded occupation category in the 1861 Census were agricultural labours, farm servants and shepherds, of which 1,188,789 were recorded and a further 250,000 were described as farmers or graziers.

The idea that Disraeli had was to settle the question on, but to stop short of giving the working class a majority; however Disraeli chopped and changed the details of the bill mainly to out manoeuvre Gladstone, this was done by doing a deal with a group of Liberal Radicals through James Clay, a Liberal but also a friend of Disraeli. A wrecking amendment by Gladstone was defeated with the Conservative MPs now rallying behind Disraeli. Details now no longer mattered it was smashing Gladstone that was paramount.

Disraeli had now removed the safe guards of the act; at a stroke he had added a million extra voters through the acceptance of amendments by Grosvenor Hodgeinson, the Liberal MP for Newark, that every rate payer should pay his rates personally rather than through their landlord. A similar amendment was being proposed by Gladstone's close associate Hugh Childers, but Disraeli was determined to avoid any credit being giving to Gladstone. The Reform Bill when passed was commented on by Lord Derby as a leap in the dark.<sup>96</sup> The outcome was that in the burgh seats the voting majority would swing to the working classes, however in the county the vote remained the same with the majority of voters being middle class, as shown by the figures in Clackmannanshire.



There has been great controversy among historians over why or how the 1867 Reform Act came about, which is not for this dissertation? What we do know is that it was passed in Scotland in 1868. If we take one of the reasons why Disraeli pursued reform, it was that he believed that a fuller democracy would create a popular conservatism which would rescue the Tory party from thirty years of Liberal domination; this did not happen in Clackmannanshire and did not stop the Liberal hegemony in Scotland.

In Clackmannanshire we can see some dissent being expressed in the local press against Adam the sitting Liberal MP, the main issues against Adam lay in two areas, the first was from the working classes who could not understand why the Liberal party, already the party of reform was so against the Disraeli bill. Even the normal Liberal press in the area the *Alloa Advertiser* came out against the bill and against what it saw as the democratic principle of the bill. Adam himself would not give it his tacit support, this from the Liberals, with their philosophy of freedom, which they liberally espoused as the freedom of individuals as Gladstone himself expressed in 1890. 'But the basis of Liberalism is this; it is the lesson which I have been learning ever since I was young. I am a lover of liberty, and that liberty which I have for myself, I value for every human being in proportion to his means and the opportunity.'<sup>97</sup> The appeal of Liberalism to a large segment of the population at this time was the widespread awareness of beneficial change and a growing impatience with privilege in all its forms. If this is true then why did the Liberals in Clackmannanshire come out against the Reform Bill and the Conservative press along with the working class support it. Was the Liberal Party an alliance of disparate groups unified by only a vague ideology and a dislike of the Conservatives and in particular its leader Disraeli. Did they, as expressed in Clackmannanshire have a fear that they would lose their sense of place and dominance in society that of being middle class and therefore entitled to dominate what they saw as the uncouth working classes? Their fear of being swamped as expressed at a reform meeting where they would not back or second a motion to support the working class to enable them to

vote, even when the hall had a large number of the employers of the area present, there was still no backing for the working classes.

The arguments used by Blackie indicate the belief that they, the middle classes, were the betters of the working classes and therefore they had the skills and the education to know best how the country should be run and that the issues involved were beyond the intelligence of the working classes.

Democracy was a club and the working classes were deemed not suitable for entry. Even when the Scottish Liberals were given the chance to increase the number of Scottish MPs they did not take it, why? Even more surprising was that the Liberals also turned down the chance of giving the urban voters in Alloa the vote, again Adam's motives for not backing this must be looked at.

What was even more surprising was that a Tory newspaper, the *Alloa Journal*, was supporting the rights of women to vote and its backing to the working classes, or did the Tory press and its supporters just see the Reform Bill as a way to strike back at the Liberals for years of frustration especially in Scotland, the smell of blood being too strong.

However what is apparent in Clackmannanshire was that the middle classes did not want the working classes, especially the farm workers to gain the vote for fear that they would be swamped not only in parliamentary politics but also in local politics where they completely dominated.

However the biggest loss was the hold the upper classes and the gentry held, with individuals such as Carlyle who bemoaned this loss and saw the educated upper class as the guardians of culture against the philistine middle class dissenters and the ignorant and brutal mob. Carlyle found release in vituperation, 'Manhood suffrage –universal glorious liberty, count of heads. The devil appointed way-the equality of men any man equal to any other, quasar nigger to Socrates or Shakespeare, Judas Iscariot to Jesus Christ'.<sup>98</sup>

However Disraeli saw more clearly that though the upper classes might cease to rule so obviously, they would continue to enjoy enormous advantages of wealth, tradition, connection and education and that the lower classes would largely continue to defer to them.

The upper classes were losing power slowly, now the middle classes were also starting to lose some of their grip although in Clackmannanshire their power looks to have been consolidated. But the genie is now out of the bottle, it had taken thirty six years from the first Reform Act and it would only be another 20 years till a full male suffrage was achieved and the coming of mass politics.

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<sup>1</sup> Eric J. Evans., Parliamentary Reform c 1770-1918,( London, 2000),p.124

<sup>2</sup> *Alloa advertiser*, 19<sup>th</sup> March 1859

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>8</sup> *Alloa Advertiser*, 2<sup>nd</sup> April 1859, (article reprinted from *The Times* )

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>12</sup> The Speakers of the House of Commons-From the Earliest Times to the Present 1911. ( London, 1914)

p.318

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*.p.319

<sup>14</sup> *Alloa Advertiser* ,25<sup>th</sup> November 1865

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>18</sup> Evans., *Parliamentary Reform*, p.47

<sup>19</sup> *Alloa Journal* ,17<sup>th</sup> February 1866

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid*

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36 Ibid  
37 Ibid  
38 Ibid  
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40 William Ferguson., Scotland 1689 to the Present. The Edinburgh History of Scotland, (Edinburgh, 1990)  
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43 Ibid  
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48 Ibid  
49 Evans., Parliamentary Reform, p.46  
50 Ibid.p.50  
51 *Alloa Advertiser*, 16<sup>th</sup> March 1867  
52 Ibid  
53 *Daily Mail* ,23<sup>rd</sup> May 1867  
54 *Alloa Journal*, 29<sup>th</sup> August 1869  
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56 Ibid  
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80 I.G.C. Hutchison., A Political History of Scotland. ( Edinburgh, 1986),p.107  
81 *Alloa Advertiser* ,22<sup>nd</sup> August 1868  
82 Ibid  
83 Ibid  
84 Ibid  
85 Henry Warwick Cole., The Middle Classes and the Borough Franchise. (London, 1866),p.53  
86 Ibid.p.53  
87 Ibid.p.54  
88 *Alloa Advertiser* ,7<sup>th</sup> August 1868

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid

<sup>90</sup> Ibid

<sup>91</sup> House of Commons papers, vi (115) loc. cit

<sup>92</sup> E. J. Cowan & R. Finlay., Scotland since 1688, (London, 2000),p.106

<sup>93</sup> Hutchison, Political History, p.134

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.p.134

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.p.134

<sup>96</sup> M. Bentley., Politics Without Democracy 1815-1894,( London, 1984), p.194

<sup>97</sup> M. Pearce & G Stewart, British Political History, ( London, 1992), p.28

<sup>98</sup> C.F. Smith., The Making of the Second Reform Bill, (London, 1966),p.242

## **Conclusion**

Most histories of class and society in Scotland deal with the working classes and their constant confrontation with the middle classes and the aristocracy, especially after the 1832 Reform Act where the aristocracy used the middle classes as their buffer between themselves and the working classes. The study of the middle classes in Scotland has been neglected and generally overlooked, however to enable us to perceive a complete picture of Scottish society more research is needed. This study is only a small part but throws enough light on the subject to warrant more investigation to complete the Scottish historical experience.

In looking at the social structure of Clackmannanshire there are three main possibilities for the management and government of that society by the elites in the county by using coercion, control and consent. The use of these social control methods in the management of a society offers an attractive combination of the exposure to the mechanism of power in an unequal society.

In Britain the prevailing thought on how society was run or controlled is summed up as a bit of all three. With a brief synopsis being as follows:

**Coercion**, this would involve active repression or restriction of rights. In mainland Britain this was used rarely in comparison with the rest of Europe. Britain was noted for its low level of political and industrial violence, it also had a remarkably small professional standing army, an unarmed and decentralised police force, and a tradition of widening civil and political liberties. Britain's strong army and navy were directed against its external enemies which weakened its capacity for internal coercion. Even when there were industrial disputes and troops were brought in they were always subordinated to civil authorities.

The monarchy was also constitutional not absolute, so Parliament was more democratic and the overall trend of Labour Laws between 1850 and 1914 as government policy on industrial relations was broadly favourable to trade unionism and free collective bargaining.

**Control**, this can be used in two ways, positive conditioning or exclusions of options. In Britain if the social order was based on control it must be mental rather than coercion. For this to succeed you would have to bring through a set of desirable moral values and behavioural norms, such as hard work, punctuality, respect for property and supervision which you could call social control.

This brings in especially class distinction through family life, work, religion, leisure, education, crime and policing. However this did not really apply in Britain. The middle class after 1832, was perceived as the moral do gooder's and might get their way in the beginning, but they invariably lost out, for example in education, the working classes sent their children to read and write not to be taught moral concepts.

**Consent.** In society this can be done in two ways, passive acceptance or active participation, which really relies on the independence of working class values and norms of behaviour. Thus giving rise to the theory that British society in this period could have been held together by consent because there were no real revolutionary tendencies. Therefore the theory of social control not seeming to work, with the working classes being left alone and both parties free to pursue their own goals and values. However this still leaves two possibilities, apathetic consent or positive consent.

Positive and apathetic consent could be seen in economic and social conditions which pushed working people to accept social order which created barriers for any revolution. Conditions and the quality of life were improving for the working classes as they began to accept urban life losing themselves in football, pubs and the music halls. However the social levels of the skilled and un-skilled working classes were also divisive within the group. It should also be remembered that poverty and the lack of available time and energy would have significantly weakened the political resources of the working classes, although this did not stop the French.

To sum up, working class relations with the middle classes was important to class consciousness; relationship between classes being crucial with each trying to defuse each other, more of a love hate relationship had developed, however by 1900 more hate. Both classes had worked together

before the 1832 Reform Act; however after the reform franchise this put both groups in different camps.

In looking at what type of structure Clackmannanshire was under, being a county seat made it easier for the middle classes to control, due to the smaller population numbers and its manufacturing base being controlled by the major families in the area within the towns. Within the farming/ landed areas in the county, these rural areas are already more conservative in their make up with peoples livelihood's and housing being tied to the whims of the farmers and landed classes, the farm workers and labourers having no representation at all either locally or nationally. With the 1835 Corporation Act and the Police Improvements Act in 1854, establishing local council's, the floundering of Chartism and the failure of the working class succeeding in its demands, led to a greater divide between the classes. If even some part of the Chartist's demands had been given the country might not have slipped into such a class divided society a situation that became more pronounced in Britain than any other major European country.

All classes had become more politically aware after the Chartist agitation, however the middle classes in Clackmannanshire were all for keeping what they had gained and became the gate keepers for the local state and its institutions, including the established church. They were making it clear that if the working class obey the rules they will let them sit at the table, albeit the bottom end where they would give them a hearing. 'Part entry, not full entry'.

The question to be asked therefore was the middle classes to blame for entrenching and defining class structure in Scotland therefore enabling them to take an important role within Victorian society which would be built on their rules and definitions, with this study on Clackmannanshire giving answers to these assertions.

In looking at the Clackmannanshire model an argument can be made for the use and attempt at social control of society by the middle classes within the area by using social control methods.

In order to develop a realistic explanation from these theoretical categories we have to ask what people constituted the ruling class, who or what was the state and who or what the government



was.<sup>1</sup> If any ruling class had designed social policy or coercion as a mechanism of control we have to decide whether that ruling class was composed essentially of civil servants, politicians or financiers with corporate interest or did representatives from each of these groups constitute its make up?<sup>2</sup> At the same time we must ask who made policy and whether these groups are the same as those we have included in the ruling class. Again the evidence in Clackmannanshire bears out all of these points.

The new burgh council (civil servants) was made up from the middle classes, politicians are nationally from the landed class and locally from the middle classes and the main financiers are from the middle class elites such as the Patons and Youngers.

If we look at the towns in Clackmannanshire, especially Alloa we can see the use of social control methods by the middle classes which gives them hegemony. Using Gramsci's theory that the state was the chief instrument of coercing force, (substitute the state for the local elites in Clackmannanshire). The winning of consent being achieved by the institutions of civil society, e.g., family, church and trade unions. Hence the more prominent is civil society the more likely that hegemony is achieved by ideological means which can be seen.

Another feature of the middle class hegemony, which falls in nicely with Althusser's theory of 'ideological state apparatus' the argument being that capitalism as a productive system reproduces the conditions of production 'on a expanded scale' the argument being a sub-mission to the rules of the established order, with the consent of society as a whole, since the state is understood to be neutral, above class interests, and in the long term interests of the continued hegemony of capital and the ruling class bloc. Therefore one of the major criteria in the hegemony of the middle classes is the securing of legitimacy and winning consent for them to dominate. Which is crucial to Gramsci's concept of hegemony? Since it is through them that the dominant classes can use the field of ideologies positively to construct hegemony, and in turn through them that the dominant system comes to win a certain acceptance from the dominated classes.<sup>3</sup>

Which in turn would give use the bourgeois- liberal form of democracy through consent. With the selective forms of social knowledge made available. 'This consensus which free and sovereign individuals and their will, will spontaneously flow into it. Therefore we have consent for the hegemony by the middle class elites in this coming together into a consensus which legitimates the exercise of power'.<sup>4</sup>

With all these strands being linked then social control theories were being applied and used in Clackmannanshire and the town of Alloa. This does not mean that they worked totally in all aspects but were working enough to give the middle classes control of society. However no matter what class you were bracketed in, using social control theories on a society would bring in norms that everybody would be asked to conform too, to some degree.

The evolution of the middle classes in Clackmannanshire takes a rapid step forward after the 1832 Reform Act and is the main starting point of their hegemony. The 1832 Reform Act never really changed the background of person that would represent them as their MP in Scotland as between 1832 and 1868 more than 80% were still recruited from the landed aristocracy and their relatives in the armed forces and the law. Where the middle classes were to come to the fore was locally in the burghs and towns as the first reform meeting in Alloa informed us that they were pushing for what they believed "as the duty of the middling classes of society, with their duty being to take care that the people do not overstep the bounds of moderation and it will be for them the middle classes to hold the balance between the aristocracy and the great body of the people".<sup>5</sup>

A turning point in Scottish working class radical history was caused by the parliamentary reform crisis of 1830-1832 which was to change future popular protest into a more definite perceived class struggle. The fight for the extension of the voting franchise was seen in many places as a battle between the working and middle classes against the aristocracy (old corruption). This was evident in the Great Reform meetings which took place during the campaign. The salient characteristics of those who spoke for the disenfranchised was that they came from every rank of

society. The speakers would frame their attacks on the old order in the language of justice and equality, rather than with any great appeals to the interest of class as we have seen with the speeches made in reform rallies in Clackmannanshire.

Henry Cockburn the leading Whig suggested that if the working class radicals were not disturbing the public peace but were providing the rising bourgeoisie with the muscle of an extra-parliamentary force, then they were seen to be serving a very useful purpose, but he was also haunted by the potential political power of the masses. "They are most dangerous engines. If the force be one experienced they may easily be applied to all other questions."<sup>6</sup> The interaction of a literate and educated, if inarticulate working class committed to radicalism rendered them volatile, unstable and dangerous to the established social order, especially in the towns and cities where fear of the mob was highest because of the numbers that could be turned out at demonstrations. One reform demonstration organised by the trade unions drew 200,000 and the fear this engendered was summed up by Sir William Rae MP for Bute "because it was well known that Scotchmen seldom came together in a multitude without causing bloodshed or at least a riot."<sup>7</sup>

The undercurrent of popular discontent was again to break out with the rise of Chartism. Henry Cockburn had thought that the Reform Bill would put an end to radicalism, however he was wrong. In Clackmannanshire only 4.5% of the male population out of 14,729 could vote. The majority of those who had the vote did not support any further extension, being afraid of the danger from the uneducated masses. George Abercromby, MP for Clackmannanshire proclaimed in the *Stirling Journal* in 1843, attempting to reassure its readers that he was opposed to universal suffrage, this left radicalism to become more of a working class movement.

However in the county between 1832 and 1866 there were only three contested elections which leaves the parliamentary power of the county with the landed classes and within their controlling influence (apart from a very short period when Johnstone was the MP), of the Abercromby and Adam families, both of whom were in the Whig/ Liberal camps.

This middle class became a much more powerful group with their own philosophy in Scotland during the Victorian period, as can be seen in Clackmannanshire they pushed for recognition from the aristocracy and the great landowners in the area. They became the power holders and brokers in most of the institutions of power and authority in the county.

The middle classes power and influence rose within the judiciary in Clackmannanshire where they took control over the courts through positions as lawyers, sheriff deputies, clerks of courts, procurator fiscals and justice of the peace. These positions of power were used to crush Chartist agitation in the area; no support for the Chartists came from the local MP, the county establishment or the local press which was middle class controlled. With the Chartists broken this allowed the middle classes to take more prominence in the control of local society. The new burgh councils brought in more legislation, which in turn brought more people, the vast majority being working classes into conflict with the authorities and were now being criminalised for what had before been normal behaviours. In 1856 the urban middle classes were able to join the landed dominated Commissioners of Supply in Clackmannanshire which brought the urban middle classes to the table of the rural elite.

The middle classes joined with gusto the new militia and volunteer movements in Clackmannanshire, these units were designed to meet the needs of the professional and business classes. The new volunteer movements governed themselves and were beyond the formal and informal control of the Lieutenancy. Due to their position in society the upper middle classes took the officers positions with no reference sought to their suitability.

The increasing industrialisation of Clackmannanshire brought the employer into a more prominent role in society and in the process the employer was able to take more control over the employee's lives. For example the Patons had controlled employment, schooling, and used philanthropy with gifts to the community of a town hall, schools, a swimming pool and churches to name a few. They took positions in School Boards, Commissioners of Supply, politics and the

church. The Youngers who had large brewery interests in the area were also into politics locally and eventually nationally and also used paternalism as a policy in their businesses.

Paternalism is also a policy of social control, but also involves for those on the receiving end. Paternalism is a loss of liberty that can be expressed through the provision of benefits in kind rather than cash, with such benefits as housing and education, thus eliminating choice completely or significantly, consequently the recipient loses the right of disposal and is constrained by the character of the benefit.<sup>8</sup>

The Marxist and Socialist view towards social welfare is that it was only tolerated by the middle classes by the promise of a stable society, which is the prime directive requirement for a capitalist society to grow. Therefore if the stability of that society is threatened by poverty and disease then the option is open for the elites in the county to introduce a positive social policy to manage and stabilise these problems and in doing so stabilise the economy, thus keeping the balance of power, especially in Britain, with the middle and upper classes who of course profit more from a stable capitalist society.<sup>9</sup>

The idea of a society based on class therefore adds weight to the Marxist argument in its analysis of social policy in that the ruling classes' main preoccupation in a capitalist society is efficiency and stability and therefore the intent of social policy is deliberate to achieve those aims. Welfare legislation was therefore accordingly designed to prevent the physical depreciation of Britain's workforce to increase its efficiency and receptiveness to new methods of manufacture and to sustain industrial discipline. As Joe Melling argues, 'the provision of welfare in these cases was based on a rational cost/ benefit basis or with an overtly strategic purpose behind it. It was therefore, in the small towns and isolated industrial villages, where the employers had a near monopoly in the labour market, controlled housing, and through acts of public benevolence was able to extend the workplace authority beyond the walls of the factory, that paternalism was a realistic and highly beneficial employer strategy,'<sup>10</sup> as evidenced by the Patons who controlled their workers education, housing and religious needs.

These arguments however rely on the principle that the welfare policies are exercised by the state on behalf of a homogenous ruling class. However Britain with its emerging party political system and different social groups did not have one homogeneous group, but many different groups. What can be argued was that social policy can be interpreted as in the main a product of values and interests of dominant social groups within a capitalist society. Therefore in Clackmannanshire the dominant social group was the middle classes who were a homogenous group and a major part of the ruling class in the area. Therefore social reforms and paternalist policies were used as a local effort to try and meet social needs to benefit all in society and were an attempt to resolve conflicting economic and other interests along social class lines, and in doing so performed a vital part in the process by which the status quo was sustained in a maturing capitalist society and was essentially a conservative role designed to strengthen social solidarity and to provide a shock absorber for capitalism rather than a mechanism of radical social change.

In looking at Clackmannanshire during the period in trying to find who is 'Governing and Managing Scottish Society', the research shows that in every area of power and position in the county, from politics, church, education, industry, commerce and the law we see the rise and rise of a middle class junta who were out to take a strangle hold of the county and in the process the middle class tried to impose and mould the working classes into their concepts and values. Their attempt to control society was by the use of social control methods, either openly or covertly in an effort to construct their vision of society.

Class distinction was widely used by the 1830s however the middle classes went all out during the Victorian period to widening class distinctions between themselves and the working classes; they became detached from the working classes socially, and in housing, where the middle classes moved into new areas populated by their own kind. The wives and children of the middle classes did not work, setting up what is referred to as different spheres. By 1842 the middle

classes in Scotland represented 14% of the population in Clackmannanshire this was 9.9%, by 1881 it was 16% in Scotland and 11% in Clackmannanshire.<sup>11</sup>

In previous centuries it was mainly only money or status that was needed to move into the middle classes now it was becoming more a set of values, especially differentiated by education which built a large barrier between classes, these also included what part of town you came from, or were born into. As to closer identification with the middle classes research on marriage registers in the period has shown that there was minimal mobility between the working and middle classes, and workers viewed raising themselves socially within the context of the class they were part of. This happened quickly in Clackmannanshire as families who had been working class in 1832, by the 1867 reform campaign they had become middle class and were not for giving the working class support during the reform campaign.

Home became no part of business, but a place to display possessions, with notion of space and order becoming vital to the middle class view of the world. This middle class mindset as can be seen in Clackmannanshire enabled them to become very distinct in the community, and became the most socially cohesive class.

In looking at middle class attitudes in Clackmannanshire they back up the arguments made by W.W.Knox that “respectability was thus a culture of exclusion. It sought to reproduce the status hierarchies of the workplace in the wider society and shore up gender divisions by increasing the dependency of woman on men. Respectability from whatever point of examination was, thus ultimately divisive”<sup>12</sup> which demonstrates how the middle class were propagating class structure for themselves in a classic divide and rule tactic, to divide the working classes who at best were a very loose grouping. The reaction of the working classes to the middle classes changed as the middle classes took control of the new town councils in Clackmannanshire and became dominant. In Victorian Scotland the most important distinction was between respectability and non respectability was seen with the middle classes in their veneration of home, family, country and patriotism, they believed that they were the only ones who could represent the country as the

betters of the working class with their bourgeois ethic which stressed hard work, seriousness, competition and religious observance as the hall marks of individual and national progress.

The local councils in the area as per the study were all run by the middle classes; local government was not seen in party lines. Liberals and Conservatives in an attempt at what they saw as good governance worked together and rarely differentiated in policy. The Burgh Commissioners set up a local police force that could be used to back up any legislation that they brought in. With more legislation, there became more criminal offences, which the working classes were being caught up in and were being arrested in larger numbers for minor offences of disorder. The working classes were becoming subject to a greater degree of surveillance and interference by the new police forces that were perceived by some of the working class as a tool of the middle classes.

More regulations were brought in for the control and protection of property especially that of the middle classes and their way of life. The rest of society was left therefore to make a living within the parameters set by the middle classes and backed up by the landed classes.

The radical movement also produced a reaction against the established church (the Church of Scotland) Church ministers depended on the patronage of the local Lairds, and supported the political status quo, with little sympathy for the poor. Poverty was something to be ashamed of while the charity of the rich was a virtue. Many of those who were not willing to bear their poverty with humility found little to attract them to the established church, and all sorts of secessionist's churches and religious sects began appearing at the time, with Clackmannanshire having more church members outside the National church.

The dissenting congregations in the county also helped the middle classes gain control through responding to the call of evangelicalism, which for the Victorian middle classes was a source of identity, affirming separateness from the older landed elites and from the working classes. The dressing in Sunday best clothes, the sense of belonging conferred by the family name inscribed at the end of the family pew all affirming bourgeois values and separateness through the power of



missionary work to improve society. Congregations were rarely, if ever purely composed of the middle classes, but as towns and cities grew in size between 1750 and 1900 there was a strong tendency for congregations especially of the dissenters, to become more socially different<sup>13</sup>.

The control the church had on people was finally broken in the Victorian age especially with the schism in the Church of Scotland in 1843. This led to the local authorities taking over areas that had been under the jurisdiction of the church, education and the Poor Law, in Clackmannanshire these institutions were all again controlled by the middle classes. Education especially fell into the hands of the middle classes and became a middle class domain, which accelerated after the 1872 Education act which introduced the secondary school system which unified the middle classes even more and accentuated its social distinctions.

The established church ministers in Clackmannanshire as discussed were not supportive of the working classes with regards to the poor role and why people were on the role. McNab's legacy which built Dollar Academy is a prime example of the authorities including the ministers, press and the local landowner's contempt for the poor. They went to court to overturn the legacy which intended to educate the poor, but was then used to educate the middle class with the result that Dollar Academy became one of the finest educational establishments for the middle classes in Scotland.

Social control was used in Clackmannanshire in all forms, either consciously or unconsciously by the aristocracy and the ruling middle classes in the area, especially the upper middle classes with the lower middle classes approving and joining in on what would be a shared value of middle class concepts to be forced on the rest of society in Clackmannanshire.

Arguments are always made that it was working class consciousness that was presumed to bring about class conflict, however this study of Clackmannanshire shows the alternative, that it was the middle classes who propagated and intensified class conflict and divided the social structure of Scotland, which left the working class no alternative, than to resist in any way they could.

Clackmannanshire MPs were all from the aristocracy or the very upper middle classes with large ties to the area especially through land holdings. The Lieutenancy of the area was always in the hands of the aristocracy as was the county sheriff with the lower legal positions in the county being in the hands of the middle classes. The local councils in the area were all middle class run and the Commissioners of Supply were in the hands of the landowners and the urban middle classes. This also included the Poor Law, education, temperance organisations, police, the medical and library board, with the library board even trying to dictate what the working classes should be allowed to read. The middle classes and the land owners in the county held all the power within the institutions of the area and were able to employ people who thought as themselves and therefore they also became the gatekeepers in regards to all policy within the county. The established church was also middle class run with the ministers all tied into their patrons wishes. There was no working class representation in any areas of influence within the county. The working class were so fragmented and diverse throughout the county that to lump them in as one class looks futile, however a class that was more congealed and talked as one was the middle classes.

The concentrated local canvas offered in this thesis gives us a total history of social and political change in the county. In looking at this time frame of forty years we see a vast change in the make up of society in Clackmannanshire during its rapid period of industrialisation, a concentrated local canvas in the area has shown how middle class hegemony had been achieved in such a short time with little or no great set backs to middle class control or the application of middle class attitudes in the area, which we see little comment on by the landed classes or any attempt by the MP in the area to control this middle class hegemony. Although Clackmannanshire has a history of radicalism, including working class radicalism and a dissenting church tradition the area is mainly conforming to the Victorian middle class agenda over the period. The population in the area have shown

that they do have a Scottish identity; however they are tied into the British concept through the Westminster Parliament and the Monarchy where they still feel that these instruments are the vehicle where they will achieve change in social conditions as a whole.

The Scottish historical experience during this period as detailed in the popular histories on Scotland is mainly based on the four big cities, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee and Edinburgh and the major industrial towns in the West of Scotland. We have to remember that most of the population of the country lived outside these areas therefore I would conclude that the historical experience in Scotland may be closer to the Clackmannanshire findings for a greater part of the population. Therefore before a complete picture of Scotland can be established more historical research has to be carried out within the small county towns and their rural surrounds with regards to their politics and social cohesion, which as this dissertation suggests could show a different perspective on social interrelation regarding class structure in Scotland.

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<sup>1</sup> Joan Higgins., Social Control Theories of social Policy ,Journal of Social Policy 9-1, 1-23, p.22

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.p.22

<sup>3</sup>S. Hall., 'Culture, the Media and the Ideological Effect', J. Curran, Gurevitch, Woollocot, Editors, Mass Communications and Society.(London, 1977) ,p.338

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.p.339

<sup>5</sup> Stirling Journal 6<sup>th</sup> January 1831

<sup>6</sup> Karl Miller., Cockburn's Millennium, (London, 1977),p.108

<sup>7</sup> Norman Gash., Politics in the Age of Peel, (Hassocks, 1977),p.48

<sup>8</sup> Higgins, Social Policy, p.18

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. p.3

<sup>10</sup> W.W. Knox., Industrial Nation, Work culture and Society in Scotland, (Edinburgh, 1999),p.108

<sup>11</sup> For class details in Clackmannanshire, see, [www.visionofbritain.org.uk/data](http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/data). Clackmannanshire through time.

<sup>12</sup> W.W. Knox., Industrial Nation, Work Culture and Society in Scotland, 1800-Present, (Edinburgh, 1999), p.103

<sup>13</sup> Callum G. Brown, Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707, (Edinburgh, 1997), p.107

## **APPENDISIS**

### **Appendix 1.**

#### **List of Clackmannanshire Historical Resources.**

Clackmannanshire main library is situated in Alloa where they store the main archive material for Clackmannanshire.

The material is split into the following categories.

- A) Private deposits, such as temperance associations, local companies, bowling clubs, Masonic lodges etc.
- B) Local Authorities, Alloa, Alva, Dollar, Tillicoultry, registers of Sasines, maps and plans etc.
- C) Patons and Baldwins Archives.
- D) Johnstone of Alva Papers.
- E) Local Newspapers complete with card index.

For more information contact:-

Archivist, Library services

Drysdale St

Alloa

FK10 1JL.

Web address [www.clacksweb.org.uk/culture/localhistoryandlocalstudies/](http://www.clacksweb.org.uk/culture/localhistoryandlocalstudies/)

## **APPENDIX 2.**

### **Petition from the pro-reform meeting at Alloa to Parliament 1831.**

I have listed these in full as it gives some good facts on Clackmannanshire at this time.

- 1) That the existing system of representation in Scotland as regards both counties and burgh is founded on the principal of limiting the elective franchise to an extremely small number of persons to the exclusion of the whole of the other classes of the community and that such a system is pernicious in its effect by the amount of sympathy of opinion thereby produced between

the persons elected and that position of the community which he is presumed to represent. by representing a cordial and warm attachment of the people to the government and institutions of the country.

2) That the union with England in 1707, this county was comparatively insignificant in wealth and population and united with the county of Kinross in making an alternative return of a member to parliament.

The advancement of the county since that period in population, wealth, commerce and manufacture is unrivalled by any other division of Scotland of equal extent. From this the smallest county in Scotland extending to 52 square miles and a population of 15000 or 288 per square mile, which exceeds in density that of any other county in this portion of the kingdom.

There has been paid into the exchequer in excise, customs and taxes the annual sum reckoning by the average over the last two years 1828/29, of £240,097, and this town (Alloa) and parish counting a population of 6,000 are represented, even by electors at a county election alone. and there by a single voter. The Town being simply a Burgh of Barony and therefore unconnected with the burgh representation, and this whole parish being the property of two peers and three commoners, with only one of the latter who posses the vote in the county derived from such property.

3) That at the last county election the number of voters was six including the member returned.

4) That a petition therefore be presented to Parliament praying that the petitioners may be more adequately represented.

5) That the petition to the House of Lords be transmitted to the Lord high Chancellor and that to the commons by the Honourable Colonel Abercromby MP for the county and that they be respectfully requested to present them and support the prayer there off.

6) That a committee be appointed to carry these resolutions into effect, and otherwise to take charge of the whole matter, and this committee to consist of the following )'

|                    |          |             |              |
|--------------------|----------|-------------|--------------|
| Mr. Alexander Bald | Mr. Roy  | Mr. Ritchie | Mr. P Duncan |
| Mr. R McClaren     | Mr. Syme | Mr. Gibson. |              |

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Details from the Stirling Journal 6<sup>th</sup> January 1831.

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### **APPENDIX 3.**

#### **Anti-reform petition.**

These resolutions give us an insight into the arguments used by the anti-reformers.<sup>1</sup> They were:-

No 1) That all members of this meeting are warmly attached to his Majesties person and home and to the British constitution.

No 2) That this meeting recognizes the propriety of a free and dispassionate consideration and correction of any specific abuses or defects which may be shown practically to exist in the constitution, but is convinced of the ruinous consequence that would arise from any general reconstruction of the constitution.

No 3) That this meeting has observed with feelings of gratification, that no further erosion of Peers has been resorted to for the purpose of carrying a particular measure notwithstanding suggestions to that effect from various quarters, which if acted upon would have led to the destruction of the house of Lords as an independent branch of the legislature.

No 4) That this meeting regrets that the rejection of the late Reform Bill by the House of Lords should have been made a pretext for inciting the ignorant and unwary to acts of violence, being assured that in coming to that resolution, the honourable House of Lords was actuated by the most sincere anxiety for the best interests of the country, and that the members of this meeting, whilst they express their earnest desire for the welfare of every class of the community are determined as individuals to use their best endeavours for the preservation of public peace and the support of law and order.

No5) That this meeting can not separate without expressing their reprobation of those political societies, the object of which has been to overawe his Majesties councils, and the deliberation of Parliament.

No6) That a dutiful and loyal address, founded on these resolutions is represented to his Majesty, and that his Grace the Duke of Buccleugh be requested to present the same. <sup>1</sup>

#### APPENDIX 4.

List of people accused of supporting the anti-reform campaign in the village off Blairlogie were as follows:-

Alex Bald, Donean McLaren, William Fell, Archibald Abercromby, James McEwan, Robert Henderson, Thomas Alexander, John Alexander, James Dawson, William Robb, Andrew Robb, John Dawson, Alex Scott, James Wright, James Robertson, James Dawson, James Spence, John Telford, Andrew Robb, James Drysdale, William Alexander, John Archibald, John Giles, James Brand, John Stevenson, David Haig Alex Ballions, John McLeish, John Hunter, John Foreman, Andrew Jack, James foreman, James Paton, Thomas Foreman, Walter Archibald, James Dawson, John McKay, Colin Wright, John Doeg, Alex Stuart.

Extract from the Stirling Journal 1<sup>st</sup> December 1831.

#### APPENDIX 5.

**Full list of voters and their occupations in the first reformed election in Clackmannanshire.**

The list of occupations that were recorded against the new voters and how they voted can be shown in the following table.

|                       | ADAM | BRUCE | DNV | TOTAL |
|-----------------------|------|-------|-----|-------|
| Old Freeholder        | 3    | 5     | 7   | 15    |
| Proprietor            | 14   | 11    | 6   | 31    |
| Officer/Mil/Nav<br>al | 2    | 2     |     | 4     |
| Farmer                | 46   | 47    | 21  | 114   |
| Feuar                 | 22   | 8     | 4   | 43    |
| Minister (Co S.)      |      | 2     | 3   | 5     |
| Minister<br>(Dissent) | 2    |       | 1   | 3     |
| Preacher              | 1    |       |     | 1     |
| Physician             |      | 3     |     | 3     |
| Surgeon               | 2    |       | 2   | 4     |
| Writer                | 1    | 2     |     | 3     |
| Advocate              |      | 1     | 1   | 2     |
| Schoolmaster          | 5    | 2     |     | 7     |
| Innkeeper             | 4    | 2     | 1   | 7     |
| Spirit Dealer         |      | 1     |     | 1     |
| Grocer                | 8    | 3     | 1   | 12    |
| Baker                 | 3    | 2     |     | 5     |

|                            |            |            |           |            |
|----------------------------|------------|------------|-----------|------------|
| Flesher                    | 4          | 3          |           | 7          |
| Tailor                     |            |            |           |            |
| Shoemaker                  | 11         | 1          |           | 12         |
| Bookseller                 | 1          |            | 1         | 2          |
| Linen Draper               | 1          |            |           | 1          |
| Mason                      | 10         | 3          | 1         | 14         |
| Wright                     | 7          | 2          |           | 9          |
| Millwright                 | 2          |            |           | 2          |
| Cartwright                 | 1          |            |           | 1          |
| Slater                     | 2          |            |           | 2          |
| Builder                    | 1          | 1          |           | 12         |
| Smith                      | 9          | 2          | 1         | 12         |
| Coppersmith                | 1          |            |           | 1          |
| Cabinetmaker               | 3          |            |           | 3          |
| Manufacturer               | 13         |            |           | 13         |
| Weaver                     | 9          |            |           | 10         |
| Bleacher                   | 1          |            | 1         | 2          |
| Distiller                  | 5          |            | 1         | 6          |
| Brewer                     | 3          | 3          |           | 6          |
| Maltster                   | 1          | 3          | 1         | 5          |
| Maltman                    | 1          |            | 1         | 2          |
| Cooper                     | 1          | 1          | 1         | 3          |
| Merchant                   | 19         | 5          | 4         | 28         |
| Corn Merchant              | 1          | 1          |           | 2          |
| Wood Merchant              | 1          |            |           | 1          |
| Cattle Dealer              | 1          |            |           | 1          |
| Carter                     | 7          | 1          | 1         | 9          |
| Carrier                    | 4          |            |           | 4          |
| Gardener                   | 1          |            | 2         | 3          |
| Labourer                   | 5          | 1          |           | 6          |
| Ship-owncrs-<br>Alloa      | 3          | 1          | 3         | 7          |
| Ship-owners.<br>Kincardine | 19         | 1          | 3         | 23         |
| Shipmaster                 | 2          | 1          | 2         | 5          |
| Shipbuilder                | 1          |            | 1         | 2          |
| Master of Ferry            | 1          |            |           | 1          |
| Boatman                    | 1          |            |           | 1          |
| Blockmaker                 | 1          |            |           | 1          |
| Coal Manager               | 2          |            |           | 2          |
| Mining<br>Engineer         | 1          |            |           | 1          |
| Coal Grieve                | 1          |            |           | 1          |
| Overseer                   | 1          |            |           | 1          |
| Other*                     | 9          | 9          | 3         | 21         |
| <b>TOTAL</b>               | <b>284</b> | <b>133</b> | <b>74</b> | <b>491</b> |

\*Other occupations -

Adam - an agent, a potter, a printer, a road contractor, a tollkeeper, a saddler, a salter, a sawycr and a tanner.



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Bruce - an auctioneer, a factor, a messenger at arms, a sheriff's officer, a moulder, a multurer, a forester, a musician and the manager at Kennetpans.

(DNV), did not vote - a saddler, a multurer and the tacksman at Cambus Mills.

Abstract from J.I Brash, the Voters of Clackmannan in 1832, Forth Naturalist Historian (1992)

A feur was a small proprietor of ground on which they paid feu duties to a superior with most of them being part of the town and village population with the same occupations as other "ten pounders.

## APPENDIX 6.

COMMISSION BY KING GEORGE IV IN FAVOUR OF JOHN TAIT

FROM MINUTE-BOOK OF COURT - 7 JULY 1829

GEORGE R. - We do by these presents nominate, constitute, and appoint our trusty and well-beloved John Tait, Esquire, advocate, to be Sheriff-Depute *ad vitan aut cuplam* of the shires or sheriffdoms of Clackmannan and Kinross, in that part of our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland called Scotland, in the room and place of Sir James Moncrieff, whom we have appointed one of the judges of our Court of Session, giving and granting unto him the said office of Sheriff-Depute of the said shires or sheriffdoms of Clackmannan and Kinross, with a salary of three hundred pounds by the year, and all powers, jurisdictions, and authorities, profits, benefits, fees, casualties, and immunities thereunto belonging, as fully and freely in all respects and conditions as any Sheriff-Depute within that part of our said United Kingdom doth or may enjoy the like office, according to the laws and constitution thereof, and the statute made in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of our late royal great-grandfather of glorious and happy memory, and all other statutes in that case made and provided, with power to him to nominate and appoint substitutes under him, for whom he shall be answerable for the uplifting, compting for, and making payment into our Exchequer of the feuduties, retours and blanch duties, and other duties and casualties belonging to us, or which did formerly belong to our predecessors, and now used and accustomed to be uplifted, competed for, and paid, and for performing the other duties and services that Sheriffs-Depute are obliged by the laws of Scotland and the nature and duty of their offices; and our further pleasure is that the said John Tait do procure these presents to be registered in the office of the Director of our Chancery in Scotland within the space of three months form the date hereof.

-Given at our Court at Windsor the twenty-ninth day of May 1829, in the tenth year of our reign.  
By His Majesty's command,

(Signed) Rob. Peel

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**APPENDIX No 7.**

**From the Clackmannanshire Advertiser of 14<sup>th</sup> January 1853 -**

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**NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN** that in virtue of the power contained in an Act passed in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> year of the Reign of Town and Populous Places in Scotland and for Paving, Draining, Cleansing, Lighting and Improving the Same. The Occupiers of premises in the Burgh of Alloa within the boundaries following, see Sheriffs Deliverance of the 27<sup>th</sup> ultimo, of the real yearly rent or value of £10 or upwards are hereby required to meet upon Thursday 19<sup>th</sup> day of January next, at 12.00 of the clock noon within the Assembly Room in Alloa when said Act shall be laid before the meeting with the view of adopting it in whole or part.

**Dated at Alloa 28<sup>th</sup> Day of December 1853**  
**Signed N. Bennet Clark Sheriff**

**APPENDIX 8.**

**NAMES AND HOUSE VALUATIONS OF ALL HOUSEHOLDERS IN THE BURGH OF ALLOA WHO WERE ELIGIBLE TO VOTE IN THE FIRST COUNCIL ELECTION OF 1854.**

| <b>A.</b>                       | <b>£</b> | <b>s</b> | <b>d</b> |
|---------------------------------|----------|----------|----------|
| William Archibald, Shillinghall | 23       | 10       | 0        |
| Robert O. Arnott, Mar Street    | 17       | 0        | 0        |
| Alloa Baking Company            | 15       | 0        | 0        |
| Robert Arthur, Candle Street    | 10       | 0        | 0        |
| George Aitken, Carrier          | 10       | 0        | 0        |
| Thomas Anderson, Shipbuilder    | 135      | 0        | 0        |
| Alloa Gas Company               | 60       | 0        | 0        |
| Alloa Coal Company              | 65       | 0        | 0        |
| <b>B.</b>                       |          |          |          |
| Peter Brotherston, Surgeon      | 25       | 0        | 0        |
| Alexander Blair, Brewer         | 110      | 0        | 0        |
| John Baird, Junior Baker        | 13       | 0        | 0        |
| Alexander Bean, Mill Street     | 22       | 0        | 0        |

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|                                     |    |   |   |
|-------------------------------------|----|---|---|
| John Bain, Mill Street              | 22 | 0 | 0 |
| David Brown, Mill Street            | 15 | 0 | 0 |
| James Barnsley, Mill Street         | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Rev.Peter Brotherston, Broad Street | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| Andrew Black, Watchmaker            | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Matthew Brydie, Mill Street         | 35 | 0 | 0 |
| Geroge Borthwick Mill Street        | 33 | 0 | 0 |
| Geroge Brownlie, Mill Street        | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| William Baird, Mar Street           | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Black & Brownhill, Bakers           | 22 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Bryde, Banker                | 45 | 0 | 0 |
| George Bruce, Forth Street          | 12 | 0 | 0 |
| Andrew Bruce, Forth Street          | 12 | 0 | 0 |
| William Duncan Bruce, Schoolmaster  | 22 | 0 | 0 |
| Alexander Bain, Bedford Place       | 12 | 0 | 0 |
| George Bennett, Glass Works         | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| Alexander Bald, Craigward           | 70 | 0 | 0 |
| John Brownhill, Lyatt Street        | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Samual Brangan, Mill Street         | 16 | 0 | 0 |

**C.**

|                                     |    |   |   |
|-------------------------------------|----|---|---|
| John Cutherbertson, Wright, Alloa   | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Michael Cummings, Druggist, Alloa   | 12 | 0 | 0 |
| William Coventry, Bank Street       | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| Andrew Cock, Store                  | 11 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Carmiccael, Mill Street      | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| John Carmichael, Candle Street      | 16 | 0 | 0 |
| Ralph Cockburn, Mar Street          | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| David Cousins, Townhead             | 12 | 0 | 0 |
| William Callendar, High Street      | 12 | 0 | 0 |
| W.B.Carmichael & Co.Wood Merchants  | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| W.Bennett Clark, Sheriff Substitute | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| David Cock, Fishmonger              | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| James Cumming, Painter              | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| John Congdon, Tailor                | 12 | 0 | 0 |

**D.**

|                               |    |    |   |
|-------------------------------|----|----|---|
| Dougall Bros., Mill Street    | £  | s  | d |
| James Dawson, Mill Street     | 15 | 0  | 0 |
| Allan Drysdale, smith         | 30 | 0  | 0 |
| James Douglas, Mill Street    | 14 | 0  | 0 |
| John Drummond, Mar Place      | 10 | 0  | 0 |
| John Donald, Mar Street       | 10 | 10 | 0 |
| Andrew Dawson, Mar Street     | 21 | 0  | 0 |
| Benjamin Dewsbury, Mar Street | 16 | 0  | 0 |
| James Duncan, High Street     | 10 | 0  | 0 |
| Robert Dall, Forth Street     | 10 | 0  | 0 |
| James Duncanson, Forth Street | 15 | 0  | 0 |
| Capt.John Duncanson, Ludgate  | 25 | 0  | 0 |
| G.M.Dickson, Forth Street     | 18 | 0  | 0 |
|                               | 20 | 0  | 0 |

**E.**

|                      |    |   |   |
|----------------------|----|---|---|
| John Ewing, Townhead | 30 | 0 | 0 |
|----------------------|----|---|---|

|                                     |    |    |   |
|-------------------------------------|----|----|---|
| <b>F.</b>                           |    |    |   |
| John Fotheringham, Banker           | 50 | 0  | 0 |
| Alexander Forrester, Townhead       | 18 | 0  | 0 |
| Jam,es Fairlie, Viewforth           | 20 | 0  | 0 |
| Thomas Frame, Ludgate               | 12 | 0  | 0 |
| Rev.M.M. Franklin                   | 30 | 0  | 0 |
| <b>G.</b>                           |    |    |   |
| Robert Graham, Shillinghill         | 12 | 0  | 0 |
| Gilchrist & Co., Mill Street        | 20 | 0  | 0 |
| Alexander Galt, Walk                | 12 | 0  | 0 |
| Robert Galloway, Mill Street        | 16 | 0  | 0 |
| Walter Glen, Mill Street            | 14 | 0  | 0 |
| William Gibson, Mill Street         | 10 | 0  | 0 |
| William Gardner & son, Potters      | 20 | 0  | 0 |
| William Geddes, Castle Street       | 10 | 0  | 0 |
| Thoms Gusest, Forth Street          | 10 | 0  | 0 |
| John Glen, Mill Street              | 15 | 10 | 0 |
| <b>H.</b>                           |    |    |   |
| George Handyide, Shillinghill       | 16 | 0  | 0 |
| Robert Hutton, shore                | 10 | 0  | 0 |
| William Henderson, Draper           | 43 | 0  | 0 |
| Thomas Henderson, Candle Street     | 10 | 0  | 0 |
| George Hunter, Grange Place         | 45 | 0  | 0 |
| Alexander Hunter, Grange Place      | 12 | 10 | 0 |
| William Hunter Grange Place         | 60 | 0  | 0 |
| Alexander Hamilton, Ludgate         | 10 | 0  | 0 |
| <b>I.</b>                           |    |    |   |
| Henry Irvine, Mill Street           | 12 | 0  | 0 |
| Andrew Irvine, Mill Street          | 15 | 0  | 0 |
| <b>J.</b>                           |    |    |   |
| Robert Jameson, Mill Street         | 10 | 0  | 0 |
| Andrew Jameson, Walk                | 65 | 0  | 0 |
| James Jack, Broad Street            | 12 | 0  | 0 |
| James Johnstone, Townhead           | 52 | 0  | 0 |
| Archibald Hall Johnstone, Greenside | 20 | 0  | 0 |
| <b>K.</b>                           |    |    |   |
| William Knowlson, Mill Street       | £  | s  | d |
| Alexander King, Inn Keeper          | 16 | 0  | 0 |
| James Kirk, townhead                | 16 | 0  | 0 |
| John Kay., Drysdale Street          | 31 | 0  | 0 |
| John Kidd, Grange                   | 10 | 0  | 0 |
| Alexander Kirk, Primrose Street     | 25 | 0  | 0 |
| Arthur Ketchen, Mill Street         | 10 | 0  | 0 |
| John Kilgour, Tailor                | 10 | 0  | 0 |
| <b>L.</b>                           |    |    |   |
| John Leishman, Mill Street          | 36 | 0  | 0 |
| William Lamb, Baker                 | 20 | 0  | 0 |
| Goerge Lennon, Broad Street         | 18 | 0  | 0 |

|                                |     |   |   |
|--------------------------------|-----|---|---|
| Mungo Lauder, Draper           | 54  | 0 | 0 |
| James Lothian, Candle Street   | 16  | 0 | 0 |
| John Liddell, Forth Street     | 15  | 0 | 0 |
| D.F. Lambert, Gabberstone      | 180 | 0 | 0 |
| James Lothian Jr., Mill Street | 10  | 0 | 0 |

**M.**

|                                    |     |    |   |
|------------------------------------|-----|----|---|
| Peter Morrison, Provision Dealer   | 10  | 0  | 0 |
| James Miller, Clerk, Mar Street    | 12  | 0  | 0 |
| Andrew Mitchell                    | 13  | 0  | 0 |
| Charles Mercer, Shoemaker          | 28  | 0  | 0 |
| John Melvin, Architect             | 21  | 0  | 0 |
| I.N. Morrison, Mill Street         | 20  | 0  | 0 |
| Joseph Mercer, Mill Street         | 50  | 0  | 0 |
| Archibald Moir, Bank Street        | 50  | 0  | 0 |
| John Miller's Representatives      | 13  | 0  | 0 |
| Robert Mostyn, Walk                | 12  | 0  | 0 |
| William Muirhead, Baker            | 12  | 0  | 0 |
| John Mitchell, Spirit Dealer       | 24  | 0  | 0 |
| William Mason, Mill Street         | 40  | 0  | 0 |
| John Muir, Mill Street             | 105 | 0  | 0 |
| David Melvin                       | 15  | 0  | 0 |
| A.&A. Mitchell                     | 215 | 0  | 0 |
| David Mason, Forth Street          | 10  | 0  | 0 |
| James Moir, Bedford Place          | 75  | 0  | 0 |
| Mackie Bros. & Co.                 | 100 | 0  | 0 |
| R. Meiklejohn & Son, Grange        | 100 | 0  | 0 |
| John Morrison, Smithfield          | 50  | 0  | 0 |
| Charles Miller, Grange             | 12  | 10 | 0 |
| John Mailler, Mason                | 11  | 0  | 0 |
| The Earl of Mar                    | 200 | 0  | 0 |
| David McWatt, Marshall             | 37  | 10 | 0 |
| James T. McNellan, Brewer          | 18  | 0  | 0 |
| John McNellan                      | 35  | 0  | 0 |
| John McNell & Co                   | 120 | 0  | 0 |
| James McQueen, Maltster            | 17  | 0  | 0 |
| J.&H. McMillan, Grocers            | 15  | 0  | 0 |
| Alexander McGrechaen, Confectioner | 14  | 0  | 0 |
| James Mclay, Brewer                | 40  | 0  | 0 |
| Angus Mcdonald, Mar Street         | 12  | 0  | 0 |
| Charles McPherson, Mar Street      | 10  | 0  | 0 |
| Daniel McMillan, Candle Street     | 12  | 0  | 0 |
| William McGowan, Mar Street        | 45  | 0  | 0 |

**M. (contd.)**

|                                      | £  | s | d |
|--------------------------------------|----|---|---|
| John McEwan, Smith                   | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| James McFarlane, Forth Street        | 12 | 0 | 0 |
| James McVical, Viewforth             | 24 | 0 | 0 |
| Rev. Peter McDowall                  | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| John McDonald, Mar Place             | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| William McLachlan & son, King Street | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| William McLeish, Bank Street         | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Rev. John McLeod, Grange             | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| William McQueen, Shillinghill        | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Andrew McQueen, Grocer               | 10 | 0 | 0 |

|                                  |      |     |     |
|----------------------------------|------|-----|-----|
| P.                               |      |     |     |
| Charles Pearson                  |      |     |     |
| John Paterson, Broad Street      | 24   | 0   | 0   |
| Samuel Parsons, Broad Street     | 11   | 10  | 0   |
| Robert Philp, Mill Street        | 45   | 0   | 0   |
| Robert Preston, High Street      | 10   | 0   | 0   |
| John Paton & son                 | 140  | 0   | 0   |
| I. & D. Paton                    | 10   | 0   | 0   |
| John Page, Kingswell             | 10   | 0   | 0   |
| William Paton, Whins             | 25   | 0   | 0   |
| Andrew Philp, Shillinghill       | 15   | 0   | 0   |
| R.                               |      |     |     |
| Thomas Russell, Mill Street      | 20   | 0   | 0   |
| Henry Rutherford, Shore          | 13   | 0   | 0   |
| David Roy, Mill Street           | 27   | 0   | 0   |
| William Robertson, British Hotel | 65   | 0   | 0   |
| John Ross, Bedford Place         | 18   | 0   | 0   |
| James Richardson, Mar Place      | 10   | 0   | 0   |
| Andrew Roy & son, Brewers        | 150  | 0   | 0   |
| Andrew Roy, Brewer               | 40   | 0   | 0   |
| R.M.Roy                          | 45   | 0   | 0   |
| James Robertson, Mar Street      | 10   | 0   | 0   |
| S.                               |      |     |     |
| Robert Scobie, Mar Street        | 10   | 0   | 0   |
| Robert Stevenson, Copper         | 10   | 0   | 0   |
| Robert Stevenson, Broad Street   | 10   | 0   | 0   |
| Andrew Sneddon, Mill Street      | 16   | 0   | 0   |
| Charles Stead, Wood Merchant     | 47   | 0   | 0   |
| Thomas Sharp, Shillinghill       | 12   | 0   | 0   |
| W.&C.Scott, Mill Street          | 30   | 0   | 0   |
| Robert Strang, Mill Street       | 24   | 0   | 0   |
| James Syme, Surgeon              | 16   | 0   | 0   |
| William Spence, Grange Place     | 46   | 0   | 0   |
| Charles Stein, Forth Street      | 13   | 0   | 0   |
| David Sneddon, Forth Street      | 10   | 0   | 0   |
| James Symmers, Forth Street      | 16   | 0   | 0   |
| Stewart & Co., Glass             | 170  | 0   | 0   |
| Archibald Seton Stewart          | 30   | 0   | 0   |
| James Stobbie, Grange            | 12   | 0   | 0   |
| Stirling & Dunfermline           | 200  | 0   | 0   |
| T.                               |      |     |     |
| Andrew Thomson, Shore            | £ 75 | s 0 | d 0 |
| William Thomson, Mill Street     | 13   | 0   | 0   |
| Geroge Thomson, Mar Street       | 10   | 0   | 0   |
| William Thomson, Kilncraig       | 23   | 10  | 0   |
| William Thomas, Bedford Place    | 40   | 0   | 0   |
| Watson Thomson, Grange Place     | 30   | 0   | 0   |

|                                    |     |   |   |
|------------------------------------|-----|---|---|
| Thomson Bros, Kingswell            | 120 | 0 | 0 |
| V.                                 |     |   |   |
| William Virtue, Cabinetmaker       |     |   |   |
| John Virtue, Mill Street           | 10  | 0 | 0 |
| William Virtue, Mill Street        |     |   |   |
| W.                                 |     |   |   |
| William McNicol Whyte, Mill Street | 42  | 0 | 0 |
| Alexander Wingate, Shillinghill    | 30  | 0 | 0 |
| Wingate & Dawson, Mill Street      | 35  | 0 | 0 |
| John Wingate, Mill Street          | 45  | 0 | 0 |
| James Wingate, Mill Street         | 25  | 0 | 0 |
| William Wordie & co.               | 22  | 0 | 0 |
| John Wright, Spirit Dealer         | 18  | 0 | 0 |
| John Watson, Mar Street            | 20  | 0 | 0 |
| Rev. John Wright                   | 20  | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Willison, Brass Founder     | 10  | 0 | 0 |
| Y.                                 |     |   |   |
| George Younger & Sons, Brewers     | 145 | 0 | 0 |
| James Younger & Son, Brewers       | 15  | 0 | 0 |
| Henry Young, Bank Street           |     |   |   |
| John Young, Mar Place              | 10  | 0 | 0 |
| Andrew Young, Mar Place            | 10  | 0 | 0 |

**APPENDIX No 9.**

**EXTRACT FROM THE COUNCIL ACCOUNTS FROM ALLOA FOR YEAR ENDING  
2<sup>ND</sup> FEBRUARY 1856**

Amount in Burgh Assessment for year to Candlemas 1856 including agricultural lands after deducting appeals. £1203 3s. 7d. (Tax raised)

|   | £   | s.   | d.  |
|---|-----|------|-----|
| Water to public works (tax charged)                       | 74  | 0s.  | 0d  |
| Police Watching Fines                                     | 23  | 18s. | 6d  |
| Cleansing charges   | 59  | 7s.  | 5d. |
| General improvements & repair charges                     | 31  | 0s.  | 0d  |
| Burgh debt for improving High Street                      | 200 | 0s.  | 0d  |
| Amount due to bank  | 175 | 0s.  | 0d  |
| Amount received for fairs                                 |     | 8s.  | 6d. |
| Amount received from brokers licenses                     |     | 5s.  | 0d  |
| Rent of grounds for market                                | 1   | 0s.  | 0d  |
| Amount from Alloa Harbour Trust for water                 | 80  | 0s.  | 0d  |
| Sewage rate applied to occupiers in High Street           | 20  | 19s. | 9d  |
| Debt for Mill Street sewage                               | 65  | 0s.  | 0d  |
| Wages for Police Watching Superintendent + constables     | 140 | 19s. | 0d  |
| Wages for sewage scavengers inc. £24 for horse            | 196 | 1s.  | 6d  |
| Lighting the Burgh  | 172 | 0s.  | 6d  |
| For keeping water supplies, new pipes and three new wells | 249 | 3s   | 2d  |

The debt owed by the Council in Feb. 1856 was £4475 0s.0d

The Council also had the power to raise small debt actions in the courts if people refused to pay the assessment.



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## APPENDIX 10

### LETTER FROM THE NEW ALLOA BURGH COMMISSIONERS TO THE LORD ADVOCATE, (1856).

My Lord,

As clerk to the Commissioners of Police of the Burgh of Alloa I ask leave to trouble your Lordship with the present communication.

The Police of Towns (Scotland, Act, 13 & 14 vic. cap.33) has been in operation in Alloa for upwards of two years, and the Commissioners have had ample opportunity of testing its operation. They view with satisfaction the Bill recently introduced into the House of Commons by your Lordship ('The Nuisances Removal and Police of Towns Scotland Act 1856') which they conceive calculated to amend in various particulars the existing Act the Commissioners have very carefully examined the Provisions of the New Bill and have instructed me to forward to your Lordship the enclosed suggestions for amendments on the Bill, with which I may state they would not have troubled your Lordship, had they not been thoroughly satisfied that these suggestions if adopted will effect no small improvement upon the provisions of the new act.

Referring to the written statement of suggestions itself I have to offer to your Lordship a few reservations with the view of rendering them more intelligible - each suggestion is separately numbered and for the sake of clearness the numbers appropriate to each will quoted in their order.

1. In the enclosed statement itself the reasons for the proposed amendment in reference to the Superintendence of Prison board are set out - It is conceived that the clause as sit stands has been framed in oversight of the fact, that the Prison board have no Superintendence at present over the workings of the General Police act and that the effect of it would be to give the prison board a Superintendence over the Police Commissioners in the positions only of the original act which are now to be altered or amended which it is submitted is not only unnecessary but would lead to great confusion.
2. Section VI (last clause) of the Bill leaves it in doubt whether Commissioners of the Police are to have jurisdiction within the burgh, to the exclusion of the Parochial Board of the Parish. Town Councils and Police Commissioners are oblivious by intention in this matter to be placed in the same position, and the words proposed to be introduced will remove ambiguity.
3. There is within this burgh a Monster Nuisance in the shape of a Mill Dam. The description of Nuisance in the Bill might be held to include a Dam but that is not quite, it is therefore proposed to introduce this word into the description.
4. In towns like Alloa of eight or ten thousand inhabitants such being the towns in which the Police Act is principally adopted it is often necessary to construct new sewers, the expense of which bears a small proportion to the rental of the Drainage District. In such cases it is a very cumbersome and inconvenient method of defraying the expenses to asses at 6s. a pound upon the rental and also to assess up to 5 per cent upon the sum borrowed for the sewerage as a sinking fund. Separate accounts require to be kept over it may be a long period of years and altogether machinery must be set in operation much too complicated for so small a matter as the sum to be used may not exceed £60 or £80 it is therefore proposed to give power ahead if the expense does

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not exceed twenty five percent on the rental to assess for the amount within five years and it can in no respect bear hard on the Ratepayers to pay five per cent upon rents which in such cases are always of small amount.

5. The remarks in the last paragraph apply in the case of new streets. The only difference is that the expense of making any new streets however small the amount must be recovered over no less a period than thirty years necessitating very complicated accounts and very minute operations. In towns like this many small streets require to be made the expense of which may not exceed £100 and instead of encouraging such improvements the cumbersome machinery of the act is almost a barrier. It is not though that the proposal to assess the whole experience within five years where the expense is not above 25 per cent on the rental can be liable to any objection.

6. There is much confliction of opinion whether under Section 212 of the Police Act owners are bound to keep up footways after they have given different opinion on that point and the Commissioners experience no small difficulty in administering the Act in this respect. There can be little doubt that the intention of the legislature was that the owners should keep the footways in good repair and it is proposed that some words can be added to the section to make this plain.

It is hoped that these suggestions may meet your Lordships approval and that you will be pleased to have them carried out into effect.

I have the honour to be My Lord your Lordship's most obedient, humble servant.

Signed,

JAMES JOHNSTONE  
CLERK TO COMMISSIONERS

## APPENDIX 11

Employment details of those qualified to vote under the 1868 reform act Scotland taken from the Clackmannanshire 1874 electors list.

### Employment.

Accountant 9, Advocate 3, Army 2, Auctioneer 1, Brewery owner 12, Butler 1, Blacksmith 19, Brewer 7, Ballman 1, Brickwork owner 3, Bank agent 7, Brickmaker 2, Baker 20, Bookseller 4, Banker Builder 7, Boatman 1, Brassfounder 1, Cabinetmaker 9, Clothier 5, Coachbuilder 1, Carpenter 3, Carter 31, Coalmaster 2, Cattle dealer 2, Contractor 2, Commercial traveller 1, Currier 1, Clerk 8, Coal shipper 1, Copper 5, Confectioner 2, Cowfeeder 3, Collector of HM customs 1, Carrier 5, Coachmen 2, Commission agent 2, Cleaner 1, Druggist 7, Dyer 1, Draper 16, Distillery owner 3, Doctor 3, Distiller 1, Dairyman 1, Engineer 5, Engine keeper 4, Fisher 1,

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Fishmonger 1, Farmers 118, Flesher 13, Farm servant 2, Factory owner 1, Flower mill owner 1, Foreman 3, Gardner 6, Grocer 46, Gas manager 1, Gas works owner 1, Grasier 2, Groom 1, Game dealer 2, Hawker 1, Hairdresser 3, Hatter 1, Ironmonger 4, Inland revenue 3, Iron founder 3, Inspector of weights 1, Inspector of poor 3, Joiners 27, Jeweller 2, Labourer 23, Loom owner 6, Lithographer 1, Ministers 28, Meal dealer Merchants 37, Masons 16, Moulder 1, Miller 2, Millworker 2, Manufacturers 74, Millwright 1, Machine maker 1, Mariner 1, Malster 1, Miner 4, Mechanic 2, Nurseryman 1, Oil works owners 20, verman 1, Overseer 1, Proprietor of house or lands 218, Pressman 1, Poor house governor 1, Painter 4, Postmaster 1, Publican / inn keeper 29, Portioner 1, Papermakers 4, Ploughman 1, Porter 1, Pottery owner 2, Potato dealer 1, Pipemaker 7, Physchician 2, Plasterer 1, Priest 1, Publisher 1, Pawnbroker 1, Platelayer 1, Quarry owner 1, Roadman 2, Ropemaker 3, Residenter 1, Shopowner 33, Shipbroker 2, Shipbuilders 2, Solicitor 1, Shipowner 7, SSC Edinburgh 1, Spinner 16, Steam boat Captain 1, Slater 8, Sawmill owner 1, Salesman 1, Schoolmaster 6, Spirit dealer 11, Scourer 1, Seaman 5, Shipping Agent 1, Surgeon 4, Shoemaker 14, Surveyor 1, Shipmaster 7, Sheriff officer 2, Shipchandler 1, Sailmaker 1, Skinner 2, Sawyer 1, Saddler 4, Stationer 1, Tanner 3, Tacksman 1, Teacher 16, Taylor 9, Tin smith 1, Tea dealer 1, Turner 1, Tobacconist 2, Tinsmith 1, Umbrella maker 1, Upholsterer 1, Vintner 1, Writer 9, Wright 15, Weaver 42, Wagon driver 1, Wood turner 1, Watchmaker 4, Warper 14, Warehouseman 1.

## **THE MANAGEMENT AND GOVERNMENT OF SCOTTISH SOCIETY 1832-1870.**

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- 2) Alloa Parish Poor Relief Committee Minute Book, 3<sup>rd</sup> October 1815 - 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1846, CDL
- 3) Alloa Prison Report Book, 1859-1862 ref cc1/4/2, CDL
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- 6) Clackmannanshire Commissioners of Supply Minutes Book, 1831, ref.CC1-1/5, CDL
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- 1) Abercromby letter to Peel, 1842, British Library Ref ADD 40506.

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