

SCOTTISH INDUSTRIAL LABOURER DURING THE AGE OF REFORM

1792 - 1832

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## P R E F A C E



Approaching the study of the social problems in Scotland created by the Industrial Revolution one is struck by the poverty of literature on the subject. In the case of England exhaustive studies have been undertaken and completed resulting in rich and varied literature on all the phases, aspects and consequences of this most significant occurrence and development during the second half of the eighteenth and during the nineteenth centuries. In the case of Scotland, however, no exhaustive research has been undertaken nor detailed studies of the different aspects of the social and economic changes and their results published. Works by H. Hamilton, J. MacKinnon, W.H. Marwick and recently by L. Saunders and S. Mechie, valuable though they are treat the whole subject of social and economic transformation in Scotland during the nineteenth century in somewhat broad and general terms.

The most likely explanation for the poverty of detailed studies of the social and economic transformation in Scotland during the Industrial Revolution seems to be that historians attracted by the extent of economic, social and

political changes in England concentrated their attention on that part of Britain resorting only to side glances as far as other parts were concerned considering them merely to be microcosms of England. This undoubtedly was the case but not as completely as might seem at first glance. There were differences as well as similarities, some more some less significant. The attitude and approach of the Scots, for example, to the problem of workmen's combination or lack of display of violent opposition to the introduction of machinery constitute a point in the case. And these cannot simply be explained by the fact that the labour force in comparison with England remained small nor by the fact that the Industrial Revolution did not reach the same proportions in Scotland as it did in England.

Whatever the explanation might be for the neglected state of Scottish social and economic history during the period of the Industrial Revolution and right down to the present time the fact remains that it as yet did not receive proper treatment and still remains submerged in the main stream of English history.

The purpose of this thesis is to remedy this deficiency insofar as one aspect of the social and economic change is concerned, namely the impact of the Industrial Revolution on the Scottish labourer. In undertaking this study the writer had to search over a wide field for his

material and found difficulty at times in obtaining first-hand information. It is hoped, however, that sufficient data was gathered to delineate the impact the Industrial Revolution had on the labourer and his reaction to it. It is further hoped the thesis will bring forth all the salient features of the early stages of industrial and social changes in Scotland and their consequences insofar as the industrial labourer was concerned.

C H A P T E R   O N E

ECONOMIC EXPANSION AND CHANGES IN THE  
INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION

## I

The main features of Scottish history during the eighteenth century consist of the economic revival followed by social changes which in turn precipitated the political awakening of the mass of the people.

Prior to the Union and even well into the eighteenth century Scotland remained very poor.<sup>1</sup> This state of poverty to a greater or lesser degree was common to all. If the farmer, the artisan, cottager and labourer suffered poverty the gentry experienced acute and chronic lack of money.<sup>2</sup> In this predominantly agricultural country both the lowly and the high-born concentrated most of their energies to eke out from the land as best an existence as possible. The yield was meager and not always sufficient to feed the people especially when the weather happened to be bad.<sup>3</sup> Meager returns, however, could not be ascribed to the quality of the land, for the land was good, especially in the south, but to the wretched style of farming and utter ignorance and prejudice against rational methods of cultivation. Dislike of everything English, and most of the

rational methods of cultivation were English, hampered agricultural improvements. Communication, or rather lack of it, because of execrable roads, long distances and cost of travelling played its share in arresting diffusion of more improved agricultural practices.

In a country so predominantly agricultural as Scotland the middle class was neither extensive nor wealthy.<sup>4</sup> Trade and commerce, a necessary condition if the middle class is to develop, reached only very insignificant proportions.<sup>5</sup> For one thing, prior to the Union, Scottish traders were excluded from the English colonial markets and besides Scottish produce was such that it could not inspire vigorous and extensive trade. The chief exports consisted mainly of oats, barley, dried cod, herrings, stockings, tarred rope, coarse and undressed plaidings and serges.<sup>6</sup> Manufactures, such as existed, were crude and remained but an extension of agricultural pursuit undertaken to supply for the most part, the needs of the farmers' and cottagers' households. Indeed at the beginning of the eighteenth century Scotland presented a sorry picture of abject poverty and stagnation in all spheres of life.

The Scots did not remain oblivious to their pitiful economic position and resulting poverty. From the time of the Restoration efforts were made to inject some life into the stagnant economy, extend commerce and set up manufactures.<sup>7</sup>

The progress, however, proceeded at a very slow pace. There were many factors which at this stage impeded economic revival; perhaps the most conspicuous among them was the reimposition of episcopacy and patronage at the Restoration thus re-opening the religious strife anew which absorbed the attention and the energy of the Scots. The abolition of episcopacy and patronage during the "Glorious Revolution" settled, or so it seemed, the religious question once and for all and thus allowed the attention of the Scots to concentrate on more mundane problems.

The economic aspirations of the Scots became quite evident towards the very end of the seventeenth century. Following the example set by Holland, England and France, who during the seventeenth century entered a phase of commercial expansion, Scotland stretched her hand to secure the markets of the New World. The ambitious Darien Scheme failed. On the one hand it aroused the jealousy of the English commercial interest, on the other it strained the meager resources of the Scots. The failure aroused the Scottish national feeling but at the same time it pointed out the obvious solution. The legislative Union was eventually cemented in 1707 after the Scots succeeded in extracting from England valuable economic concessions - by far the most important - the trade with the colonies. The Scottish trade up till then conducted chiefly with the

Continent, quickly changed direction while the Scottish<sup>8</sup> commercial enterprise greatly expanded.

Advantages of an economic and commercial nature secured by the Scottish representatives during the negotiations of the Treaty of Union proved slow at first in stimulating the Scottish economy. Nevertheless during the second half of the eighteenth century the economic pulse quickened its beat particularly after the debris of the long lost Jacobite cause were cleared from the scene. After 1745 the Scots settled down in earnest to exploiting the benefits arising out of the Union and to developing the resources of their country. In consequence during the decades following 1750 the economic and industrial face of Scotland underwent a considerable change.

In the first place as the colonial markets, by the provision of the Treaty of Union, were thrown open to the Scots the Scottish foreign trade gradually greatly expanded. This trade remained for some time confined to the importation of colonial produce such as sugar, rum and especially tobacco destined for re-exportation. So resourceful and successful were the Scots in this branch of the trade that they aroused a strong feeling of jealousy and hostility among the merchants of Bristol and London.<sup>9</sup> In 1735 one-third of the sixty-seven vessels of 5,600 tons



belonging to and trading from Clyde were engaged in the colonial trade.<sup>10</sup> By 1783 the number of vessels increased to 386 and by 1793 to 464 of 22,896 tons and 46,805 tons respectively.<sup>11</sup> Importation of tobacco rose from over four million pounds in 1724 to over forty-seven million pounds in 1771 of which forty-five and a half million were re-exported in addition to six and a half million pounds of sugar and over three-quarters of a million gallons of rum.<sup>12</sup> During the same year the value of Scottish exports stood at £1,857,334 of which sum £1,353,861 constituted re-exports.<sup>13</sup>

Simultaneously, with the expansion of trade and commerce the Scottish agriculture improved gradually. Soon after the Union the influence of the superior English methods of cultivation such as adoption of crop rotation, draining of land, introduction of artificial grasses and clover, as well as other crops such as potatoes and turnips, made itself felt in Scotland. Freer access to the English markets for the Scottish produce of the land stimulated their integration into the native agriculture. In time a number of societies came into existence composed of the more enterprising landlords for the purpose of propagating the improved methods of cultivation and husbandry. Thus the year 1723 saw the founding of the "Honourable Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture in Scotland."

Soon after, the "Small Society of Farmers in Buchan" came into being followed by the founding of "Agricultural Society of Ormiston." Though the "improving movement" at first progressed slowly it gathered momentum after 1750. As a result of these improvements the land yielded better, more varied, and more abundant crops, increasing the farmers' returns. In consequence land became more valuable, rents increased<sup>14</sup> which involved the growth of prosperity among the land owning and farmer class as well as the improvements in the economic condition of the agricultural labourers<sup>15</sup> who also benefited by an increase in wages.

The favourable developments in trade and commerce and the growing prosperity of the landed proprietors and prosperous farmers in turn stimulated manufacturing industries, for if manufactured goods were required for exchange in the colonies for tobacco, rum and sugar, the growing prosperity of the farming class changed their tastes and habits creating an ever growing demand for a variety of manufactured goods and articles. Thus gradually new manufactures came into being while others expanded. The manufacture of china and delft, which articles were previously imported to satisfy a limited demand, was begun in Leith while 1748 saw the establishment of the first pottery in Scotland at Broomielaw in Glasgow.<sup>16</sup> The first coachmaking<sup>17</sup> establishment began operation in Edinburgh as early as 1696.

As the eighteenth century advanced coachmaking assumed more extensive proportions particularly when the road system and surfaces improved and the use of stage coaches as means of transportation increased.<sup>18</sup> They even became articles of export. In 1766 for example numbers of carriages were exported to the West Indies; others found their way, in considerable quantities, into Holland, France, Russia and Poland.<sup>19</sup> Similarly the building trade was stimulated into increased activity not only because of modifications, rebuilding and erection of new town and country residences of the nobility and wealthy landowners but because of the growth of population in the towns and their consequent expansion. This in turn involved expansion of stone and slate quarrying to provide the builders with the necessary building materials.

The emerging prosperity diffused refinement which was reflected not only in spacious and elegant buildings but in the development of printing and publishing. A closer contact with England greatly stimulated and widened the interests in the printed word. Many English books were reprinted while a host of newspapers and magazines appeared on the scene, and the number of printing and publishing establishments greatly increased.<sup>20</sup> Prior to 1813 thirteen newspapers were started in Glasgow though by the same year eight ceased to exist. By 1815 the number of

copies of all newspapers in Glasgow amounted to 373,718.<sup>21</sup>  
In Edinburgh the "Edinburgh Gazette" was started in 1699,  
"Evening Courant" in 1718 and the "Caledonian Mercury" in  
1720. The newspapers, however, were not confined to the  
two main cities. They appeared in other towns such as  
Aberdeen, Dundee, Greenock, Paisley, Kelso and so on.<sup>22</sup>  
The extension of printing and publishing in turn involved  
the growth and expansion of the paper manufacturing industry.  
Thus in the vicinity of Edinburgh in 1763 there were only  
three paper mills with an output of 6,400 reams a year.  
Ten years later the number rose to twelve and the output  
jumped to 100,000 reams a year.<sup>23</sup>

The opening and the expansion of the colonial trade,  
no less than the growing prosperity at home, supplied the  
necessary stimulus to the emerging industries. Thus for  
example the trade in sugar with the West Indies gave rise  
to the establishment of sugar refining houses. The first  
such establishment was founded in Greenock in 1765 by a  
few West Indian merchants.<sup>24</sup> For a while one refinery  
sufficed to conduct the sugar processing. With the expansion  
of trade, however, new refineries appeared. In 1787 a  
second company began operations in Greenock. A third,  
fourth and fifth were established in 1802, 1809 and 1812  
respectively.<sup>25</sup> Similarly leather manufacturing greatly  
expanded. Great quantities of shoes and boots were manufactured

not only to satisfy the home demand but as an article<sup>26</sup>  
of export, large quantities being sent to the West Indies.

At the same time the growing volume of trade provided the necessary encouragement to ship building. The development of this industry occurred somewhat later during the century mainly because the ships employed in Scottish commerce were built in the American colonies. The outbreak of the War of American Independence shut off this source<sup>27</sup> of supply. In consequence the construction of ships on<sup>28</sup> the Clyde and other ports of Scotland intensified. Thus Saltcoats in Ayr turned out between 1775 and 1790 sixty-one ships amounting to 7,095 tons, Kincardine ninety-one ships of 5,461 tons, Kirkcaldy thirty-eight of 3,000 tons and Dysart 8,634 tons of shipping during the corresponding<sup>29</sup> period. In the yards of North Leith ships of 200 to<sup>30</sup> 300 tons were constructed. Most, though not all, of the ships built were on orders from Glasgow, Greenock, Dundee and Aberdeen to be used in the overseas trade. Ship building it must be noted to some extent stimulated other branches of industry such as the manufacture of canvas for sails, ropes and cordage, nails and other iron works employed in constructing and equipping a ship.

Perhaps the most important development in the industrial field consisted of the expansion of the linen

industry. The manufacture of linen had a long history in Scotland but it had never reached any significant proportions until the eighteenth century when it rose to rank as the premier industry of Scotland, only to be displaced in turn from this position by cotton in the nineteenth century.

By a provision of the Treaty of Union a certain sum of money was set aside for the encouragement of manufactures. A specially appointed Board of Trustees for Manufactures spared no effort in this field and, due to its exertion as much as to the rising prosperity and extension of trade and commerce, the linen industry greatly expanded. They encouraged new manufacturing ventures, particularly the production of cloth suitable for the colonial markets; watched carefully over the quality of the cloth manufactured; set up schools for weavers and spinners; subsidized laying out bleachfields; offered prizes not only for the best executed work but for the best grown flax. As a result of these various activities the variety and quality<sup>31</sup> of the cloth improved while the output greatly increased. It jumped from 2,183,978 yards in 1728 to nearly thirteen and a half million yards by 1780 and well over twenty-four million yards by 1800 valued at somewhat more than £600,000<sup>32</sup> and one million pounds sterling respectively. Part of this increased output found its way to the colonial markets

while considerable amounts were consumed at home as linen  
 gradually became the main article of wear.<sup>33</sup>

With the founding of the Carron Iron Works in 1759 we have the beginning of what later became the heavy industry during the second half of the following century. The importance of the founding of the Carron Works is not so much in that it constituted the first iron works but in that it was the first complete iron works which embarked on exploiting the native resources by using domestic ore and coal in its furnaces in place of charcoal.

It was a small beginning but gradually the Company gained ground and not only managed to establish a firm foothold at home but soon gained a European wide reputation particularly for gun casting, by means of their famous "carronades." The eruption of the American War greatly helped to stimulate this successful venture. The activities of the Company, however, were not merely confined to gun casting but extended to the production of various articles of utility such as stoves fire grates, pots and pans and so on.<sup>34</sup> With the expansion and mechanization of the textile industry towards the 1790's and 1800's it came to supply that rising industry with the necessary machine components and when steam power was successfully applied in industrial ventures the Company embarked on the construction of steam engines.<sup>35</sup> Simultaneously it kept an eye on the

overseas markets and built an export trade with America<sup>36</sup> and the West Indies.

Carron Works by no means constituted the only iron works in Scotland. There were other more or less important malleable iron works which, nevertheless depended on imported bar iron either from Sweden or Russia. The Smithfield Works in Glasgow set up in 1734 conducted a profitable and energetic operation finding a ready market for its wares consisting of nails, hinges, spades, hoes and so on, not only at home but in the colonies.<sup>37</sup> The success enjoyed by the Carron Iron Works encouraged the setting up of other similar ventures. Thus in 1786 the Clyde Iron Works were started followed by Oma Works a year later and Muirkirk Works in Ayr in 1793.<sup>38</sup>

Along with this development, as fresh uses were being found for iron, a considerable number of small foundries came into existence where a variety of articles were made such as agricultural implements, machine parts, pipes, water wheels and so on. By 1813 about fifty such foundries<sup>39</sup> existed, located in many towns throughout Scotland. The expansion of the iron trade, nevertheless, remained limited partly because of technical difficulties and partly because comparatively speaking the demand for iron itself still remained moderate. By 1788 Scotland possessed eight furnaces



in blast with an output of 7,000 tons of pig iron per year, seventeen in 1796 with an output of 16,086 tons and twenty by 1806 producing a little over 23,000 tons of pig iron a year.<sup>40</sup>

The expansion of iron works employing coal in their furnaces led to a more intensified exploitation of coal. Already the rising standard of living and improved transportation gradually displaced peat as household fuel thus encouraging coal production. With the iron works in operation the demand for coal greatly increased. It has been said that Carron Iron Works alone consumed as much coal as the entire city of Edinburgh.<sup>41</sup> New mines such as Bo'ness or Old Monkland within striking distance of the new iron works came into existence. The Acts of 1774 and 1799 which freed the Scottish colliers from bondage to some extent reflect the expansion of coal mining for although the humanitarian considerations played a part in bringing these measures about it was primarily a desire to make the trade, because of expansion, more attractive to the newcomers which prompted this legislative action.<sup>42</sup> The prospects of perpetual bondage were not likely to promote recruitment. In 1812 Bald estimated that the industries consumed 238,000 tons of coal yearly.<sup>43</sup> From another source we learn that the total consumption of coal was estimated at no less than two and a half million tons per year.<sup>44</sup>

The gradual industrial expansion and quickened economic activity stimulated developments in other fields such as communications, transportation and banking, the one facilitating trade and commerce, the other business transactions, and all being indispensable to further economic expansion.

The construction and maintenance of the roads by means of statute labour long proved grossly insufficient rendering most of the Scottish roads in disrepair and more or less impassable. The improvement came with the commutation of the statute labour and the institution of turnpike tolls. The first Turnpike Act passed Parliament in 1714 but the greatest activity in this field occurred during the period after 1750 when a series of local turn-<sup>45</sup>pike acts were passed. By 1814 a network of relatively good roads covered southern Scotland linking the main centers in that part of the country, while in the Highlands General Wade laid a foundation to a network of excellent roads, his work in this direction being continued by the military until the first quarter of the nineteenth century when it was taken over by the Highland Commission for<sup>46</sup> Roads.

Perhaps from the economic point of view the construction of canals constituted a more important step

than road building. The canals contributed more to facilitating transportation of goods and merchandise than improvements in overland transportation mainly because transportation by water proved less cumbersome, particularly in the case of bulky goods and cargo, and cheaper. The most important among the canals was the Forth and Clyde Canal opened for navigation in 1790 and linking the two coasts of Scotland.<sup>47</sup> The main freight consisted of coal, iron and manufactured goods, granite, woollens and worsteds from Aberdeen, grain from Leith, bagging, osnaburghs, and yarn from Dundee.<sup>48</sup> The construction of the Monkland canal, which opened to traffic the same year as Clyde and Forth canal, contributed to the opening and exploitation of the rich Lanarkshire coalfields which, because of high cost of overland transportation, remained untouched.<sup>49</sup> The success of the two canals initiated many other projects of a similar nature some of which never went beyond the planning stages while others materialized, none, however, achieving the same degree of economic importance as the two mentioned above.<sup>50</sup>

Though roads, and particularly canals, played an important part in the economic development of Scotland none of them could, however, surpass the river Clyde in importance. With the Treaty of Union sealed and the colonial markets at last within reach of the Scots the Scottish overseas trade

gradually changed direction from the North Sea to the Atlantic with the result that the east coast lost while the west coast, with the Clyde as its main center, gained in importance. The river which at one time was a small and shallow stream was gradually adapted to play the part of the main center of the Scottish trade and commerce. Though there were during the eighteenth century, in existence, various schemes for the improvement of the harbour and deepening of the river in order to facilitate navigation further inland, the first Act authorizing such work passed Parliament in 1759.<sup>51</sup> Eleven years later further improvements on those lines were authorized.<sup>52</sup> Because of this the river was made navigable as far as Glasgow Bridge as a result of which traffic to Glasgow greatly increased. During 1796<sup>53</sup> some thirteen hundred ships tied up at Glasgow Bridge.

The first bank in Scotland came into existence in 1695 when the Bank of Scotland was founded, followed in 1727 by the Royal Bank of Scotland. The expansion of business soon gave impetus to the formation of new banks in various Scottish towns on the joint stock basis. Thus in 1749 the Aberdeen Banking Company was founded though it did not survive for long. A year later a bank was floated in Glasgow, the C. Dunlop, Alex. Houston and Company, which later became known as the Ship Bank. At about the same time the Glasgow Arms Bank came into existence followed in

1761 by the Thistle Bank. The year 1763 saw the Dundee and  
the Perth Banking Companies founded.<sup>54</sup>

The existence of banks greatly stimulated and facilitated business transactions. The most significant feature of the Scottish banks was the establishment of cash credits and deposit systems. Any person of a reputable character, on the security of two persons, could apply for a cash credit. The bank after satisfying itself as to the character and business prospects of the applicant opened a credit account for him up to a certain sum charging interest only on the sum actually borrowed. It can be easily appreciated that this system from the point of view of trade and commerce was of the utmost importance as it greatly encouraged business activity and industrial enterprise. By means of interest on monies deposited it encouraged deposits thus pooling the dispersed resources, then diverting them into channels where they would be most usefully utilized with benefits to all, to the depositor, the borrower and the bank and also to the country as a whole.

## II

The economic and industrial expansion which went on during the course of the second half of the eighteenth century gave rise to a new industrial pattern reflected in the changes in the industrial organization. Briefly the main features of the new pattern consisted of the gradual centralization of control over various manufacturing processes in the hands of the industrial entrepreneurs though not necessarily as yet their centralization under one roof, and the transformation of craftsmen into wage earners; more simply the separation between capital and labour and the emergence of the capitalist economy. But even at this early stage in some cases the centralization was twofold. Thus the new iron works, the paper mills and the sugar refining houses not only fell under the control of a capitalist entrepreneur but their operation was confined to a particular place. For one thing in all these cases considerable capital was required to set them going while the nature of the operation demanded that the whole process be conducted in one place or a single establishment. The

same could be said of the coal and iron ore mines as well as stone quarries.

The changes in the industrial organization and the emergence of capitalism was particularly conspicuous in those branches of manufacture where the volume of trade greatly increased and the markets widened. In the process of organizing this increased trade and acting as a link between the producer and consumer, the industrial entrepreneur, often a merchant, gradually acquired control over various stages of manufactures. For example, with the increasing demand at home and in the colonies for boots and shoes the leather industry acquired this characteristic. By 1773 this trade in Glasgow was controlled by one George Mackintosh and an owner of a tannery in town who between them employed some 600 journeymen shoemakers.<sup>55</sup> Similar tendencies were displayed in the nail trade. For example William Cadell of Cadell Iron Works not only employed 250 journeymen and apprentices but provided them with workshops, tools, material and even dwelling houses.<sup>56</sup>

It is however in the textile industry that the most notable changes in the industrial organization occurred partly because it remained the most extensive industry in Scotland and partly because of improvements in manufacturing materials and technique. The first sign of change became

noticeable during the second half of the eighteenth century, when the industry entered a phase of rapid expansion. With the introduction of cotton and progress in the field of industrial technology spurred by a series of remarkable mechanical inventions most notable transformation can be observed. As a result of technological progress not only the transformation of the textile industry into a capitalist enterprise became more pronounced than in other branches of the industry but because of it the textile industry became the most extensive in Scotland, giving employment to the largest number of people.<sup>57</sup> It is for this reason that the succeeding pages will deal predominantly with this development.

During the second half of the eighteenth century, linen manufacture under the pressure of growing demand for<sup>58</sup> linen cloth, greatly expanded. Some of the cloth produced went to satisfy the demand both at home and in England while a considerable amount went to the colonies.<sup>59</sup> Under the pressure of expansion the linen manufacture gradually changed its character from that of by-product of agriculture to an extensive enterprise in its own right. This in turn forced the manufacturer to make readjustments in the existing organization of production in order to adapt it to the new set of circumstances.



The expanding linen industry, helped by various minor technological improvements and inventions, entered a phase of capitalization, greater diversification and specialization. It was in the method of preparation of flax for spinning that notable advances were made. The year 1729 saw the invention of a scutching machine and its subsequent adaptation to water power at Bonnington mills in Edinburgh.<sup>60</sup> Henceforth scutching became a specialized operation carried on in the lint mills owned by a merchant or flax manufacturer who looked after the whole process of flax preparation, had it spun and marketed the yarn. The erection of lint mills proceeded at an accelerated pace and by 1772, 252 of them were in operation in Scotland<sup>61</sup> and 371 ten years later.<sup>62</sup> Heckling, another step in the preparation of flax for spinning, still performed without the assistance of a mechanical device became, nonetheless, a specialized occupation and tended to be carried on either in the lint mills or in workshops specially set up for this purpose and in many cases owned by the manufacturer.<sup>63</sup>

Previous to the expansion of the linen trade bleaching was either done by the local weavers or sent to be bleached in Holland. It was quite customary to send all the brown linen manufactured in Scotland to Haarlem which had a reputation for the best bleachfields in Europe, where it remained for seven to eight months to undergo the bleaching

64  
 process. As trade expanded this became a rather inconvenient procedure, consequently efforts were made to set up bleachfields at home, the trade now being sufficiently large to support such a venture. 65 By the 1730's already several of them were in operation. The establishment of bleachfields involved further specialization and since considerable capital was required to set out a bleaching field, it became a capitalist venture. In many cases, nevertheless, the weavers still performed this finishing operation themselves.

All these changes, though limited, helped to alter the character of the industry. The first steps had been taken to sever the links that existed between the linen industry and agriculture. Never completely dependent on the home grown raw material it became less and less so as the century wore on and trade expanded. 66 As a result of developments in the methods and ways of the preparation of flax for spinning, a section of the labour force though still small became wage earners dependent for their livelihood on the capitalist employer. Spinning, however, remained unchanged and continued to be carried on as before by a large number of women, wives and daughters of farmers and their servants in the farm houses and cottages scattered throughout the country. Even though some of them worked for merchants and flax manufacturers they could not be

regarded as wage earners. Theirs was a part-time occupation not calculated to support them but mainly to supplement<sup>67</sup> earnings gained in agricultural pursuits.

If at this stage the spinners remained unaffected by the process of change the same cannot be said of the other principal group in the linen manufacture - the hand-loom weavers. It is true that weaving constituted their principal occupation but not necessarily their full-time occupation. The weaver still retained some links with the land though to a lesser degree than the spinners. He still devoted some of his time to agricultural pursuits. He lived in a rented cottage with a patch of land attached to it and owned a cow. During slack periods frequently caused by an insufficient supply of yarn he cultivated his small plot of land. Not infrequently the weaver could be found lending a hand to the farmer during harvest and hay<sup>68</sup> time or even going fishing. When trade was brisk he procured the yarn from the country spinners, wove it into webs and disposed of them at the nearest town market or in many cases the weaver wove directly for the individual customer. The increased demand for linen cloth, however, altered this situation.

As the demand grew the hand-loom weavers found themselves bound more exclusively to their looms. Weaving

became not only their principal, but gradually their full-time occupation. Such a change on the one hand carried with it certain benefits, on the other it was beset with disadvantages. More loom work meant increased earnings from weaving but at the same time it was accompanied with an increased loss of economic independence for here too, the capitalist manufacturer made his appearance. The growing demand and increased production of linen cloth outmoded and outgrew the old type of organization whereby the weaver performed the task of an independent producer himself disposing of the results of his labour. The marketing of cloth slowly passed from his hands to those of the manufacturer who began to play an increasing role in the industry by gradually taking control of the trade. The weaver like the workers in the lint mills, heckleries and bleachfields became reduced by degrees to the position of a wage earner in the employ of a manufacturer.

This trend towards greater control of the linen trade by what might be termed a capitalist-manufacturer is exemplified by John Forrester, manufacturer at Stirling who controlled the entire range of production of cloth from purchasing the flax to weaving, or Duncan Grant who in 1763 employed a great number of spinners and weavers from the Great Glen to Aberdeen. This change in the conditions of

the weavers took place slowly and did not supplant the older type of organization whereby great numbers of the hand-loom weavers still continued as before to provide themselves with yarn, weaving it into webs and selling them at the nearest market. It must be noted that they still performed their work at home and on their own looms though at the same time there came into existence a type of weaving shop containing a few hand-loom owned by farmers who employed weavers presumably either paying their wages or charging rent for the looms.<sup>70</sup>

It can be seen from the brief description above that notable changes had already taken place in a section of the textile industry prior to the mechanical inventions beginning with Hargreaves "jenny". Capitalism found a small but firm foothold in the industry. Greater specialization and diversification followed while some sections of the labour force lost, to a greater or lesser extent, some of its economic independence. In spite of these changes the linen industry nevertheless, still retained some links with agriculture and remained predominantly domestic in character. In not a few instances flax was grown by the farmer and spun by the members of his family partly for their own use and partly for the market or the manufacturer. In general, time devoted to the pursuits of spinning amounted to those few hours which left the farmer, his

labourer and their respective families free from agricultural pursuits. It was regarded as a by-employment contributing toward the rent of a small holding. In the case of the weavers, however, many of them became full-time weavers working for manufacturers. They still remained in possession of small patches of land but in their case agricultural pursuits became subsidiary to their main occupation which was weaving.

The lack of any really significant technical progress in textile manufacture affected the scope and defined the limits of changes in the industrial organization. As long as the two main processes in the manufacture, that of spinning and weaving, remained unaltered further changes remained unlikely. The remarkable advances in the machinery however, the inventions of Hargreaves, Arkwright and Crompton removed the barrier to further changes in the industrial organization.

In 1770 Hargreaves, a native of Blackburn, patented the "spinning jenny." This simple invention allowed the spinner to work more than one spindle at a time so multiplying the amount of yarn that could be spun.<sup>71</sup> The "jenny," however, suffered from two defects. First it was only suitable to spin yarn for making weft as the thread it spun was neither sufficiently strong nor fine enough to be used as

warp and secondly it still remained a hand operated machine. Arkwright's invention of roller spinning remedied at once both of these defects as the characteristic feature of the yarn spun by the water-frame was its suitability to be used for warps while at the same time the machinery was designed to be driven by water power. This meant that spinning could be and indeed had to be in the case of the water-frame, concentrated under one roof. The water-frame, however, did not at once supersede the "jenny" for while the latter was suitable to spin the yarn for the weft the water-frame spun yarn suitable for warp. The two in fact were complementary. Nevertheless neither the "jenny" nor the water-frame could spin yarn sufficiently strong and fine to be utilized in making delicate fabrics. Crompton's invention removed this last defect. The "mule" could spin very fine yarn which was also strong enough to be used as both the warp and the weft. This last constituted perhaps the most significant invention from the Scottish point of view for it gave rise to muslin manufacture in Scotland and allowed the Scots to concentrate their efforts and ingenuity on the production of fine and fancy fabrics. The Scots recognizing the potential of these inventions quickly put them to practical use. The fact that the new machinery was only suitable to work in cotton and not flax did not prove an obstacle. It simply meant a change from one kind

of raw material to another, a change which occurred rapidly in the west of Scotland eventually rendering cotton the primary industry of Scotland.<sup>72</sup>

The year 1779 saw the erection of the first cotton mill in Scotland,<sup>73</sup> followed a year later by another built in Neilston and two years later by still another in Johnston.<sup>74</sup> The cotton mill at East Kilbride seems to have been the first one constructed in Lanarkshire followed by North Woodside mill erected in Glasgow a year later.<sup>75</sup> The cancellation of Arkwright's patent in 1785 further stimulated the construction of mills and expansion of the cotton trade. In 1786 Dale erected the largest mill in Scotland.<sup>76</sup> The extent of the cotton fever in Scotland is reflected in the Statistical Account where numerous entries and observations by the parish ministers testified to the rapid growth of cotton mills and the expansion of the cotton industry.<sup>77</sup> By 1787, just a few years after the construction of the first cotton mill there were nineteen of them in operation and nine years later the number jumped to thirty-nine.<sup>78</sup>

Such links as still existed between the textile manufacture and agriculture now quickly faded away. Unlike flax and hemp, cotton could not be cultivated at home, consequently the cotton industry had to depend on imports



for its raw material. Because of the enormous expansion of the trade, thanks to mechanization, and because of mechanization itself, control over the industry became firmly lodged in the hands of capitalists. Spinning which, prior to the advent of technological progress, remained a part-time occupation combined with agricultural pursuits became now insofar as cotton yarn was concerned, a factory process, the full-time spinners being totally dependent for their livelihood on wages gained in the mills. In the linen trade, however, this transformation was somewhat delayed because of the difficulty of devising a successful flax spinning machine.

The water-frame constitutes the most influential invention from the point of view of the changes in the industrial organization for it definitely gave rise to the factory system. Nevertheless both the "jenny" and the "mule" though operated by hand insofar as Scotland was concerned influenced the change in this direction.

Those historians who have dealt with the Industrial Revolution in Scotland imply that the adoption of the "jenny" and the "mule" in Scotland did not involve any change in the industrial organization. <sup>79</sup> Both of these inventions were hand operated and as such boosted domestic spinning and the two types of organization, the domestic or the putting

out system and the factory, existed side by side. The domestic system began to disappear completely only with the application of power to the "mule" in 1792. It is difficult however to find any evidence to support this view that both the "jenny" and the "mule" were intensively used in the domestic system. It is very likely that, since the Scottish cotton industry concentrated mainly on the fine and fancy fabrics for which yarn spun by the "mule" was indispensable this would lead to the belief that in consequence the "mule" had to be used extensively, and since it remained as yet hand operated it had to be used on a domestic basis. The same could be said of the "jenny" for its yarn was still used with that of the water-frame in weaving plain materials. It must be borne in mind, however, that up to the 1800's great quantities of yarn had still to be imported from England, <sup>80</sup> which would suggest that not only the output of Scottish mills remained inadequate but also that if spinning on a domestic basis prevailed it must have done so on a limited scale. If it existed on a large scale it would be reasonable to assume that it would have been in a position to satisfy the demand for yarn by the Scottish manufacturers. It must be further regarded as remarkable that we do not find in the Statistical Account any mention of the wide-spread use of the inventions of Hargreaves and Crompton on a domestic basis. It is

difficult to believe that inventions such as the "jenny" and the "mule", if they had been extensively used, would have escaped the notice of the observant eyes of the parish ministers. Both of these inventions were actually referred to in the Statistical Account but as being set up in larger establishments. For example, in the parish of Cambuslang at Flemington we learn from one of the writers in the Statistical Account that there was a small cotton works containing 16 common "jennies" of 84 spindles each and one carding machine driven by water power.<sup>81</sup> Again in Kilwinning two houses contained 12 "mules" and 16<sup>82</sup> "jennies." Similar establishments seem to have been set up in other places.<sup>83</sup> Though this does not necessarily rule out the possibility that both the "jenny" and the "mule" found their way into the cottages and garrets, nevertheless, it indicates a strong tendency for the two inventions to be housed in larger numbers under one roof<sup>84</sup> even though they still remain propelled by man-power. Such being the case it is suggested that as far as Scotland was concerned adoption of the "jenny" and the "mule" influenced changes in the industrial organization even before the water-frame came into use. The explanation for this might rest on the fact that since the boom in the cotton trade, banks offered credit with ease to those who wished to enter the trade. Consequently many were encouraged

to embark on cotton spinning, even on the "jennies" and "mules", on a more extensive scale.<sup>85</sup>

Such domestic spinning as went on began to disappear after 1792 when William Kelly, manager in the New Lanark mills, applied water-power to the "mule" and two years later patented his invention the self-actor "mule." Though this latter invention did not entirely meet with success,<sup>86</sup> nevertheless, application of water-power eliminated such hand and domestic cotton spinning as went on. From then on cotton spinning was conducted in the mills, the number of which greatly increased.

The outbreak of war with France in 1793, though it distorted and dislocated the expansion of the cotton trade, did not arrest it. Between 1796 and 1812 to the thirty-nine cotton mills in existence eight-one more were added, making a total of one hundred and twenty containing 900,000 spindles and giving employment to nearly 20,000 people of which number, however, 18,000 consisted of young women and children.<sup>87</sup> Though, during the next two decades, only fourteen mills were erected this does not mean, however, that the pace of expansion slackened. On the contrary while the newly built mills were more extensive the older ones were enlarged to increase their productive capacity to which the greatly increased number of spindles - 1,728,628 -<sup>88</sup> readily testify.

The progress of machinery in textile manufacture was not confined only to the cotton section of the industry but included the linen branch as well. From the very outset of mechanization of cotton spinning it became clear that if linen were to hold its ground and meet the competition from cotton successfully, improvements in its production similar to that which occurred in the cotton industry must take place. Progress here, however, proceeded at a much slower pace primarily because of technical difficulties.

The first step in the direction of mechanization of flax spinning took place in England in 1787 when Kendall and Porterhouse patented a machine for that purpose. Immediately the machine was imported to Scotland by Sinn and Thom who under the supervision of the patentees erected the first flax spinning mill north of Tweed in Berrie in Kincardineshire.<sup>89</sup> Strictly speaking the Berrie mill manufactured thread but about the same time the first mill to spin yarn for cloth appeared in Forfarshire at Brighton<sup>90</sup> erected by James Ivory and Company.

The Kendall-Porterhouse invention, unfortunately for the linen manufacture, did not prove to be entirely successful. The machine would only spin very coarse yarn.<sup>91</sup> Fine yarn still had to be spun by hand spinners. The chief obstacle to the success of mechanical spinning lay not

in the machine but rather in the peculiar property of the flax itself. The flax fibre contained a sticky substance which hindered the roving action of the machine often causing breakages and making the yarn uneven.<sup>92</sup> As long as flax was spun dry the yarn would remain coarse in quality. Apart from this imperfection, the uncertain state of trade, subject to recurrent fluctuation, contributed in some measure to the slow progress of machinery.

At the outbreak of war in 1793 the linen trade suffered a setback and became stagnant for a time, the prices falling from between 20% to 40%. Later on it increased, stimulated by the demand for coarse linen by the government. In 1809 the prices of flax rose to unprecedented levels of £150 per ton only to fall in 1810 to almost half its former price. In 1812 it rose somewhat but in 1814 fell £45 under the price of 1812.<sup>93</sup> Under such conditions not many manufacturers found enough courage to invest large sums of money in a machine which was not entirely a success and at a time when trade fluctuated.<sup>94</sup> Not until the 1820's when the linen trade experienced a boom did any really significant movement towards mechanization occur.

The spinning machine was tried first in Dundee in 1793 when a firm of Fairweather and Marr erected a small mill at Chapelside, propelled by a 10 h.p. steam engine.

Soon after, another mill of the same extent was built but both suspended operations after a short period of time.<sup>95</sup> Some more enterprising individuals in the trade, however, technical difficulties and vagaries of the trade notwithstanding, pressed on with the erection of mills. In 1798 five additional flax spinning mills were constructed but compared to the cotton mills they remained small affairs<sup>96</sup> containing between them only some 2,000 spindles. In spite of these efforts successful flax spinning by machinery remained far from being assured. Between 1798 and 1806 no new additions to the existing number of mills were made.

The intrusion of machinery in such an uncertain manner and on such a small scale did not greatly disturb the existing type of industrial organization of the linen trade. Nevertheless, efforts continued to be made to improve the machinery. About 1810 Gerard, a Frenchman, managed to construct a spinning machine with wet rollers which permitted spinning of fine yarn. But not until Kay, in the 1820's resolved the problem by showing that steeping flax in water for six to seven hours made the fibre easily drawn by machinery, did flax spinning machines become a complete success.<sup>97</sup> The booming condition of the flax trade in the early 1820's encouraged the erection of flax mills. In 1822 seven new mills were erected in Dundee alone making a total of seventeen in operation in the town

in addition to the fourteen others within a radius of five miles from the city.<sup>98</sup> The economic crisis of 1825/26 hit the linen industry hard but did not arrest the process of mechanization. The revival of the trade in 1827, especially with America, allowed for greater expansion. The year 1828<sup>99</sup> witnessed an erection of eight new mills in Dundee, and<sup>100</sup> in 1832 it counted thirty. By the mid 30's the total number of flax mills in Scotland stood at 170 concentrated<sup>101</sup> chiefly in Fife and Forfar.

Mechanical flax spinning in its earliest stages did not greatly affect the domestic industry. As we have noticed mechanization remained limited in extent still leaving scope for domestic spinning on a relatively large scale. During the early twenties, however, greater mechanization had adverse effects on the domestic spinner. Allowing for greater centralization it practically eliminated hand spinning in those parts of the country far removed from the centre of the linen trade. A minister in Deksford in Banffshire bitterly complained of the hardships caused by the mechanization of hand spinning.

"There was not a house in Deksford nor in any part of the adjoining country without one or more spinning wheels in it. There was not a female among the labouring classes who did not learn to spin; and even many of those who did not depend for support upon the industry of their hands." 102



103

Other ministers had a similar tale to tell.

In parts of the country closer to the center of the linen trade some scope for the domestic spinning still existed. This form of spinning, however, was rapidly declining,  
104  
being superseded by the more efficient method.

Changes in the organization of the other main sector of the textile industry - weaving - proceeded at a much slower pace. No dramatic mechanical inventions to revolutionize production as yet occurred here. Nevertheless, the enormous expansion of the cotton industry due to mechanization of spinning greatly affected the position and status of those weavers engaged in weaving cotton.

The expansion can be gauged from the amount of cotton consumed in Scotland. In 1755 it amounted to only 105,851 lbs. but in 1789 this figure jumped to 2,401,661 lbs.  
105  
in 1796 to 4,629,043 lbs. and in 1803 it reached 8,620,966 lbs. Meanwhile, the linen manufacture, though under strong competitive pressure from cotton, did not decline. At the time when the cotton industry came into being the output of the linen industry amounted to 18,920,249 yards but in 1800 it stood at 24,235,633 yards and in 1822, perhaps the  
106  
industry's best year, the output rose to 36,268,530½ yards. Thus, if the consumption of cotton was added to that of flax it would be easy to appreciate to what extent the textile

industry had expanded. In consequence of this expansion the demand for weavers increased.

Prior to the coming of machinery the output of yarn remained far behind the weavers' productive capacity. The output of five to six spinning wheels rarely sufficed<sup>107</sup> to provide one weaver with enough yarn for one day's work. The mechanization of spinning reversed this situation. If the weavers suffered before from the insufficient supply of yarn now they had more than they could cope with. In fact a shortage of weavers developed and the manufacturers had to resort to various tricks and stratagems to secure<sup>108</sup> enough hands to remain in business.

The introduction of the flying shuttle into Scotland about this time and the rapid spread of its use did not<sup>109</sup> materially alter the situation. It increased the weavers' output but not to the extent of satisfying the demand. In such circumstances it became inevitable that the position and the status of the weavers would change.

The enormous expansion of the cotton trade placed the control of it firmly in the hands of the capitalist manufacturer. In a textile industry of such proportions no room existed for an independent or even semi-independent producer of the olden days. In a relatively short period of time the weavers in the west of Scotland, connected with the

cotton trade, found themselves reduced to the position of wage earners dependent on the large manufacturers for their livelihood.<sup>110</sup> In this respect their position did not differ from that of the cotton mill operatives. The only distinction that separated the two was that weaving was still conducted on the domestic basis for as yet no weaving machinery existed which would make factory weaving<sup>111</sup> a possibility.

The weavers in other parts of Scotland, particularly those in the east connected with linen manufacture, did not suffer from the same pressure. For one thing the linen trade, though expanding, did so at a much slower rate than cotton. This was due partly to the successful competition from cotton which was rendered cheaper because of mechanization and partly as we have noted, to the slow progress of mechanization of flax spinning which would have put linen more or less on the same footing with cotton on the market. Consequently, the organization of the linen trade remained, until the 1820's when mechanization became a reality, somewhat looser and less rigid and not controlled to the same extent as cotton manufacture by the capitalist. The weavers did not remain wholly bound to their looms nor exclusively dependent for their earnings and livelihood on the manufacturer. In many instances they combined weaving with some other part-time occupation such as field

work in the summer, helping with the harvest and hay making, fishing or pursuing "customers' work," that is, weaving<sup>112</sup> directly on order from the customer-consumer. In some instances the weavers remained economically more or less independent insofar as they procured the yarn to be woven directly from the spinner, wove it and sold the cloth to the cloth merchants of Auchtermuchty, Dundee, Perth, Cupar<sup>113</sup> or Glasgow, or the agents of merchants in England. During the 1820's and 30's, and in some instances earlier, when mechanization of flax spinning was making headway, the industry became more concentrated and more rigidly controlled by the manufacturer. As the trade expanded the linen weavers gradually became reduced to the same position as the cotton weavers in the west. Not all the weavers, however, found themselves in a position of dependence on the manufacturers. Some "customers'" weavers, quite independent<sup>114</sup> of the industry, survived well into the nineteenth century.

The great demand occasioned by the scarcity of weavers during the early stages of the development and expansion of the cotton industry proved a great advantage to the weavers but it also contained germs of future dangers which beset the weaving trade. The weavers finding themselves in the fortunate position of being able to pick and choose the kind of work naturally tended to choose work which promised to be the most remunerative, usually consisting

of fine and fancy goods. This of course meant that not enough hands existed to weave plain calicos, the lifeblood of those in the calico-printing trade. It would be perhaps an exaggeration to say that the introduction of the power-loom resulted because of the acute shortage of the weavers, nevertheless, this shortage played not an inconsiderable part in accelerating the use of this type of machine.

The power-loom invented in 1774 by the Reverend Dr. Cartwright and patented in the same year did not at the time arouse much attention.<sup>115</sup> During the early 1790's one Robertson, a Scotsman, while on a visit to London procured two of the looms and set them up in a cellar in Glasgow using a Newfoundland dog as motor power.<sup>116</sup> Soon after the power-loom attracted the attention of a calico-printing firm in Milton which was desperately looking for weavers to supply it with enough calico to keep it in business. As a consequence the firm erected forty of these looms in their printing works.<sup>117</sup> The spread of the use of the new weaving machine, however, proceeded rather slowly. For one thing the number of weavers attracted to the trade by high earnings increased. Furthermore, the power-loom itself left much to be desired. So far it could only weave very plain coarse fabric while the Scottish cotton industry concentrated primarily on the production of fine cloth. The power-loom, however, once introduced was slowly integrated into the industry, adapted

and modified to cope, not only with plain and finer fabrics, but also with more intricate designs.

In 1801 John Monteith of Glasgow, installed 200<sup>118</sup> power-looms in his works in Pollockshaws. In 1804 mainly at the instigation of the same John Monteith who urged Buchanan of Catherine cotton works to try improvements in the power-loom, the latter set to work and after trial and error not only succeeded in improving the power-loom but at the same time applied himself to the construction of a dressing machine. He succeeded and in 1807 set up the first complete works in Britain which by power carried<sup>119</sup> on warping and dressing as well as weaving. In 1809 and 1810 respectively checks and ticks began to be woven and by 1819 the power-loom could weave figured goods and lappets. Later on the manufacturers attempted to adapt it to weave even fancier goods but with no great measure<sup>120</sup> of success. As a result of this failure the number of power-looms compared with hand-looms remained relatively small. By 1820 Glasgow had sixteen factories equipped with 2,350 power-looms and by 1835 the number increased<sup>121</sup> to 15,127. At the same time, however, the Glasgow<sup>122</sup> manufacturers alone employed some 32,000 hand-loom weavers.

The large number of hand-loom weavers and the imperfections of the power-loom explain its slow progress.

The weaving trade had become overstocked with hands and<sup>123</sup>  
the labour of hand-loom weavers remained very cheap.

Great numbers of small manufacturers who had not sufficient capital to invest in the expensive machinery availed themselves of the cheap labour. The large manufacturers who had capital, finding the services of the hand-loom weavers cheap, remained unwilling to invest in the construction of power-loom factories while those who specialized in fine and fancy goods were obliged by the power-loom's deficiencies to rely on the hand-loom weavers. In consequence both types of weaving existed side by side.

The progress of power-loom weaving in the linen branch proceeded at an even slower pace. It came into use in 1810, though on a very small scale, in circumstances similar to those which accompanied its introduction in the cotton trade. As a result of war large contracts had been placed by the government for coarse linen cloth for the army. Weavers at the time, however, were still somewhat scarce and consequently preferred to work on materials that paid better wages than coarse linen. In order to overcome this difficulty and satisfy the demand the manufacturers<sup>124</sup> had recourse to the power-loom. But its use went no farther. Later on, the same factor operated in the linen trade as in the cotton industry to arrest its progress. The great abundance of labourers made their labour so cheap

that the manufacturer hesitated before spending large sums of money on machines, especially when the trade fluctuated, to do the work that could be done by cheap labour.<sup>125</sup> Even during the hey-day of the linen trade between 1820 and 1825 only a few efforts were made to employ power-looms in the industry. They were tried in Kirkcaldy in 1821 and in Dundee in the same year but without much success.<sup>126</sup> Not until 1836 did the power-loom secure a firm footing when in Dundee the first successful power-loom factory was erected,<sup>127</sup> followed shortly by three others.

The bleaching and calico-printing processes underwent improving modifications and at the same time the two subsidiary branches of the textile industry expanded.<sup>128</sup> Bleaching, because of the somewhat crude methods employed could only be conducted during the summer months and consequently remained a seasonal occupation. The cloth was steeped in an alkaline bath for several days, washed clean and crofted, that is, spread on the grass for several weeks. This process was repeated several times. The cloth then was steeped in sour milk and crofted again. Souring with milk occupied several weeks and the whole bleaching process required anywhere up to eight months.<sup>129</sup> The first improvements occurred when a weak solution of sulphuric acid was substituted for the sour milk which cut the bleaching period from eight to four months.<sup>130</sup> But even with this



improvement bleaching remained seasonal in character. The discovery by Berthollet of the use of chlorine for whitening cloth in the 1780's, and subsequent improvements made by Tennant, changed the characteristics of the bleaching industry. Bleaching could now be reduced to a few days and furthermore enable it to be conducted all year round. <sup>131</sup>

Printing, introduced into Scotland in 1738 did not make any great headway prior to the coming of cotton. The introduction of this branch of the textile industry coupled with the repeal in 1774 of the law which prohibited the printing of British made calicos gave impetus to the printing trade. The introduction of the power-loom stimulated it further while the expansion made improvements in the trade more urgent. Previously printing involved stamping of a piece of cloth with a block measuring three by four inches, to print a piece of cloth twenty-eight yards long.

During the space of some eight decades, from the 1750's to the 1830's, Scotland underwent a profound change. From a state of backwardness and poverty where agriculture was the mainstay of its population and a stagnant and unprogressive agriculture at that, she emerged prosperous with expanding trade and commerce, thriving manufactures and efficient and advanced agriculture. The process of transformation of the economic and industrial sphere, noticeable

after the union, intensified after the debacle of the '45 and with the coming of machinery and the application of steam power in the industry the process entered its final stage.

The main feature of the so called Industrial Revolution consisted of the change that it brought about in industrial relationships, or perhaps more correctly, the creation of a new range of industrial relations. In this change technological progress played a conspicuous part. Indeed without it changes could not have reached the proportions they did. Nevertheless, the machinery alone does not bear the responsibility for this transformation but also the emergence of capitalism which, under the pressure of the expanding trade, made its appearance before the impact of machinery. With the economic expansion prosperity increased and the over-all standard of living rose causing the growth of the home market which, added to the foreign market, stimulated industrial enterprise. This expansion of the economy forced the industry to embark on the road of transformation and adapt its organization to fit the new set of circumstances. To what extent the separation between capital and labour occurred, in industries not affected by the progress in the industrial technology, is difficult to say. We have noted these tendencies earlier in the leather and nail trade not to mention the linen trade prior to the

introduction of machinery. Judging, however, from the growth of combinations or unions in the trades as yet unaffected by mechanization, capitalism to a greater or lesser extent must have overtaken them.

NOTES

1. Compare the revenues and public income in Scotland and England. In 1705 in the former it amounted to £160,000 in the latter to £5,691,003. Graham, H.G., The Social Life in Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, Adam and Charles Black, London, 1906, p. 512n.
2. At the time of the Union the amount of the coin in circulation in Scotland amounted to £600,000, Ibid., p. 511.
3. For example, dearth because of the weather occurred in 1709, 1740 and 1760.
4. Glasgow at the beginning of the century had 12,500 inhabitants, Paisley 2,600, Kilmarnock 2,000, Dundee 6,000 and Greenock 1,500. Graham, op. cit., pp. 508, 509.
5. In 1705 Customs and Excises amounted to £30,000 and £35,500 respectively while the mercantile fleet numbered 93 ships with a tonnage of 6,000, Ibid., pp. 510, 512n.
6. Ibid., p. 510.
7. Mathieson, W.L., Scotland and the Union, 1695-1747, Glasgow, 1905, pp. 19-24.
8. In 1700 the Scottish commercial fleet consisted of 93 vessels with a tonnage of 6,000, in 1760, 976 vessels with a tonnage of 52,818, and in 1792, 718 vessels with a tonnage of 84,000. Graham, op. cit., p. 536n.
9. Statistical Account of Scotland, 21 Vols. Edinburgh, 1791-1799, Vol. V, p. 489, henceforth referred to as O.S.A.
10. Gibson, J., History of Glasgow, Glasgow, 1777, p. 210, 211.
11. Brown, A., History of Glasgow, 2 Vols. Glasgow, 1795, Vol. II, p. 362.
12. Hamilton, H., The Industrial Revolution in Scotland, Oxford, 1932, p. 5.
13. Ibid.

14. For example in Perthshire in the parish of Langforan rent per acre increased as follows: 1750-5/-, 1759-17/-, 1782-25/-, 1786-45/-, 1796-50/-. In Dumfriesshire in the parish of Cummertrees total rent increased from 500 in 1735 to 2,800 in 1793. In Lanarkshire the total rent in the parish of Cambuslang rose from 1,000 in 1750 to 2,850 in 1790. O.S.A., Vols. XIX, p. 525; VII, p. 308; V, p. 251.
15. Vide supra p.108.
16. Graham, op. cit., p. 520; Bremner D., Industries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1869, p. 393.
17. Ibid., p. 109.
18. Ibid., p. 110.
19. Ibid.
20. "Till within those forty years" - says Arnot in his History of Edinburgh written in 1779 - "the printing of newspapers and school-books of the fanatic effusion of Presbyterian clergymen, and the law papers of the Court of Session, joined to the patent bible printing, gave a scanty employment to four printing houses. Such, however, has been the increase of this trade by the reprinting of English books not protected by the statute concerning literary property, by the additional number of authors and many lesser causes, that there are now not fewer than twenty-seven printing offices in Edinburgh." Quoted by Bremner, op. cit., pp. 495, 496.
21. Ibid., p. 497.
22. For a more detailed account of the progress of newspapers and magazines in Scotland see Couper, W.J., The Edinburgh Periodical Press, Stirling, 1908; "Glasgow Periodical Press in the Eighteenth Century," Records of Glasgow Bibliographical Society, 1928, Vol. VIII, pp. 99-135; Craig, M.E., The Scottish Periodical Press, Edinburgh, 1931.
23. O.S.A., Vol. VI, p. 595.
24. New Statistical Account of Scotland, 15 Vols. Edinburgh, 1845, henceforth referred to as N.S.A., Vol. VII, "Renfrewshire," p. 440; Bremner, op. cit., pp. 457, 458.
25. N.S.A., Vol. VII, "Renfrewshire," p. 440.

26. O.S.A., Vols. II, p. 198; V, p. 504; VIII, p. 218; XIV, p. 553.
27. "The Saltcoats people finding an increasing demand for ships they could not build in America nor buy at that time in Britain but at a high price, were naturally led to attempt to build them themselves, their harbour being remarkably convenient for launching them." Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 21.
28. Ibid., Vol. V, p. 581.
29. Ibid., Vols. VII, pp. 21, 22; XI, p. 551; XII, p. 513; XVIII, p. 36.
30. Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 572.
31. Journals of the House of Commons, Vol. XXIII, pp. 68, 77, 122, 124, 125, 135.
32. Warden, Alex. J., The Linen Trade, 2nd edition, London, 1807, p. 480.
33. It would seem that as early as the 1730's linens became the chief article of wear. One Scottish lady wrote about the time: "Linens being everywhere made at home, the spinning being executed by the servants during the long winter evenings, and the weaving by the village webster, there was a general abundance of napery and underclothing... I remember in the year '30 or '31 of a ball where it was agreed that the company should be dressed in nothing but what was manufactured in the country." Quoted by Bremner, op. cit., p. 222.
34. Campbell, R.H., Carron Company, Edinburgh, 1962, p. 108.
35. Ibid., pp. 214, 216.
36. Ibid., p. 108.
37. Gibson, op. cit., p. 242.
38. Hamilton, op. cit., pp. 166, 167.
39. Sinclair, Sir J., General Report of the Agricultural State and Political Circumstances of Scotland, 5 Vols. Edinburgh, 1814, Vol. II, p. 286.
40. Hamilton, op. cit., p. 164; Bremner, op. cit., p. 33.

41. Ashton, T.S., Iron and Steel in the Industrial Revolution, Manchester, 1924, p. 101.
42. The preamble to the first act of 1774 states the reason that "there are not a sufficient number of colliers, coal-bearers, and salters in Scotland for working the quantity of coal and salt wanted." The Statutes at Large, Vol. XXXI, cap. XXVIII, pp. 50-53.
43. Iron works - 160,000 tons, glass works - 25,000, distilleries - 53,000. Bald, R. General View of the Coal Trade of Scotland Chiefly that of the River Forth and Mid-Lothian, Edinburgh, 1812, p. 2.
44. Sinclair, Gen. Rep., Vol. III, Addenda, 6.
45. Hamilton, op. cit., p. 227.
46. Sinclair, Gen. Rep., Vol. V, pp. 345-47.
47. O.S.A., Vol. V, p. 588.
48. N.S.A., Vol. VIII, "Stirlingshire," p. 27.
49. Hamilton, op. cit., p. 233.
50. For example the Caledonian Canal a considerable engineering feat.
51. 32 Geo. II, c.62.
52. 10 Geo. III, c.104.
53. Hamilton, op. cit., p. 242.
54. For a more complete account of the progress of banking in Scotland see Kerr, A.W., History of Banking in Scotland, 1924; Graham, W., The One Pound Note in Scotland, 1886; Munro, N., The History of the Royal Bank of Scotland, 1928; Rait, R.S., The History of the Union Bank of Scotland, 1930.
55. N.S.A., Vol. VI, "Lanarkshire," p. 157.
56. Ibid., Vol. VIII, "Stirlingshire," p. 18.
57. Vide infra p. 66.



58. Total quantities of linen cloth stamped in Scotland:  
1730 - 3,225,155 yards; 1750 - 7,752,540 yards;  
1760 - 11,747,728 yards; 1770 - 13,049,535 yards;  
1780 - 13,410,934 yards; 1790 - 18,092,249 yards.  
Warden, op. cit., p. 480.
59. Scots Magazine, Vols. XI, p. 2531, XII, p. 350;  
XXV, p. 655; Gibson, op. cit., pp. 313, 314
60. Warden, op. cit., p. 449.
61. Bremner, op. cit., p. 219.
62. Naismith, J., Thoughts on Various Objects of Industry  
Pursued in Scotland, Edinburgh, 1790, p. 227.
63. Hamilton, op. cit., p. 97.
64. Encyclopedia Britannica, First edition, Edinburgh,  
1842, Vol. IV, pp. 678, 679.
65. Warden, op. cit., p. 719
66. The average import of flax for the six years preceeding  
1782 amounted to 553,570 stones per year while the  
home produced flax consumed by the manufacture amounted  
to only 183,490 stones for the same period. Naismith,  
op. cit., p. 133 et seq.
67. According to the reports in the O.S.A., remuneration  
for spinning amounted to 3d per day or 1/- per spindle  
on the average, making the earnings of a spinner 1/6d  
per week, quite an inadequate sum to provide subsistence.  
This situation was somewhat improved with the introduction  
of the two-handed wheel increasing the earnings from  
3d to 6d per day. The use of the two-handed wheel  
spread rather slowly, Ibid., Vols. IV, pp. 335, 539,  
549; X, p. 159; XI, pp. 114, 224; XIII, p. 182;  
XVIII, p. 183.
68. Ibid., Vols. IV, p. 256; VII, p. 180.
69. "Account Books of John Forrester," 1742-1749,  
Miscellaneous Papers, Vol. 82; Forfeited Estates Mss.,  
General Management, Vol. II, No. 6, "State of the  
Progress made in Manufactories by Duncan Grant of  
Forbes, 1763." Register House, Edinburgh.
70. Dickie, J.M., "The Economic Position of Scotland in  
1760," Scottish Historical Review, Vol. XVIII, p. 19.

71. The "jenny" contained at first eight spindles. When Hargreaves took out the patent specifications mentioned sixteen or more spindles. In 1784 the number increased to eighty-four and eventually to 120 spindles. Daniels, W.G., The Early English Cotton Industry, Manchester, 1920, p. 80.
72. It was estimated in 1818 that the production of cotton reached 105,000,000 yards valued at £5,200,000. The production of linen in the same year was 31,283,100½ yards valued at £1,253,528. 8. 10½d. Cleland, J., The Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow, Glasgow, 1820, p. 95; McCulloch, J.R., Statistical Account of the British Empire, London, 1839, p. 673.
73. Marwick, W.H., "The Cotton Industry and the Industrial Revolution in Scotland," Scottish Historical Review, Vol. XXI, p. 212; Mitchell, G.M., "The Early English and Scottish Cotton Industries," Ibid., Vol. XXII, p. 104.
74. O.S.A., Vol. VII, p. 88; N.S.A., Vol. VII, "Renfrewshire," p. 336.
75. O.S.A., Vols. III, p. 424; XII, p. 116.
76. The first mill began in 1785 and measured 154 ft. in length and 27 ft. in width and 60 ft. in height. This mill burnt down in 1788 but was rebuilt a year later. The same year a second mill was added of similar dimensions. Soon after an additional two mills were constructed making a total of four giving employment in 1793 to 1,344 persons. Ibid., Vol. XV, p. 35.
77. Ibid., Vols. II, pp. 153, 217, 2791 III, pp. 221, 334, 424; V, pp. 258, 189, 476; VII, pp. 88, 342, 621; VIII, pp. 81, 217, 284, 337; X, p. 422; XI, pp. 56, 162, 376, 475; XII, pp. 104, 116, 239, 345; XIII, p. 607; XV, pp. 70, 504, 530; XVI, pp. 117, 617; XVII, pp. 301, 308, 531, 556; XVIII, pp. 35, 205, 384, 514-15; XIX, pp. 225, 451; XX, pp. 87, 176.
78. An Important Crisis in the Calico and Muslin Manufactory in Great Britain Explained, London, 1788, p. 5; Scots Magazine, New Series, Vol. I, p. 159; Brown, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 240-244.
79. I refer here to H. Hamilton and J.M. Mitchell. Neither states their view explicitly but only give the impression that what happened in England followed in Scotland. See Mitchell, op. cit., p. 105 and Hamilton, op. cit., pp. 118-130.

80. O.S.A., Vol. V, p. 502; Denholm, J., History of Glasgow, Glasgow, 1804, p. 413.
81. O.S.A., Vol. V, pp. 258, 259.
82. Ibid., Vol. XI, p. 162.
83. In Peterhead for example a small company of Messrs. J. Arbuthnot, Grout & Company, spun their cotton on four common "jennies." Ibid., Vol. XVI, p. 616. There were small cotton works at Drumdonald in Ayr and Arbroath employing thirty and eighteen hands respectively which would suggest that they too were equipped with either common "jennies" or "mules." Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 342, 621. Some large mills like Blantyre, New Lanark also contained apart from the water frame common "jennies" and "mules." While in Paisley they were used in small works extensively. Ibid., Vols. II, p. 217; XV, p. 35; VII, p. 88.
84. From the estimates of Brown of 181,753 employed in the industry in 1791 and who was a contemporary would suggest that some domestic spinning went on. Brown, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 240-244.
85. Ibid., p. 59; Hamilton, op. cit., p. 270.
86. Daniels, op. cit., p. 125.
87. Sinclair, Gen. Rep., Vol. III, p. 317.
88. Hamilton, op. cit., p. 136.
89. Warden, op. cit., pp. 489, 490.
90. Ibid., p. 458.
91. Sinclair, Gen. Rep., Vol. III, pp. 299, 300.
92. Gill, C., The Rise of the Linen Industry, 1925, pp. 316, 317.
93. Warden, op. cit., pp. 566, 616.
94. In Forfar for example, a piece of osnaburgh cost in October 1814, 21/-, in November 28/-, but in December it fell to 14/- and by October of the following year to 6/-. Ibid., p. 559.

95. Bremner, op. cit., p. 249.
96. Ibid.
97. Gill, op. cit., p. 317.
98. Warden, op. cit., pp. 591-593.
99. Ibid., p. 592.
100. N.S.A., Vol. XI, "Forfarshire," p. 26.
101. Forfar led with eighty-nine mills followed by Fife with forty-seven and between them accounting for two-thirds of the total mills. Accounts and Papers, Parl. Pap., 1836, Vol. XLV.
102. N.S.A., Vol. XIII, "Banffshire," p. 72.
103. Ibid., Vol. XIII, pp. 191, 259, 283, 340; Vol. XII, "Aberdeenshire," p. 1005; "Inverness," Vol. XIV, p. 22.
104. Ibid., Vol. I, "Edinburgh," pp. 125, 738; Vol. VIII, "Stirling," pp. 21, 125, 738.
105. Encyclopedia Britannica, 4th edition, Edinburgh, 1810, Vol. XVIII, p. 771.
106. Warden, op. cit., p. 480.
107. Mantoux, op. cit., p. 213; Daniels, op. cit., p. 74.
108. Vide infrap. 109.
109. Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Petition from Hand-Loom Weavers, Parl. Pap., 1854, Vol. X, p. 16.
110. The Glasgow manufacturers alone employed 32,000 hand-loom weavers, 15,216 of them in Glasgow and suburbs and 16,781 in the district around Glasgow. Cleland, Rise of Glasgow, p. 239.
111. Early attempts to set up weaving factories equipped with hand-loom were made by some Glasgow manufacturers in the 1800's. There are no indications, however, that these types of large weaving shops were numerous. Lamb, D., "Notes on Rural and Suburban Life in Scotland in the 'Thirties'." Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow, 1902, Vol. XXXIII, p. 261.

112. N.S.A., Vol. IX, "Fifeshire," pp. 332, 573, 674, 574;  
Vol. VI, "Lanarkshire," p. 560.
113. O.S.A., Vol. IV, p. 539; N.S.A., Vol. IX, "Fifeshire,"  
pp. 76, 674.
114. Clapham, J., An Economic History of Britain, Cambridge,  
1939, Vol. I, pp. 159, 160.
115. N.S.A., Vol. VI, "Lanarkshire," p. 152.
116. Ibid.
117. Ibid.; Sinclair, Gen. Rep., Vol. V, p. 321; Cleland, J.,  
Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the City of Glasgow  
and County of Lanark, Glasgow, 1832, p. 136.
118. N.S.A., Vol. VI, "Lanarkshire," p. 152.
119. Ibid., p. 153.
120. Ibid., Report on Hand-Loom Weavers Petition, Parl.  
Pap., 1834, Vol. X, pp. 71, 76.
121. N.S.A., Vol. VI, "Lanarkshire," p. 154; Cleland,  
Rise of Glasgow, p. 95.
122. Vide supra p. 155
123. For the depressed state of the weavers see p. 155 et seq.
124. Power-looms were used in Brechin from 1810 onward.  
Gill, op. cit., p. 268.
125. Bremner, op. cit., p. 249; Warden, op. cit., p. 565.
126. Bremner, op. cit., p. 249.
127. Ibid.
128. According to references in the O.S.A., and the N.S.A.,  
it would appear that the number of bleaching establish-  
ments increased from thirty-five in the 1790's to  
fifty-five in the 1830's while the number of printfields  
increased from twenty-three to thirty-seven during the  
same period. Besides these there were many cotton  
and linen mills which constructed their own bleaching  
and printfields. The above figures cannot be taken  
as final but merely indicative of the expansion of  
this subsidiary branch of the textile industry.

129. Encyclopedia Britannica, 7th edition, Edinburgh, 1842, Vol. N, pp. 678, 679.
130. Ibid.
131. Ibid.
132. According to a witness before the Committee on Combination of Workmen 1837/8, there were between thirty-five and forty trade associations in Glasgow alone, Parl. Pap., 1837-38, Vol. VIII, p. 208.

C H A P T E R    T W O

THE SOURCES AND EXTENT OF THE  
INDUSTRIAL LABOUR FORCE

It will be seen from the preceding chapter that the changes in the industrial organization stimulated on the one hand by the expanding markets both at home and abroad, and on the other by technological progress, altered the character of the Scottish economy. Previous to these developments Scotland remained primarily, if not exclusively, an agricultural country. Industries existed and even expanded but remained associated with agriculture although during the second half of the eighteenth century under the stress and strain of the expanding economy the links with the land showed signs of breaking. Not until, however, the mechanical inventions of the 1770's and 1780's and those which followed, did the industry emancipate itself from association with and dependence on land and agriculture. Rapid industrial expansion during the last two decades of the eighteenth century and the first three decades of the nineteenth century primarily in the textile and allied industries allowed Scotland to emerge by 1832 with a relatively large and thriving industry.



This of course does not mean that Scotland, in the space of some four decades, became exclusively an industrial country with agriculture relegated to a position of secondary importance nor that capitalism permeated all spheres of manufacturing life. On the contrary, agriculture, which at the same time underwent a "revolution" of its own still occupied a position of first rate importance in the economy of the country.<sup>1</sup> Capitalism on the other hand, chiefly based on small concentrated industrial areas such as the Glasgow and Paisley districts, Edinburgh and Dundee and to a lesser extent Aberdeen still left considerable scope to relatively independent craftsmen scattered in villages and smaller towns throughout Scotland.

One of the aspects of the economic transformation consisted in the change in the employment pattern and the creation of a new element within labour, the industrial proletariat. It is obvious that a growing industry called for a skilled and unskilled labour force without which no industry could succeed even though it had at its disposal all other attributes necessary to achieve success: capital, raw materials, and readily available markets. It is difficult to determine how large a section of the labouring population was absorbed by the growing industry during the four decades under review. The data, statistical and otherwise, which would provide a satisfactory answer to this

question is unfortunately very scant and not always accurate or reliable, and consequently often misleading. The census drawn up first in 1801 and thenceforth taken every decade cannot serve as a basis for an answer mainly because the first efforts in this direction were rather crude and designed for providing only the most elementary information. Only with years of experience did the census become more sophisticated and more informative but unfortunately these improvements occurred too late to be of any assistance for our purpose. Regarding the other sources they very often contain information of a much more useful nature but unfortunately there are not too many of them. In view of these difficulties and shortcomings one is consequently forced to resort to rough guesswork in trying to evaluate the size of the industrial labour force substantiated by such data as is available.

By 1796 we know that the thirty-seven cotton mills gave employment to some 20,000 persons predominantly women and children.<sup>2</sup> The number of weavers at the time is more difficult to arrive at though it must have been considerable in view of the great demand for them created by the mechanization of spinning. As early as 1791 it was estimated that the Glasgow manufacturers alone employed 15,000 looms.<sup>3</sup> Naismith calculated that in the year 1790

the linen industry gave employment to 42,530 hand-loom weavers.<sup>4</sup> As the cotton industry expanded many of these turned to weaving cotton as a more lucrative proposition. According to another source the Statistical Account, most villages of Lanarkshire, Ayr and Renfrewshire contained a large number of weavers employed by cotton manufacturers, while the weavers residing in the villages of Fife and Forfar were employed by the linen manufacturers. From these scant sources it would appear that the number of weavers towards the end of the century stood between 40,000 and 50,000 and the number of the principal workers in the textile industry, that is, the spinning mill operatives as well as weavers appears to have been between 60,000 and 70,000. This figure of course does not take into account a whole range of other workers in the textile as well as other industries as for example the inclusion of winders,<sup>5</sup> the numbers of such workers as carders, thread makers, warpers, bleachers, calico-printers and so on cannot be even guessed at but nevertheless must have been relatively large considering the extent of the textile industry.

During the first three decades of the nineteenth century the pace of industrial growth did not slacken. By 1806 in Paisley and the surrounding districts alone the cotton industry gave employment to 27,890 persons, a large

number, considering that the population of Paisley including Abbey parish, stood at 35,000.<sup>6</sup> According to Sinclair in 1814 this industry employed in the whole of Scotland 151,300 persons.

The changing pattern of employment can be discerned to some extent from the decennial census between 1801 and 1831. The increase, however, in those engaged in the industry must necessarily remain obscure because of the vague classification adopted by those responsible for the census. In Glasgow, all industries employed 27,674 workers in 1819.<sup>7</sup> The census classified the population into three groups: those employed in agriculture, those in trades, handicrafts and manufactures and those not belonging to either group. In the census of 1801 it was decided to classify all individuals according to the three categories adopted. Accordingly 365,516 individuals were put into the first group, 193,373 in the second and a considerable number, 833,914,<sup>8</sup> in the third. The figures, however, are defective because in many cases the householders classified with themselves, female members of the families, children and even servants while others put them into the third category which might account for its size. In the census of 1811 and 1821 classification by household was adopted, which for obvious reasons must remain inaccurate. According to this classification the

number of families dependent for their livelihood on trades, handicrafts, or manufactures was 169,417 in 1811 and 190,264 in 1821, an increase of 12%. During the corresponding period families dependent on agriculture increased by only slightly less than 5% (from 125,799 to 130,699.<sup>9</sup>) It must be admitted that these figures like those of 1801 do not distinctly reflect the increase in the number of those employed in manufacturing. The figures, nevertheless, are significant if only to demonstrate a shift away from agriculture. Considering the expansion of the textile industry during that period there can be little doubt that a considerable portion of the families in the second group comprised those employed in and dependent on manufacturing.

Though no considerable amount of information could be gathered from the census returns, we have at our disposal Sinclair's estimates of the number of persons employed in the principal industries in 1820 and their<sup>10</sup> breakdown is revealing.

<u>Type of Manufacture</u>	<u>Number of Persons Employed</u>
Cotton	154,000
Woollen	24,800
Linen and Hemp	76,600
Silk	2,500
Iron	13,180
Leather	2,400
Pottery, bricks, tiles	580
Paper	3,400
Cutlery	180
Fermented & Distilled Liquors	4,390
Salt	215
Shipbuilding	1,400
Combs	710
Soap & Candles	810
Glass	<u>1,140</u>
Total	<u>286,305</u>

This number represents slightly less than 14% of the total population of Scotland. It must be observed here that though the list includes most, it does not include all of the industries. Similarly, Sinclair does not take into account colliers and those connected with mining, though mining must be regarded as part of the industrial world. Consequently, if miners and those in

manufacturing, not included in Sinclair's estimates, were added it is more than likely that the figure arrived at by Sinclair would pass the 300,000 mark.

After 1821 it is increasingly more difficult to discover the extent of the labour force employed by industry. The census of 1831 with regard to employment followed the pattern of the two previous censuses.<sup>11</sup> It contained, however, one modification whereby the male adults over twenty years of age were classified, according to employment, into four groups. Those employed in agriculture, those in manufacturing, those in the retail trade and handicrafts and those who did not belong to any of the groups such as porters, carters, labourers, colliers and so on. According to this classification the first group consisted of 87,292, the second 85,933, the third 152,463 and the fourth 76,191 individuals.<sup>12</sup> At first sight this modification seems useful but on closer examination its usefulness becomes suspect. The differentiation among the last three groups does not seem to follow any clearly established principle. To begin with it is not quite clear what, for the purpose of the census, constituted "manufactures" as distinct from handicrafts. Roughly speaking it would appear that "manufactures" included all those employed in the textile industry, that is mill workers, weavers, bleachers, calico-printers though

for some reason dyers were excluded from this group. It is quite likely that, apart from textile workers, the group included all those engaged in such industries as glass making, sugar refining, distilleries and other smaller branches of manufacture. At the same time, however, paper makers, ironfounders, tanners and rope makers seem to have been included in the third group consisting of those employed in the retail trade and handicrafts.

Of the 152,463 adult males in this third group, it is difficult to say how many were independent small master craftsmen with one or two journeymen and apprentices, and how many were journeymen wage earners working in large numbers for a few masters. Indubitably large numbers consisted of the former type especially in the small villages throughout the country. In the larger populated areas in the south such as Edinburgh, Glasgow and Paisley for example it is most likely that many worked for capitalist masters. It must also be added that of the 76,191 individuals in the fourth group, large numbers consisted of mine workers and labourers primarily connected with the textile industry. It must be further observed that these figures refer only to male adults over twenty years of age. The textile industry, however, greatly depended on child and female labour. Their inclusion in the calculation would further increase the number of those employed in industries.



According to the returns of the factory inspectors in 1836 the total number of persons employed in the spinning mills numbered 49,189, which consisted of 34,370 female workers of all ages, while male workers below twenty years of age numbered 6,807, a total of 41,177.<sup>13</sup> This figure does not take into account those females and children employed in either bleaching or printing establishments, the number of whom increased between the 1790's and 1830's. Similarly to get a complete picture of those engaged in the industry as a whole, it would be necessary to include all those engaged in other industries such as the paper industry,<sup>14</sup> sugar refining and iron works, and in as yet the small but growing shipbuilding industry, not to mention the colliers who would have to be considered as part of the industrial force. For these industries, however, no data is available which would warrant even a rough guess with regard to the number employed. Nevertheless, added together, they must have amounted to a not inconsiderable number.

Sufficient evidence has been adduced to demonstrate that by the 1830's industries absorbed a substantial part of the labour force. The question which now confronts us is what source or sources supplied the industry with the necessary labour. The dwindling figures of those engaged in and dependent on agriculture for their livelihood suggest a fact that mainly the industrial workers were drawn from among the agricultural population.

It has already been mentioned that agriculture underwent a revolution of its own which more or less coincided with the time of revolution in industry.<sup>15</sup> The beneficial results of the Union, slow to appear during the first half of the eighteenth century, began to take effect during the second half. Peaceful interchange with England, initiated in 1707, intensified after the debacle of 1715 and 1745 when the Scots adjusted themselves to their new situation. The influence from the more materially advanced kingdom to the south soon spread and perhaps nowhere else more than in the agricultural field. Indeed the Scots had a considerable lot to learn in order to bring their agriculture up to date.

This movement for agricultural improvement began in earnest after the 1750's, stimulated by the opening and growth of the market for Scottish cattle in England. After the 1780's, on the other hand, it was greatly indebted to the industrial expansion, the expansion of the cotton and linen trades, the woollen industry, the rising iron and steel trade and consequent growth of towns which opened markets for the disposal of the produce of the land, while the Anglo-French wars between 1792 and 1815 gave it an additional powerful stimulus. Under the circumstances, as might be expected, the main changes consisted of the substitution of profit for subsistence farming. This change

brought about in turn fundamental changes in the basis on which farming so far had been conducted. It involved the gradual abolition of antiquated methods of the subdivision of arable land into out-field and in-field, whereby the in-field remained under intensive cultivation, parts of which received manure every three or four years while the out-field, usually greater in extent, never received any fertilization and consequently after cultivation of three to four years had to be left to rest for seven or eight years. Under such methods of cultivation it is not surprising that the farmer harvested a very meagre crop. Furthermore, it involved the increased use of better implements such as lighter ploughs, threshing machines, harrows and so on; the introduction of new crops such as artificial grasses, turnips and potatoes; lastly and perhaps most important, the overhaul of the whole system of land tenure consisting of the consolidation of holdings and the adoption of long leases. It can be easily appreciated that this measure of dealing with the distribution and tenure of land proved to have the most far reaching consequences. Consolidation of land meant, in the light of new policies, increase in the size of the farms which would be compatible with profit farming. The size was determined by the quality of land the type of agriculture pursued. In areas where the soil was good for

the cultivation of grain as in the Lothians, the farms  
<sup>16</sup>assumed large proportions. In other parts of the  
country as in the south-west where dairy or mixed farming  
<sup>17</sup>was undertaken the farms tended to be smaller, while in  
the hilly districts, as in Peebles and Selkirk, or in the  
Highlands with land unsuitable for extensive cultivation  
but good for pasture and sheep grazing, extensive sheep  
walks became prominent. Under such conditions very little  
room remained for small tenants squatting on a few acres  
of land. The Old Statistical Account abundantly testifies  
to the result of the new agricultural policy. In the  
parish of Fortingale in Perthshire for example, between  
1754 and 1792, one hundred and five tenants and between  
<sup>19</sup>sixty and seventy cottagers found themselves landless.  
In Ferns in Angusland, which previously supported five or  
<sup>20</sup>six families, by the 1790's was rented to one farmer, while  
in Bathgate in Linlithgow the parish minister lamented  
that because of the union of farms "there is not the sixth  
<sup>21</sup>part of the inhabitants there were twenty years ago."  
And so the tale went on practically from parish to parish,  
<sup>22</sup>from county to county.

This trend of the population is clearly reflected  
in the census figures of 1801 as compared with those drawn  
<sup>23</sup>by Dr. Webster in 1755. During the period in the Lothians,  
(the city of Edinburgh excluded) and in Berwick and Roxburgh

where the new order in agriculture was well advanced and high farming prevailed, the population increased by only 14% as compared with the national average of 26%. In the pastoral districts of Peebles and Selkirk as a whole, where sheep breeding, stimulated by the demand for wool began, the population increased during the corresponding period by only 4%. A similar tendency prevailed during the next two decades when the population of predominantly agricultural counties increased at a slower rate as compared with the national average or with counties where industries<sup>24</sup> flourished.

Some of those who found themselves redundant remained behind to occupy the position of agricultural labourers even though the demand for these relatively declined because of the improvements in methods of cultivation and implements used. The adoption of the lighter plough, for example, reduced the number of men required<sup>25</sup> to operate it while the invention of the threshing machine which replaced the flail led to an even more<sup>26</sup> striking saving of labour. More extensive, rational and sophisticated agriculture, however, created other jobs such as draining and ditching, fencing and other various heavy kinds of work. Those on the other hand who found themselves landless and unable to procure employment for which they had been reared pressed hard on towns and villages

where industries thrived.<sup>27</sup> In the case of Glasgow for example, according to John Tait, editor of the "Liberator,"

"A large part of the population of Glasgow consists of Scotch from the Lowlands. Taking Glasgow as a center, there are persons who have come to it from all sides within a circuit of sixty miles; my father originally came from the Lothians and had been a country farmer; he was driven out by the improvements in farming and became a mechanic and settled in Glasgow; most of my acquaintances either were born in the country or their parents came directly from the country when the extinction of small farms, and the cotters were driven from their agricultural and pastoral employments, they first collected in villages and then gradually inclined especially to Glasgow from the Lothians." 28

He added that in his opinion two-fifths of the<sup>29</sup> inhabitants of Glasgow consisted of Lowlanders.

When the cotton fever seized the Scots towards the end of the eighteenth century and the erection of cotton mills proceeded at an accelerated pace the Lowland Scots displayed a considerable aversion to either taking work in the mills or sending their children to them. By and large they preferred to take to weaving, a healthier and more remunerative occupation, or to engage in some other trade. Partly because of this and partly because the mills had to be set up where the supply of water was readily available and not where the labour was either plentiful or willing to work, the owners experienced great difficulties

in obtaining workers.<sup>30</sup> Robert Dale of Lanark, as well as other proprietors, went far afield, primarily to the Highlands, to procure hands to set the mills in motion.<sup>31</sup>

The effect of the new agricultural policy was felt in the Highlands somewhat later than in the southern part of the country.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless by 1800 the sheep belt covered the central stretch of the land from Argyle to the southern extremities of Inverness, occasionally making inroads further north.<sup>33</sup> After 1800 it penetrated farther to the north to the more remote districts in the Highlands. The sheep walks tended to be larger in that part of the country clearing isolated glens and wide straths of their inhabitants.<sup>34</sup> In Sutherland for example, between 1810 and 1820 in the parish of Farr from one strath alone 2,000 tenants were evicted.<sup>35</sup> The tenants in many cases received as compensation a small strip of land on the coast in order to combine agriculture and fishing and so it was hoped to make the existence of the people tolerable.<sup>36</sup> Such a solution, however, did not always prove satisfactory for the holdings were small, returns meagre while earnings from fishing afforded a most precarious existence. Fishing in this respect in fact failed particularly on the east coast for the smallholders, more frequently than not, lacked the capital to provide themselves with the necessary equipment to pursue this

occupation. In consequence this industry became constricted  
 in the narrow geographical confines and quickly concentrated  
 in the hands of those few who had the capital to invest  
 in the necessary equipment.<sup>37</sup> It must be admitted though  
 that the industry provided a considerable number of people  
 with either permanent or seasonal work.<sup>38</sup> Meanwhile the  
 kelp industry, which it was also hoped would supplement  
 meagre earnings eked out from the land, from 1810 onwards,  
 declined.<sup>39</sup> In some parts where agricultural improvements  
 were introduced the progress in agriculture meant the  
 abolition of run-rig and the consolidation of holdings.  
 But here the landlords faced a dilemma. Redistribution of  
 land on the basis of holdings large enough to provide a  
 family with a tolerable existence would have meant large  
 scale evictions something which they wished to avoid.  
 Consequently though the run-rig was abolished holdings  
 remained pitifully small perhaps too small to provide bare  
 existence.<sup>40</sup> This policy of furnishing small holdings  
 avoided evictions or reduced them to a bare minimum but  
 it did not arrest emigration overseas nor the drift south-  
 wards. The continual increase in the population pressed  
 hard on the meager resources and eventually drove the  
 people from the land.<sup>41</sup> The main trend among those who  
 thus found themselves forced to leave was centered on the  
 new world,<sup>42</sup> but a proportion drifted southwards.



We have already noted that some found their way into the cotton mills in the west. Others found employment in bleaching and printing works and were housed in establishments especially constructed by the proprietors for that purpose.<sup>43</sup> In the parish of Balfour in Stirling the proprietors of a bleachfield imported in 1793 some 200 persons of both sexes and all ages to supply their works with hands.<sup>44</sup> The influx of the Highlanders into the industries in the south must have been considerable for already by the early 90's of the eighteenth century Gaelic chapels had to be erected in Glasgow and Paisley, the chief centers of the cotton trade, in Dundee the center of the linen trade and in industrial Greenock and Perth to minister to the spiritual needs of the emigrants<sup>45</sup> in their native tongue.

The movement of the population and the rapid growth of towns is clearly reflected in the figures supplied by the census. The population in Scotland increased between 1755 and 1801 by 333,688 that is by some 26%. The increase of the town population far surpassed the national average as well as the increase in the rest of the country - towns excluded. From 307,666 in 1755 the inhabitants in the towns increased to 495,780 in 1801 which constitutes a 61% increase. The population in the rest of the country

during the corresponding period increased by only 15%. The same trend continued during the decade between 1801 and 1811. In fact during that period the inhabitants of towns surpassed in number the rest of the country. More significant perhaps are the figures depicting the growth of the population in what might be termed industrial counties namely Ayrshire, Dumbarton, Lanark, Renfrew in the west and Forfar and Edinburgh in the east. The population of Ayrshire increased between 1755 and 1801 by 42% and during the next decade by 38%, that of Dumbarton during the corresponding periods increased by 50% and 30%, that of Edinburgh by 36% and 20%, that of Forfar by 34% and 18%, that of Lanark by 80% and 33%, and that of Renfrew between 1755 and 1801 by an unprecedented 190% and during the following decade by 35%. In all these cases increases surpassed the national average by a wide margin. The rate of growth in Forfar seems smaller in comparison. This was mainly due to the fact that the linen industry, of which Forfar was the centre, expanded more slowly than cotton. When however the growth was enhanced by the perfection of the flax spinning machine in the 1820's, the rate of increase rose appreciably during the corresponding years.

It can be concluded from what has been said, though direct evidence is rather scant, that the redundant population not only tended to converge on the towns in general but on the industrial centres in particular. The enormous increase of population in the western industrial counties is due primarily to the growth of towns such as Glasgow and Paisley, chief seat of the cotton industry, Greenock, Port Glasgow and others as well as to the growth of small and previously insignificant villages containing only a few families and few cottages which rose to a considerable size as a result of the introduction of cotton manufacturing. Johnston in Renfrewshire affords a striking illustration of this effect of industry. In 1791 it consisted of a few cottages containing ten inhabitants. In a decade the population grew to 1,434 and in 1811 the village had a population of 3,647. By 1831<sup>47</sup> it had increased to 5,617 inhabitants. Similarly the village of Milngavie in Dumbartonshire increased sixfold during the years separating the first and second Statistical Accounts of Scotland, due primarily to the introduction<sup>48</sup> of cotton spinning and calico-printing. The village of Catrine owes its origin to the establishment of a cotton mill. In the place where David Dale in partnership with Mr. C. Alexander erected a mill in 1786 there were but two families living there. By the mid thirties the village numbered<sup>49</sup> 2,702 inhabitants.

Prior to the beginning of the nineteenth century the industrial labour force consisted, by and large, of the redundant agricultural population swept from the land by the wave of the improving trend in agriculture and attracted to the industrial districts in the hope of finding employment and by the prospect of high wages. After 1800, however, the indigenous character of the labour force changed when a foreign element appeared in the guise of the Irish immigrant.<sup>50</sup> On the one hand spurred on by the economic and political conditions in Ireland<sup>51</sup> and on the other hand attracted by the demand for labour created by the rapid economic expansion toward the end of the eighteenth century in both England and Scotland, the Irish infiltrated into Britain in considerable numbers, Scotland receiving her share of the influx which became a steady stream during the course of the nineteenth century. It is difficult to say what volume this stream assumed during the first three decades of the century. Prior to the census of 1841 no data is available which would enable us to judge correctly the extent of the flow or the number of Irish in Scotland. The census prior to 1841 did not enquire into the origin of the inhabitants, merely confining itself to their enumeration. Consequently, from the figures which so clearly demonstrate a considerable increase in population in areas where the immigrating Irish settled, it is impossible to distinguish what portion of this increase

can be ascribed to the influence of the Irish immigrant and what portion to the influence of other factors. There are, however, indications here and there which would suggest that the immigration from Ireland to Scotland assumed decidedly significant proportions. For example, during the census of 1821 the origin of the householders in Paisley was ascertained revealing that 11% of the total householders consisted of persons of Irish birth.

In fact they constituted the largest foreign born group from without the borders of Renfrewshire among the householders.<sup>52</sup>

In 1819 Cleland, always ready to provide interesting statistical information, calculated that the Irish in Glasgow numbered 15,208 out of a population of 147,197 constituting somewhat more than 10% of the inhabitants.<sup>53</sup>

The census of 1821 revealed a much larger Irish population, some 25,000, which would indicate that Cleland's figures of 1819 constituted a very conservative estimate.<sup>54</sup>

By 1831 the Irish immigrant population in Scotland must have been considerable as the census of that year makes reference to them, unfortunately only very generally, in the counties of Ayr, Edinburgh, Fife, Lanark, Renfrew and Wigton.<sup>55</sup>

Cleland, the returning officer for the census of Glasgow, however, furnished us with exact information regarding the Irish in that city.

According to his calculations, out of a population of 202,426,

the Irish numbered 35,554, slightly more than 17%, a considerable increase over the year 1821.<sup>56</sup> According to another estimate made in 1834 the Irish immigrant in Lanarkshire amounted to some 50,000 and constituted two-thirds of the population of Wigtou. They numbered 10,000 in Edinburgh, 5,000 in Dundee and between 2,500 and 3,000 as far north as Aberdeen.<sup>57</sup>

The Number and Parentage of Persons of  
Irish Birth in Scotland in 1841

<u>Counties</u>	<u>Total Population</u>	<u>Irish Born</u>	<u>%</u>
Aberdeen	192,387	1,037	0.5
Argyle	97,371	962	1.0
Ayr	164,356	12,035	7.3
Banff	49,679	88	0.2
Berwick	34,438	154	0.5
Bute	15,740	288	1.8
Caithness	36,343	65	0.2
Clackmannan	19,155	150	0.8
Dumbarton	44,296	4,891	11.0
Dumfries	72,830	1,032	1.4
Edinburgh	225,454	7,100	3.2
Elgin & Moray	35,012	85	0.2
Fife	140,140	804	0.6
Forfar	170,520	6,474	3.8
Haddington	35,886	368	1.0
Inverness	97,799	268	0.3
Kincardine	33,075	73	0.2
Kinross	8,763	19	0.2
Kirkcudbright	41,119	1,504	3.7
Lanark	426,972	55,915	13.1
Lintithgow	26,872	1,322	4.9
Nairn	9,217	10	0.1
Orkney & Shetland	61,065	30	0.5
Peebles	10,499	94	0.9
Perth	137,390	656	0.5
Renfrew	155,072	20,417	13.2
Ross & Cromarty	78,685	81	0.1
Roxburgh	46,025	216	0.7
Selkirk	7,990	31	0.4
Stirling	82,057	4,256	5.2
Sutherland	24,782	24	0.1
Wigtou	<u>39,195</u>	<u>5,772</u>	<u>14.7</u>
Scotland	2,620,184	126,321	4.8

The census of 1841 furnishes us with more complete data concerning the influx of the Irish into Scotland and their distribution among the different counties.<sup>58</sup>

According to the returns of the census the Irish inhabitants in Scotland amounted to 126,321 or 4.8% of the total population. The census as well as the previously cited figures does not, however, reveal the whole truth. Those enumerated as Irish consisted only of the native Irish, no consideration being given to those born in Scotland of Irish parentage who were returned in the census as Scottish. Yet the immigration to Scotland on a large scale dated back to the end of the eighteenth century and consequently persisted sufficiently long enough to create at least a second if not a third generation of Irish, though Scottish born. That this second generation assumed considerable proportions can be taken for granted considering that the Irish married relatively young and were in the habit of indulging in large families. In Glasgow, for example, between 1795 and 1832 the number of baptisms performed in the Catholic chapel amounted to 20,981.<sup>59</sup> As the Scottish Catholic population in Glasgow was insignificant most of the offspring baptised belonged to Irish families.<sup>60</sup>

Similarly in the Kyle district of Ayrshire the Rev. W. Thompson recorded 1,956 baptisms during the ten years<sup>61</sup> between 1823 and 1832, and the same must have been true

in other parts of the country where the Irish congregated. It can be safely assumed that the second and even the third generation, born and reared in Scotland but of Irish stock, grew larger as time went by, thereby rendering the Irish and persons of Irish origin considerably in excess of the figure given in the census of 1841, though how much in excess must remain in doubt.

More significant are the figures depicting the distribution of the immigrants thereby revealing the character of the immigration. In Ayr the Irish numbered 12,035. In Dumbarton 4,891, in Edinburgh 7,100, in Forfar 6,474, in Lanark 55,915 and in Renfrew 20,417 constituting a significant percentage of the total population in those counties, especially in Lanark, Renfrew and Dumbarton -  
<sup>62</sup>  
 the most industrialized counties in Scotland. With the exception of Ayrshire and Dumbarton where no significant population centers existed the Irish immigrants concentrated in large numbers in big cities. Of the 55,915 in Lanark, 44,345 resided in Glasgow and the suburbs. Of the 20,417 in Renfrew, half inhabited Greenock and Paisley (4,307 and 5,231), while Edinburgh and Dundee accounted for 6,187 and 5,672 respectively. Thus it can be easily perceived that the steady stream of immigrants terminated in the industrial centers in general and larger cities in particular, the proportion reflecting the size of the industrial



undertaking in each county, Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire, chief industrial centers in Scotland, attracting the largest number of immigrants and accounting for 64% of the total Irish native population.

Thus the distribution explains the nature of employment which became the lot of the immigrant. Apart from Wigton and part of Dumfries where a large stationary Irish population engaged in agricultural labour, for the most part the Irish tended to seek employment in the industries, or as labourers in heavy and unwholesome jobs.<sup>63</sup> With regard to Glasgow Bishop Scott testified that:

"...there are few who by honest industry and sobriety have raised themselves in the country to the rank of respectable shopkeepers; there are several who keep licensed whiskey shops. The great bulk, however, of the male population are hand-loom cotton weavers (64) or labourers employed on day wages on roads, canals, coal pits, draining ditches, serving masons, coal porters etc; and the female population are generally employed at the steam looms or in the cotton manufacture." 65

Houldsworth, a substantial master cotton spinner in Glasgow, testified to the same effect:

"...there is a considerable number of Scots that send their children to the mills but the greater proportion of the hands in the mills of Glasgow are either Irish themselves or of Irish parents born in Scotland." 66

In his own mill in Anderston he employed some 300 Irish hands.<sup>67</sup> In Blantyre, not ten miles distance from Glasgow, a large cotton manufacturing establishment, where both spinning and weaving by power was conducted, the Irish comprised half of the number of operatives employed as spinners, carters, power-loom weavers and so on.<sup>68</sup> According to Joseph Brown, a Glasgow dyer, half of those and probably more engaged as operatives in the dying trade consisted of the Irish while Irish weavers could be found in most Lanarkshire villages.<sup>69</sup> The Irish immigration into Renfrewshire assumed a similar pattern. Attracted by the rising cotton industry the Irish soon constituted a significant section of the labour force. According to the Rev. J. Brember, the only Roman Catholic priest in Paisley, a considerable part of his congregation "is composed of persons belonging to factories here and in the neighbourhood chiefly female and chiefly Irish or of Irish parentage."<sup>70</sup> While a master cotton spinner declared that:

"...the Irish in Paisley almost uniformly belonged to the poorer classes; I only remember one shopkeeper; there may be a few more. They are employed in the more disagreeable and lower description of labour; the employment in the cotton mills is considered of this class." <sup>71</sup>

John Orr, a master cotton spinner declared that out of 279 hands in his mill 199 consisted of the Irish.

He employed them from the time his factory was erected in 1810 as they were the only people willing at the time to undertake work in the mill.<sup>72</sup> In James Coates' cotton thread mill the Irish workers constituted only one-quarter of the number of the operatives<sup>73</sup> while in the silk mills of Messrs. Harvey, Brand and Company they comprised three-fifths of the total.<sup>74</sup> Similarly a large supply of draw boys involved in harness weaving came from Irish families.<sup>75</sup> As far as the weaving trade was concerned immigrants, mainly because of lack of skill were unable to capture the considerably better paid weaving of the more delicate cotton and silk fabrics and had to content themselves with work of plain and coarse description.

In Greenock where the cotton industry was not as extensive as in Paisley, the Irish monopolized sugar refining establishments, without whose labour according to one proprietor, the whole sugar trade would have had to be given up.<sup>76</sup> Apart from engaging in this employment the Irish could be found working in the docks, papermills and in the building trade while in Port Glasgow practically all the operatives in the bleaching establishment there and in a hand-loom weaving factory consisted of the Irish immigrants.<sup>77</sup>

In Ayrshire, which though industrial but without a large population center, the Irish remained scattered throughout the country employed as mason labourers, in coal mining, shoemaking, salt making while the weavers could be found in almost all the villages in the employ of Glasgow or Paisley manufacturers.<sup>78</sup> Thus the population of Newton and Wallacetown, (suburbs of Ayr) was mostly Irish who toiled, among others, as weavers engaged in considerable numbers by the agents of Glasgow and Paisley manufacturers. The Irish comprised three-quarters of the population of Maybole, again the majority of them being weavers.<sup>79</sup> Thompson, a Glasgow cotton manufacturer, declared that almost all the weavers engaged by him were Irish immigrants or descendants of Irish immigrants.<sup>80</sup> According to another Glasgow manufacturer, R. Walker, of the 150 weavers in Stranraer only a few were Scottish.<sup>81</sup> In the parish of Kirkmichael which harboured an extensive needle industry and where weaving was conducted for Glasgow manufacturers, the population of the village of Crossfield<sup>82</sup> was practically all Irish or of Irish origin.

To a greater or lesser degree similar situations prevailed in other parts of the country. Whenever and wherever industry of any kind took root the Irish could be found. In Dumbartonshire, relatively industrialized and one of the centers of the subsidiary branch of the textile

trade, bleaching and printing, a large proportion of the 11% of the Irish population found employment in bleaching and printing establishments in the vale of Leven. It was estimated that the Irish constituted a third of the weavers in Dumfries.<sup>83</sup> In the eastern part of the country in Forfar and Fife their presence was quite common in many towns and villages.<sup>84</sup> However, their number in the east remained small in comparison with the west. Prior to the 1820's Forfar in general and Dundee in particular did not contain a large Irish population mainly because of the comparative slowness of mechanization and expansion of the linen trade. The influx of the Irish into Dundee, however, coincided with the expansion of that trade in the 1820's and by the 1830's, 5,000 were resident in town. In Campsie in Stirlingshire, a relatively industrial parish containing several bleaching and printing establishments, there were no Irish at the time of the first Statistical Account but by the 1830's they numbered 1,000.<sup>85</sup> Similarly the establishment of a cotton factory in Belhaven in Dumbar in the 1820's occasioned an influx of some 500 Irish immigrants.<sup>86</sup>

It can be readily seen that the rising Scottish industry did not suffer from any serious deficiency in labour supply. Initial difficulties encountered by the mill owners in procuring labour were quickly overcome by the

recruitment of workers in the Highlands which abounded in a redundant population. Similarly the aversion of the Scots to work in the new cotton mills as well as in other heavy and unpleasant occupations did not affect adversely the supply of labour. The Irish driven from their land by economic depression were only too glad and too willing to undertake any employment. Furthermore, changes in agriculture assured the industry with a steady supply of labour.

If initially the demand for labour kept somewhat ahead of the supply the situation was soon reversed, the labour market becoming overcrowded with the result that the bargaining power of industrial workers declined.

## NOTES

1. In 1812 the gross value of the produce from the land amounted to £23,261,155 as opposed to the value of manufactured articles and goods of £14,189,486. Sinclair, Sir J., General Report of the Agricultural State and Political Circumstances of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1814, Vol. III, p. 8.
2. Sinclair, Gen. Rep., Vol. III, pp. 317-320.
3. Denholm, J., History of Glasgow and Suburbs, Glasgow, 1804, p. 414. O.S.A., Vol. V, p. 502.
4. Naismith, J., Thoughts on Various Objects of Industry pursued in Scotland, Edinburgh, 1790, p. 119.
5. For example each loom required the service of one winder. Sometimes one winder served two looms. Sinclair estimated that in 1814, 45,000 looms were served by 40,200 winders. Sinclair, Gen. Rep., Vol. III, p. 317.
6. Scots Magazine, Vol. LXVIII, pp. 450, 490.
7. Cotton mills, foundries, distilleries, breweries, soaperies, collieries, sugar houses, dyers and other public works engaged 12,089 persons. Weavers and warpers amounted to 12,155 and labourers to 3,430. Cleland, J., Statistical Tables Relative to the City of Glasgow, 3rd edition, Glasgow, 1823, p. 8.
8. Census 1801.
9. Census 1811 and 1821.
10. Sinclair, Sir J., Analysis of the Statistical Account of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1826, Appendix, Part 1, p. 207.
11. Number of families employed in and dependent on agriculture 126,591; in manufactures, retail trade, handicrafts etc., 207,259; number employed in neither of the first two classifications 168,451. Census 1831.
12. Ibid.
13. Factory Commissioners Report, Parl. Pap., 1836, Vol. XLV, p. 148. Cotton factories 32,580; woollen mills 3,505; flax mills 12,409; silk mills 695.



14. For example the Greenock Iron Works gave employment to 1,160 including an anchor and chain cable works. Carron Iron Works Co., employed some 1,200; Monkland Iron and Steel Co., 700 upwards; Muirkirk Iron Works in the parish of the same name 400. Not all the Iron Works were this large. The Iron Works of Wm. Cadell in Cramond and a paper mill employed 100 hands between them. N.S.A., Vol. VII, "Renfrewshire," pp. 439, 440; Vol. VIII, "Stirlingshire," p. 374; Vol. VI, "Lanarkshire," p. 797; Vol. V, "Ayrshire," p. 155; Vol. I, "Edinburghshire," p. 601. Sugar refining works were less extensive, giving employment to a much more limited number of people. In Greenock for example eleven sugar works employed 350 persons, Ibid., Vol. VII, "Renfrewshire," p. 440. By 1835 there were eleven iron works in Scotland containing altogether twenty-nine furnaces having an out-put of 75,000 tons. Ibid., Vol. VI, "Lanarkshire," p. 161.
15. Agricultural improving movement began in earnest from about the 1760's. It originated in Berwickshire and spread slowly and unevenly throughout Scotland. See Sinclair, Analysis of Stat. Acc., Appdx. Part 1, p. 234.
16. In Berwick, Roxburgh and the Lothians the farms averaged 200-300 acres. Hamilton, H., Industrial Revolution in Scotland, Oxford University Press, 1932, p. 73.
17. In the pastoral districts of Peebles, Selkirk, Dumfries and Kirkcudbright, sheep farms seldom fell below 600 acres. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. O.S.A., Vol. II, p. 453.
20. Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 439, 440.
21. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 350.
22. Ibid., Vols. I, pp. 8, 52, 66, 232, 233, 350; II, pp. 238, 358, 369, 417, 435, 453, 486; III, pp. 234, 439, 591; IV, pp. 6, 74, 204, 283, 345, 407, 509; V, pp. 308, 316; VI, p. 73; VII, pp. 118, 227, 267; VIII, pp. 112, 113, 115, 502, 549; X, pp. 139, 243; XI, pp. 159, 376; XIII, p. 361; XIV, p. 109.
23. Ibid., Vol. XX, pp. 587-621, Dr. Webster's figures.

24. The population of the Lothians, Berwick and Roxburgh increased during the decade between 1801-1811 by only 7.4% as compared with the national average of 14% and during the decade between 1811-1821 by 13% as compared with the national average of 16%. Population of Peebles and Selkirk combined increased at the same rate as the national average during the first of the two decades but increased by only 5% during the subsequent decade.
25. O.S.A., Vols. VI, p. 326; IX, p. 412; X, p. 138; XIV, p. 288.
26. Ibid., Vols. II, p. 353; IV, pp. 193, 205, 234, 486; VI, p. 504; VIII, p. 605; IX, p. 472; XII, p. 363; XIV, pp. 288, 303, 443, 444, 621; XVI, p. 490; XVIII, p. 108.
27. "The deminution of the number of people is owing to the union of farms; the farmers also employ fewer hands than formerly. Many of the cottagers are exterminated. Since commerce begin to flourish several manufacturers (most likely weavers) who subsisted partly on agriculture have gone to large towns." O.S.A., Vol. IV, p. 345. "The reason why there is so much greater proportion of weavers in the parish than at any other trade, is the weaving manufactures which are carried on in the neighbouring towns of Kirkcaldy, and the Link-town of Abbotshall. It is from these, that the greatest part of our weavers receive their employment; and it is this, which draws in so many to settle in the village." Ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 115. See also Vols. III, p. 439; IV, pp. 74, 502; V, p. 316; VI, p. 308; VIII, pp. 112, 113, 549; IX, p. 202; X, pp. 138, 139, 243; XI, pp. 159, 376; XIII, p. 361.
28. Report on the state of the Irish Poor in Great Britain, forming Appendix G to the First Report for the Enquiry into the conditions of the Poorer Classes in Ireland, 1835, Parl. Pap., 1835, Vol. XXXIV, p. 529.
29. Ibid.

30. "This is in a great measure owing to the aversion that the Scots had of allowing their children to go into a cotton mill when the trade was started in the west of Scotland. Hand-loom weaving at the time was good, more money could be made at it than in any mill... Among the few of the Scotch to be found in mills at that time were those who had learnt no trade..." Report on Irish Poor in Great Britain, Parl. Pap., 1835, Vol. XXXIV, p. 582.
31. O.S.A., Vols. VII, p. 574; XV, p. 40; Report from Factory Inspectors, December 1838, Appendix, pp. 97, 98.
32. For the agricultural changes in the Highlands see Gray, M., The Highland Economy, 1750-1850, Edinburgh, 1957.
33. See reports of clearances and evictions in O.S.A., Vols. II, p. 467; III, pp. 178, 433; IV, p. 574; VIII, p. 427; XI, pp. 128, 136; XX, p. 26. N.S.A., Vol. VII, "Argyle," pp. 26, 186, 435; Vol. X, "Perth," p. 569; Vol. XIV, "Inverness," pp. 106, 427.
34. By the time the second Statistical Account was taken practically all the Sutherland parishes were either partially or wholly under sheep, see N.S.A., Vol. XV, "Sutherland," pp. 52, 62, 73, 97, 147, 158.
35. Ibid., p. 73. Gray, op. cit., p. 96.
36. Ibid., pp. 62, 73, 147, 155.
37. Ibid., pp. 158-170.
38. N.S.A., Vol. XV, "Caithness," pp. 101, 103, 154.
39. Gray, op. cit., pp. 156-158.
40. "The Duke of Argyle, however, like many other Hebridean proprietors cannot adopt at one a system which must be extremely harsh and cruel in the first instance; nor can he, however, desirous of promoting his own advantage...extend the size of the farms by dispossessing the two thousand creatures, who are now a dead weight on him." Quoted by Gray, op. cit., p. 108.

41. "The allotments of land are so small that in bad years the Tenants...cannot raise provisions sufficient for themselves..." Clanranald Papers, "Report by Factor" quoted by Gray, op. cit., p. 185. In Tiree for example in 1767 there were 1,676 people and 170 tenants. In 1802, 2,776 souls and 319 small holdings. Ibid., p. 71.
42. This fact is apparent from the pages of both Statistical Accounts of Scotland. According to Sinclair for example between 1771 and 1790, 2,400 persons emigrated from Skye to America. From the Island of Eigg between 1788 and 1790 of 399 inhabitants 176 emigrated overseas. Occasionally one can get a glimpse from the newspapers and periodicals as to the extent of that trend. Thus according to the Scots Magazine in 1801 three ships carried 799 individuals to Nova Scotia in 1802 and in 1803 fourteen and eleven ships carried 4,110 and 1,280 persons respectively to the same destination. Scots Magazine, Vol. LXVIII, pp. 260, 261. See also Scots Mag., New Series, Vols. III, p. 89; IV, p. 465; V. p. 74; IX, p. 81.
43. O.S.A., Vol. II, p. 149; N.S.A., Vol. VII, "Renfrew," p. 250; Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the State of the Children in Factories, Parl. Pap., 1816, Vol. III, pp. 302, 303.
44. O.S.A., Vol. XVII, p. 534.
45. Ibid., Vols. V, p. 518; XVIII, p. 532; N.S.A., Vol. VII, "Renfrew," pp. 239, 459; Dundee delineated: A History and Description of that Town, Dundee, 1822, p. 69.
46. During the decade between 1821-1831 the population increased by 23% as compared with the national average of 13%.
47. O.S.A., Vol. VII, p. 88; N.S.A., Vol. VII, "Renfrew," p. 202.
48. Ibid., Vol. VIII, "Dumbartonshire," p. 50.
49. Ibid., Vol. V, "Ayrshire," p. 140.
50. Report on Irish Poor in Great Britain, Parl. Pap., 1835, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 616, 617, 619, 622, 623.
51. For the economic conditions of Ireland see O'Brien, G., The Economic History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century, Dublin and London, 1918.

## 52. Breakdown of householders in Paisley in 1821 by origin:

Renfrew	2,800	Dumfries	21
Ayr	595	Forfar	16
Argyle & Bute	428	Banff	13
Lanark	351	Caithness	13
Perth	115	Peebles }	9
Dumbarton	94	Selkirk }	
Inverness	91	Sutherland	4
Fife, Kinross }	85	Moray }	6
Clackmannan }		Nairn }	
Wigton }	61	Kincardine }	
Kirkcudbright }			
Aberdeen	23	English	51
Ross	22	Irish	603
Roxburgh }	21	Foreign	9
Berwick }			

Report on Irish Poor in Great Britain, Parl. Pap., 1835, Vol. XXXIV, p. 455.

53. Cleland, J., The Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow, Glasgow, 1820, p. 7.
54. Census 1821.
55. Census 1831, Parl. Pap., 1833, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 386-399, 412-414, 442-444, 464, 465, 482, 483.
56. Ibid., p. 444.
57. Report on Irish Poor in Great Britain, Parl. Pap., 1835, Vol. XXXIV, p. 432.
58. See table on p. 82.
59. Report on Irish Poor in Great Britain, Parl. Pap., 1835, Vol. XXIV, p. 575.
60. "The Scottish Highlanders of the Roman Catholic persuasion left Glasgow almost in a body on the occasion of the raising of the Glengary Fencibles in the end of the year 1793 or beginning of 1794; since that time there have been few Scottish Catholics residing in Glasgow and I am certain that out of the greatest number of children baptised at the Catholic chapel in Glasgow in any one year the number of children born of Scotch Catholic parents and baptised at the Catholic chapel never amounted to 20 in one year." Testimony of Bishop Scott. Ibid., p. 575.

61. Report on Irish Poor in Great Britain, Parl. Pap., 1835, Vol. XXIV, p. 621.
62. Lanark 13.1%; Renfrew 13.2%; Ayr 7.3%; Dumbarton 11%; Edinburgh 3.2%; Forfar 3.8%.
63. Wigton and the western part of Kirkcudbright constituted the only exception to this general rule. This part of Scotland however received the Irish immigrant quite some time before the introduction and expansion of the cotton manufacture in particular and before the intensified industrial activity in general. On the one hand proximity of this part of Scotland to Ireland and on the other hand jobs created in connection with agricultural improvements attracted labour and made immigration easier. See Report on the Irish Poor in Great Britain, Parl. Pap., 1835, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 625, 626; O.S.A., Vols. II, pp. 53, 136; IV, pp. 142, 459; XIV, pp. 480, 482; XV, p. 79; XVII, pp. 562, 593.
64. See evidence of James Orr, Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Manufactures, Commerce and Shipping, Parl. Pap., 1833, Vol. VI, p. 699.
65. Report on Irish Poor in Great Britain, Parl. Pap., 1835, Vol. XXXIV, p. 579.
66. Report on Manufactures, Commerce and Shipping, Parl. Pap., 1833, Vol. VI, p. 385.
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82. N.S.A., Vol. V, "Ayrshire," p. 503.
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C H A P T E R    T H R E E

THE IMPACT OF ECONOMIC FLUCTUATIONS

1790-1832



## I

One of the features of the period of economic and social transformation in Scotland consists of the absence of any manifestation of opposition to the introduction of machinery in the textile manufacturing industry. Across the border in England the introduction of mechanical inventions aroused intense hostility among the working population connected with the textile industry. It led to violent outbursts of rioting and mobbing which more often than not lead to assaults on the establishments which adopted these new mechanical devices and to their destruction.<sup>1</sup> In Scotland, however, records do not bear witness to such outbreaks of intense hostility. In fact there are scarcely any indications suggesting a violent reaction or even a mildly hostile attitude on the part of the working population to what might be termed as technological progress in the industry.

To what can be ascribed this somewhat puzzling behaviour of the Scottish labouring class, whose sole capital, skill and labour thus seemed to be threatened by the intrusion

of machinery? In answering this question one must bear closely in mind the economic development in Scotland as compared with England and the relative conditions and stages of manufacturing development in the textile industry in the two countries. The fact is that while in England machinery threatened the economic status of the working people, this threat in Scotland remained more apparent than real. For one thing, those engaged in textile manufacture in Scotland did not depend to the same extent on the income derived from this source as did those in the same occupation in England. In spite of the expansion and changes that occurred in the organization of Scottish linen manufacturing, prior to the advent of machinery the industry did not shake off its connection with land and agriculture although this connection became weakened. Furthermore this change overtook the linen industry in Scotland much later than it did the woollen and worsted industry in England. Consequently Scottish linen manufacturing never reached the same degree of high development, diversification and specialization by the time the water-frame was patented as did the textile industry in England. As a result a large group of craftsmen, wholly or to a large degree dependent on manufacturing, failed to materialise in Scotland to any great extent. Both spinning and weaving, particularly the former, by and large provided supplementary earnings which contributed towards the rent of a small patch of land.<sup>2</sup> Spinning was chiefly carried on by women who

constituted the largest group of spinners, either during the long winter months or part-time throughout the whole year.<sup>3</sup> Consequently, earnings gained in this way amounted to only a small sum. This varied from area to area but on the average a female spinner could make anything from 3d to 4d per day or 1/6d to 2/- per week.<sup>4</sup> The sum thus earned did not represent more than 15% to 20% of the total income of the agricultural labourer and possibly less in the case of the income of the small farmers.<sup>5</sup>

In England, on the other hand, the textile industry developed much earlier than in Scotland as a result of the expansion of the woollen trade and widening of the markets. Because of this expansion the textile industry by the mid-eighteenth century was well diversified and by and large controlled by capitalists insofar as the commercial capitalist provided the workmen with their materials and marketed the finished goods, giving employment to a great number of people who either wholly or to a large extent depended on the industry for their livelihood. Thus, while the Scottish spinner earned 3d to 4d per day from her pursuit of manufacturing, the spinners in England made 10d to 1/3d per day, which suggests that they spent longer hours at the spinning wheel.<sup>6</sup> Wide-spread adoption of Hargreave's "jenny"<sup>7</sup> in England increased domestic spinning as well as earnings derived from it.<sup>8</sup> In Scotland on the other hand, as we have noted, the "jenny" which

might have similarly increased domestic spinning was used or employed in a different manner<sup>9</sup> as a result of which a large class of people depending for a substantial slice of their income on the pursuit of this occupation failed to appear. Under the circumstances the introduction of mechanized spinning, which constituted a positive threat to the domestic spinners, created widespread resentment in England but failed to generate a similar reaction in Scotland. The water-frame not only threatened a drastic reduction in the earnings of the English hand spinners but it spelled the eventual elimination<sup>10</sup> of that occupation.

The introduction of machine spinning in Scotland did not threaten the Scottish spinners' position by either depriving them of high wages or by bringing to an end as yet the era of cottage spinning. It is true that in the west of Scotland where the cotton industry was chiefly concentrated factory spinning quickly superseded domestic spinning but in the east of Scotland a different situation prevailed.

Prior to the introduction of the cotton industry linen manufacturing constituted the staple textile industry of Scotland. Cotton indeed displaced linen in the west and eventually became the premier industry. It did not, however, altogether eliminate the manufacture of linen. This industry remained predominant in the east in spite of efforts to introduce

cotton in that part of the country. Its chief seats were Fife and Forfar with centers in Dundee and Dunfermline. The linen industry even expanded though perhaps not at the same rate nor to the same extent it would have without competition from cotton. Efforts at mechanization of flax spinning, however, as we have noted, did not meet entirely with immediate success, consequently leaving considerable scope for domestic spinning for some time to come.

Initially, mechanization affected the hand-loom weavers only indirectly and that in a very beneficial way. As the output of yarn increased the demand for their services expanded. Later on, technological progress in the shape of the power-loom posed a serious threat to the economic position of the weavers. This threat, however, failed to generate any violent opposition to its induction into the industry, though it caused a certain amount of concern and resentment.<sup>11</sup> There are several factors involved here which might account for this somewhat timid attitude of the weavers. For one thing the power-loom came into use gradually and because of technical imperfections did not at once threaten hand-loom weaving with rapid extinction. For some time to come the power machine remained capable only of weaving plain and coarse fabrics. There can be very little doubt that the use of the power-loom affected adversely the earnings of weavers engaged in this branch of the trade. After the 1800's, however, this

branch of the weaving trade became staffed more and more with the immigrating Irish who were driven from their native land by the political situation there, depressed economic conditions, low wages and unemployment. Leaving under these circumstances the immigrants on their arrival were prepared to take any employment, in this particular case weaving, at wages which perhaps the native Scots would hesitate to accept.<sup>12</sup> And since even these somewhat depressed wages secured for them a higher standard of living than they could hope to achieve at home, they found little with which to be discontented. Furthermore, by the time the power-loom made any impression on the hand-loom weaving this trade had become depressed for another reason, namely the growing number of weavers available, a fact of which the weavers became well aware, and perhaps they were more concerned with this development than with the threat arising from the introduction of the power-loom.<sup>13</sup> Perhaps also the fact that the Scottish weavers in general constituted the more independent and sober element among the working population explains in part the restraint displayed by them. It is quite clear from the evidence taken before several Committees of the House of Commons which considered the case of the weavers, that the Scottish hand-loom weavers, though concerned with the ultimate consequences of the power-loom, accepted the technological progress as more or less inevitable.<sup>14</sup>

The introduction of machinery into the industry rather than producing adverse effects proved initially beneficial to the working population at large. As a result of technological progress the rapidly expanding textile manufacturing industry offered numerous employment opportunities for many either in the newly rising cotton mills as spinners, piecers and as various other help connected with the production of cotton and spinning or in other branches of the industry connected with textiles. As we have noted, with the increased output of yarn the demand for weavers grew rapidly. The expansion of spinning stimulated the growth of allied branches of the industry such as bleaching, dyeing and calico-printing which in turn created a demand for workers in these subsidiary branches of the industry.<sup>15</sup> If machinery eliminated domestic employment such as spinning, other forms of more remunerative domestic employment took its place. To this category belonged the flowering of muslin and tambouring. With the expansion of the cotton industry the pursuit of this occupation quickly spread and by the end of the 1790's it gave employment to some 30,000 young girls and women at wages much higher than previously realized from tending the spinning wheel.<sup>16</sup>

As a result of the economic expansion and the increased level of employment the standard of living of the Scottish working population rose appreciably. This trend toward improvement had already set in prior to the advent of technological

progress and the expansion of the textile manufacturing industry in particular. There can be little doubt, however, that the expansion of the latter greatly contributed to rendering this trend more widespread and more pronounced.

Having stated this in general terms it remains now to show in detail how and to what extent the conditions of the working population improved. An enquiry of this nature, however, is difficult to undertake, and answers to such pertinent questions as what precisely were these improved conditions, to what extent did they differ from those experienced prior to the economic expansion, how the wages and food prices behaved, are difficult to give. The data and statistics which would enable us to give positive answers to these questions are unfortunately so incomplete as to render their use difficult, and this is true of the whole period under review, not merely for the earlier part of it. On the other hand such data and statistics as we have at our disposal are difficult to interpret because of their incompleteness. Nevertheless, though it is impossible to supply answers to specific questions the over-all picture that emerges from all the evidence is one of greatly improved material conditions as compared with the earlier period.

The first thing that can be observed is the over-all rise of the nominal wages affecting the working population as a whole. To begin with the gradual improvements which were taking place in the agricultural sphere, the general



condition of the people employed in this field improved and the wages here rose during the second half of the eighteenth century by leaps and bounds. In Perthshire, a ploughman who in 1735 received in money wages between £1. 4. 10d and £2. 11. 6d per year in the mid 1790's earned £10. 0. 0d if he was a superior workman or between £6. 0. 0d and £8. 0. 0d if of average ability. Apart from his wages he received board if single or if married an allowance of six and one-half bolls of oatmeal valued at about £5. 0. 0d and a daily supply of fresh milk.<sup>17</sup> In Aberdeen a manservant who in 1740 was paid £1. 18. 8d per year received £7. 10. 0d in 1794 while the wages of other agricultural labourers rose accordingly.<sup>18</sup>

In the west part of Scotland, in Lanarkshire for example, the wages of a ploughman increased from £3. 0. 0d or £4. 0. 0d in 1750 to £8. 0. 0d or £10. 0. 0d in 1790. At the same time a day labourer had his daily wages increased from 6d or 8d to 1/2d or 1/4d per day, and a harvestman from 8d to 1/6d per day.<sup>19</sup> It is quite clear from the pages of the Statistical Account that the wages in agriculture increased considerably though the level varied throughout the country. Roughly speaking they remained higher in areas where agricultural improvements reached a more advanced stage and required from a manservant increased skill<sup>20</sup> and in areas close to the manufacturing centers where the demand for labour increased as a result of industrial expansion.<sup>21</sup> Similarly the increased economic activity and expansion were reflected in

the rise of the rate of pay of artisans and craftsmen. Because of varieties in scale it is difficult to make a generalization. Furthermore in some cases money wages alone were paid, while in others money and victuals were provided. Thus, the earnings of a carpenter varied anywhere from 1/4d to 2/- per day and, in the case where victuals were provided, from 10d to 1/- per day. A mason could earn from as little as 1/4d per day to as much as 2/3d per day and a shoemaker from 1/- to 1/4d.<sup>22</sup> According to Sinclair the wages gradually increased throughout the century, the largest increase falling during the second half of the eighteenth century at the time of pronounced economic activity and expansion.<sup>23</sup>

The evolution in production methods in textile manufacturing enhanced the earnings of those engaged in this branch of the industry. No other trade perhaps benefited to the same extent as the hand-loom weavers. The unequal speed of the rate of production of the two major departments in the textile industry, spinning and weaving, rendered the services of the weaver in great demand.<sup>24</sup> So great was the demand during the early phase that the manufacturers resorted to offering various inducements to entice the weavers into their services. Some offered bribes, others resorted to more lasting inducements as offers of free houses and workshops for as long as the weaver remained in the employ of a particular manufacturer.<sup>25</sup> Now that the output of yarn had increased enormously, the usefulness and value of the

flying shuttle invented as early as 1732 but hitherto neglected owing to the restricted output of yarn was recognized. Introduced into Scotland in 1788 it was by 1794 in universal use,<sup>26</sup> so that the weaver had not only an abundance of work but also a simple device which made weaving easier, faster and thereby more profitable. In the 1770's a weaver could earn about 10/6d per week when fully employed by the manufacturer.<sup>27</sup> A witness before the Committee of the House of Commons on hand-loom weavers in 1834, testified that the earnings of the weavers, after the introduction of the cotton industry and the adoption of the flying shuttle, increased to as much as £100. 0. 0d per year.<sup>28</sup> This testimony is further supported by William Thom who described how at the time a skillful and industrious weaver could make £2. 0. 0d per week,<sup>29</sup> and that for only four days' work.

The workers in the industries closely connected with the cotton trade experienced similar beneficial effects. The expansion of cotton production and the privileged position of printed calicos on the home market stimulated the expansion of the printing trade, thereby creating a demand for qualified calico-printers. As a result their wages increased.<sup>30</sup> By the mid 1790's block printers could earn between 18/- and 21/- per week while copperplate printers earned between 17/- and 21/- per week.<sup>31</sup>

A rise in the nominal wages is not always an indication of the improved condition of those who received them for such an increase could be accompanied by even greater increases in the prices of the necessities of life which would render the rise in the nominal wages of little consequence. Not having at our disposal such information, the only exact indication of the economic condition of the working population could be derived from the calculation of the real wages. The calculation of the real wages of the Scottish working population, however, on the basis of the data at hand is more than difficult. Even if we had at our disposal a continuous series of wages for different occupations and a continuous series of food prices, which we do not, it would still not enable us to determine to what extent the condition of the working population improved or deteriorated, as the case may be. In order to do that it would be necessary to know not only the income of the principal member of a household but of the household as a whole, as well as the exact eating habits of the population. Only when such detailed information is forthcoming will it be possible to determine the real wages and thereby ascertain the changes in the economic position of the labouring population. Unfortunately such information is not to be had either with regard to the nominal wages, the food prices or the exact eating habits. We know that the general increase in earnings was accompanied by a general increase in the price of food. There

are also, however, strong indications that in general food prices lagged behind wages. It is clear from the pages of the Statistical Account that between 1770 and 1790 the cost of living doubled. It is not clear, however, to what extent wages in general increased during the corresponding period. We are fortunate, however, in having one or two statements with regard to wages and food prices for different periods in different parts of the country which make some sort of comparison possible. Thus, in Cambuslang in Lanark between 1760 and 1790 the wages of a ploughman increased by 150% to 160%, those of an agricultural day labourer by 120% to 133%, those of a mason by 140% to 150%, of a wright by 122% to 157%, and those of a tailor between 250% and 300%.<sup>32</sup> The food prices at the same time behaved as follows: the price of beef and mutton per lb. increased between 50% and 100% depending on the cut and quality, the price of butter per lb. increased by 110% to 200%, of cheese by 200%, that of eggs per dozen by 400%, and that of oatmeal per peck by only 43%.<sup>33</sup> Taking the prices of these articles as equalling 100 in 1750, by 1796 the price index of these articles rose 118% to 218%. In Dunkeld in Perth on the other hand, taking the prices of the following seven articles, beef, mutton, veal, pork, cheese, butter and eggs, but not oatmeal, as equalling 100 in 1776, by 1796 the price index of those articles increased by 105% to 205%, the increase not differing appreciably from that in Cambuslang.<sup>34</sup> Similarly in the parish of Kilmadie

in Inverness the price index of essentially the same articles of food increased from 100 in 1771 to 178 by 1791.<sup>35</sup>

The above examples of course cannot be regarded as applicable to the whole of Scotland for both the increase in the nominal wages and in the prices of the articles of food varied from district to district. They can serve, however, to illustrate both the movement of the price of labour and of food and as an indication that in the upward swing the food prices kept somewhat behind the wages, the relation between the two fluctuating from area to area. That this was the case is further supported by the contemporary observers who were in a good position to judge the improved condition and the rising standard of the working population. There are many instances, for example, in the Statistical Account, of the parish ministers who remained closer to the people than any other group in the society, commenting on the material improvement of the working populace. According to them the people were better fed, better housed and better clothed than at any period during the century within living memory. As one of the ministers put it:

..."there are few artificers who cannot well afford to treat themselves and their families frequently with meat and wheaten bread." 36

Another observed that earlier during the century butcher meat was seldom consumed by the lower class with the

exception of some at Yuletide. Now, in the 1790's on the other hand, it constituted not an infrequent article of consumption during any season of the year.<sup>37</sup> In one of the parishes for example, where fifty years previously the consumption of meat amounted to no more than twenty-four cows killed in any one year, by the 1790's the consumption increased to the extent:

..."that at an average, there are 160 cows killed in the village, and 280 in the parish each year, besides a very considerable number of sheep, calves, and lambs in their season." 38

Our exact knowledge of the eating habits of the Scottish people is at best vague. It is a well known fact, however, that oatmeal constituted a major component of the average Scot's fare. In consequence the movement of the price of that article of consumption would greatly affect the real wages and influence the standard of living of the working people. The price of oatmeal did not rise over this period of years to the same extent, or by as much as the price of other food items. In Cambuslang as we have noted it increased by some 43% between 1750 and 1790 which is considerably less than the increase in other articles of consumption. We are fortunate in having at our disposal the average yearly prices of oatmeal in Glasgow and Edinburgh for the years 1720 to 1789 which enable us to observe and measure the increase.<sup>39</sup> It can be seen that the prices fluctuated, occasionally hitting a high mark during periods of deficient harvests,

gradually moving in an upward direction but at a slow rate of ascent. Thus the average price during the five years from 1785 to 1789 increased by slightly more than 30% in Glasgow and 37% in Edinburgh as compared to the average price during the five year period between 1720 and 1724. This was a small increase when compared with increases in nominal wages during the corresponding period and consequently a large slice of the income was left to be expended on other items.

It must be noted that so far only the wages of the principal bread winners in the family have been taken into account no consideration has been given to the total family income. Yet it must not be overlooked that the economic upsurge in general and the inception and expansion of the cotton industry in particular, as well as of others, afforded employment opportunities to many who otherwise would have remained unproductive.<sup>40</sup> Young and older women, boys and men were eagerly sought for employment in the new cotton mills as spinners, piecers, carders and a variety of other jobs connected with the preparation of cotton wool for spinning and spinning itself. The increased output of yarn created a brisk demand for hand-loom weavers. In consequence boys and adults were sought as apprentices to the weavers. Expansion of the textile industry created greater opportunities in bleachfields and printing works. All this of course meant that in many cases an increased number of members of the same



family found themselves gainfully employed. This in turn augmented the total family income leaving at its disposal a much larger sum than previously which greatly contributed to the over-all improvement in the standard of living.

Notwithstanding the initial benefits arising out of the economic expansion and the growth of industries, however, the newly created economic conditions contained elements which were to prove less beneficial to the working population. Perhaps one of the main drawbacks of the newly created conditions as far as the labouring classes were concerned now that a large section of them had lost their economic freedom and had become largely dependent for their livelihood on capital, consisted of the instability of wages and insecurity of employment.

In comparison, the period prior to the advancement in the field of industrial technology, remained by and large static, though by no means stagnant and its expansion limited, while offering at the same time a measure of stability. With the advent of machinery, followed by other inventions and their application in industry the pace of industrial and economic expansion quickened enormously. With this expansion also, the stability offered by a less pulsating economy vanished, rendering the trade subject to frequent fluctuations which became one of the main features of the newly rising capitalistic economy.

For one thing, as the markets grew in size and expanded in area they became less stable, safe and predictable. The limited knowledge of those extensive and distant markets in particular, by the contemporary men of business, the merchants and manufacturers, coupled with the unbounded optimistic outlook professed by them led to frequent speculation which very often resulted in serious overtrading, plunging the trade and industry into a state of depression resulting in general stagnation, lower wages and widespread unemployment.

The emergence of economic individualism at the time contributed in no small measure to the frequency of the economic crisis. If the new economic doctrine of laissez-faire insisted on the minimum of interference on the part of the state or any other agency it equally vehemently stressed the "natural liberty" of the individual to pursue his economic activities unhampered. In the rising industries combinations of capital, syndicates, agreements or understandings among the producers assigning to each other particular markets were unknown. Each manufacturer founded and remained the sole master of his own fortune. The earlier part of the Industrial Revolution was the era of individual undertaking. The individual manufacturer perceived an ever growing and expanding market for his goods and assumed that he could release all the goods and articles he could manufacture. Unfortunately all the other manufacturers made equally

optimistic assumptions without any reference to their competitors in the field, which consequently led to an inevitable excess in production and hence to the recurring crises. As the economy expanded it became more complex and involved, its stability depending on a variety of factors. It also became more sensitive, for in this economic complexity all the factors became intertwined and interdependent, any change or variation in one of these involving in one way or another, to a greater or lesser extent, all others. The low price of the raw material might stimulate industrial production in excess of the increase in the rate of consumption, causing industrial recession. War or rumours of war might curtail credit, arrest the industrial expansion and plunge the whole economy into temporary confusion. Similarly any fluctuation in the inflow of capital, the money market and credit, the backbone of the rising capitalism, might throw the economy out of gear causing more or less severe crises.

The first serious crisis in 1788, involving the textile industry seems to have been caused entirely by the optimism of the manufacturers. The prospects of attractive profits stimulated production without much regard to the demand.<sup>41</sup> Soon the markets became flooded with goods. Inevitably prices fell sharply causing embarrassment to many manufacturers and mill owners. Depression and general stagnation of trade followed causing a fall in wages and unemployment.

This crisis, however, did not seriously involve the Scottish textile industry. At the time the cotton industry in Scotland was still, by and large, in its infancy. Construction of spinning mills on a large scale had scarcely begun since the manufacturers of muslin and calico largely depended on the supply of yarn from the English mills.<sup>42</sup> Those involved in the production of cotton fabrics, however, suffered a setback. The strike of Glasgow weavers in late 1787 and early 1788 caused by the fall in the prices of weaving, which led to serious disturbances, was a direct result of this crisis.<sup>43</sup>

The crisis of 1793, on the other hand, had nothing to do with the textile industry. It developed and affected the whole economy as a result of the laxity in the operation of credit for some time past, the fear of the prospect of war with France and the successes of the French Revolution on the Continent. People's confidence became shaken. Runs on the banks followed. Some of them could not withstand the rush and failed, among them James Dunlop, one of the wealthiest merchants in Glasgow.<sup>44</sup> As a result credit was virtually suspended. People held on to their money and commercial transactions were reduced to the bare minimum. In consequence goods and stores became unsaleable, industrial production declined and the trade in general became stagnant. During the twenty-three out of the forty years covered by this paper Britain was locked in a gigantic struggle first with the

Revolution and then with Napoleonic France. Such a long period of warfare involving the whole of Europe and its colonial dependencies disrupted trade and commerce and greatly affected economic development.

## II

The outbreak of war with France in 1793 did not at once lead to any adverse economic consequences even though soon after the eruption of the conflict both sides resorted to measures and weapons of a distinctly economic nature.<sup>45</sup> Direct trade with France ceased but the exports of British manufactures to the Continent as such did not suffer, while British goods found their way to France through indirect channels. The economic measures adopted by the French revolutionary government directed against Britain did not at first prove dangerous, for France had neither the means nor resources to enforce them.<sup>46</sup> It is true that the causes of the commercial crises of 1793, 1796 and 1799 could be traced partly to the influence of the war; nevertheless, none of them seemed to give occasion to a prolonged setback either in the industries or in home and foreign trade.<sup>47</sup>

There scarcely exists any evidence to suggest that during its earlier part the war affected adversely the industrial expansion on which the British industry embarked thanks to the inventions and progress in the field of industrial technology. In Scotland in fact, the earlier period

of hostilities was marked by a rapid economic expansion in general and of the textile industry in particular.<sup>48</sup> The erection of cotton mills progressed rapidly; the output of the industry increased and trade, especially foreign trade, expanded. In fact the Scottish textile industry in a short space of time became largely dependent on the more extensive and wider overseas markets, for even though there was a considerable home market for the cotton goods, especially since cotton replaced linen in many articles of wear, this market remained limited in extent and could not absorb the entire output of the Scottish mills and looms. Prior to 1800 for example Kirkman Finlay, one of Glasgow's most substantial cotton spinners and manufacturers exported yarn and cotton fabrics to the Continent.<sup>49</sup> The imitation and cheaper shawls from Paisley and Glasgow found a ready market in America while the quality and fashionable shawls, of which Paisley led the field, were destined for the London market, not to mention plain and printed calicos which were shipped to the West Indian colonies.<sup>50</sup> Similarly linen goods were partly destined for the colonial markets while the output of the Dunfermline weavers of the table linens and diapers found a ready reception in the United States.<sup>51</sup>

To what extent the prosperity of the Scottish industry in general and textiles in particular depended on exports can be gauged from the estimates by Sir John Sinclair

of the number of workmen engaged in the manufacturing of goods destined for home and foreign markets. According to his reckoning in about the year 1810 almost 65% of the wage earners in Scotland were engaged in manufacturing goods for the latter market and less than 25% for home consumption, the remainder being engaged in the production of goods destined for the English market.<sup>52</sup> It is worthy of note that some 98% of those wage earners engaged in the production of goods for both the export and the English markets consisted of those in the textile and allied industries. It is evident from the above that the prosperity and the well-being of most wage earners, no less than the prosperity of the industries in general, greatly depended on the behaviour of the export market.

Though during the earlier phase the hostilities little affected the trade, as the war wore on and increased in intensity particularly with the advent of Napoleon, trade began to suffer from serious interruption and dislocation which in turn disrupted the industrial output. In 1801 the prospect of peace and the short lived peace itself stirred the economy. The industry went through a phase of feverish activity but the resumption of hostilities in 1803 put an end to this expansive trend bringing in its wake a recession mainly due to excessive speculation.<sup>53</sup> After the outbreak of war and Napoleon's successes on the Continent, markets and trade became less certain. The state of the cotton trade



during the few years succeeding the outbreak of war remained in doubt as the manufacturers awaited developments on the Continent, not knowing and fearing what events might bring. In October of 1806 the situation became clearer if not encouraging when Prussia collapsed and when, soon after, Napoleon issued the Berlin decree closing the Continental ports under his control to British goods. The British government replied with the Orders in Council of January and November of 1807 forbidding neutrals to trade along the coast of France and of French allies and, furthermore, insisting that the neutrals, before proceeding to a hostile port, should touch at a British port and pay such custom duty as the government should see fit to impose. Napoleon on his part retaliated with the Milan decree of December 1807 to the effect that "any vessel which submitted to the British regulations a fair prize." Thus on the one hand, Napoleon was determined to cut off Britain's export trade to the Continent while Britain was equally determined that if Europe was to receive any imports the imports would be effected through Britain.

Without going into the merits or demerits of the policies pursued by both Napoleon and Britain it can be easily appreciated that the policies adopted played havoc with British trade. Fortunately the blockade of the Continent did not prove entirely successful at first<sup>54</sup> partly because Napoleon's attention was diverted by other events and partly

because Europe could not do without either the British manufactured goods or the colonial produce. Furthermore, the trade quickly responded to the changed situation and readjusted itself to the new situation, altering its channels, direction and character. If the volume of direct trade to that part of Europe under Napoleon's control declined, British merchandise found its way to the markets of the Continent through Sweden, Heligoland, Gibraltar, Malta and the Ionian Islands which became the entrepôt ports in the Continental trade. Development of smuggling followed which assumed gigantic proportions and if this manner of trading did not acquire the proportions and character of normal commercial relations it became more than a mere palliative.<sup>55</sup> In this manner the British domestic export trade held its own.

Meanwhile the conditions thus created induced the British merchants and manufacturers to explore new avenues for the disposal of the manufactured goods of the growing British industries. Opportunity soon arose when as the result of the Spanish revolt new markets on the Iberian peninsula and the Spanish colonies in South America became available. This development, accompanied by very favourable reports of<sup>56</sup> the absorbent capacity of the South American markets, infused the business circles with great optimism and stimulated industrial and commercial activity. The official value of the

British domestic exports to Spanish South America jumped from £1.8 million in 1806 to £6.4 million in 1809 while the export to Spain rose from £0.1 million to £2.4 million during the corresponding period.<sup>57</sup>

As a result of the not overly vigorous enforcement of the Berlin and Milan decrees and because of the readjustment of trade and the opening of new markets, the blockade of the Continent failed to seriously undermine British domestic exports. In fact trade during the year 1809 experienced a considerable boom and remained in good condition until the spring of 1810. This condition permitted a considerable revival in the textile industry. The export of yarn and a variety of cotton goods doubled between 1806 and 1809. The situation is best summarized in the words of a Paisley muslin manufacturer.<sup>58</sup>

"In 1807 we felt the whole effect of the Berlin Decree, we were entirely excluded from the Continent; I speak with regard to my own transactions and those of a vast number of my friends... In 1808 the trade revived considerably; a great quantity of our goods, and of English merchandise was introduced into the Continent through Heligoland; considerable exports were made to the Baltic and the trade in the Mediterranean increased very considerably; a very great trade was opened to this country in consequence of the Royal Family of Portugal removing to Brazil which likewise made an opening to Spanish South America. In 1809 the trade through Heligoland was most extensive; Bonaparte had his hands full with the Emperor of Germany and with the Spaniards and had no time to attend to the coast. The trade during that year, I may say, was uninterrupted. The trade to the Mediterranean increased very much,

the quantity of goods taken out that year exceeded any previous year... The trade to the Brazils was equally extensive with the year before, vast exportation took place to South America and in trade in the line in which I am engaged was reckoned a fair trade, the markets were never heavy."

Unfortunately trade did not remain in this flourishing condition for long. By mid 1810 Britain entered a period of severe commercial crisis from which it did not completely recover for a considerable time. The crisis had three separate causes, all in one way or another related to the war: the tightening of the Continental blockade, worsening of relations with the United States and finally a reaction against speculation in South American trade.

Up to the middle of 1810 though the Berlin and Milan decrees were in force the blockade did not prove tight and British, as well as colonial produce, found its way into the heart of Europe one way or another. At this stage, however, Napoleon decided to tighten the ring around Europe by enforcing the policy of the Berlin and Milan decrees. He issued several decrees to this effect, primarily the Fontainebleau decree of October 1810 directed against smuggling and he prevailed with varying degrees of success on other Continental governments to follow his policy. If we are to judge from the official returns of the British exports to Northern Europe we are bound to agree that by and large Napoleon succeeded in his endeavour to keep British

merchandise out of Europe. British exports to Germany for example declined from £2.2 million in 1810 to £0.1 million in 1811, that to Prussia fell from £2.6 million to £0.1 million and to Sweden from £4.9 million to £0.5 million during the corresponding period, a net loss of over £9 million.<sup>59</sup>

Simultaneously with the tightening of the blockade and the fall in exports to Europe, relations with the United States deteriorated. The United States though hoping to benefit from the conflict by capturing a large share of the carrying trade remained dedicated to the policy of strict neutrality. After 1807 when the commercial aspect of the struggle between France and Britain assumed paramount importance the measures subsequently adopted by Napoleon and the British government made the pursuit of the policy of neutrality virtually impossible. Strained efforts on the part of the President and Congress to adhere to her neutrality as well as persuade the two protagonists to respect it involved the United States in infinite difficulties particularly with Great Britain. The relations between the two countries went from bad to worse, eventually culminating in a war<sup>60</sup> which closed yet another market to British goods. To what extent British trade suffered in this quarter can be gauged by comparing the value of British exports. Between 1810 and 1811 when the Non-Intercourse law was reimposed and strictly enforced the value of exports dropped from £7.8 million to

£1.4 million, while during the course of the war from 1812 to 1814 it remained below its normal level.<sup>61</sup>

Tightening of the Continental blockade and the temporary loss of the markets in the United States were in themselves sufficient to cause widespread depression in the British industry. The depression was rendered more severe, however, by the reaction against speculation in the South American markets. In their eager search for substitute markets the exporters and manufacturers over-estimated the absorbent capacity of the markets of the Spanish colonies for British manufactured goods. Immense quantities of a variety of goods, in some cases unsuitable for this particular market, were dispatched.

"The exportations consequent on the first opening of the trade to Buenos Aires, Brazil and Caraccas were most extraordinary... We are informed by Mr. Mawe, an intelligent traveller, resident at Rio Janeiro, at the period in question, that more Manchester goods were sent out in the course of a few weeks, than had been consumed in the twenty years preceding;... that warehouses could not be provided sufficient to contain them; and that the most valuable merchandise was actually exposed for weeks on the beaches, to the weather, and to every sort of depredation." 62

In consequence of the glut trade collapsed bringing ruinous losses to exporters, many of whom had procured the goods on credit from the manufacturers.

The restriction of trade to the Continent and the United States hit the Scottish cotton industry hard. The setback suffered as a result of the temporary collapse of the South American trade proved even more ruinous to the Scots. When trade to South America became a possibility both the Scottish textile manufacturers and merchants found themselves seriously involved in the rush for the market. The exporters of Glasgow, Liverpool and London purchased large quantities from the Scottish manufacturers mostly on credit.<sup>63</sup> It soon became apparent that those merchants involved in the trade over-estimated the possibilities of the market. The inability on their part to dispose of the goods started a chain reaction. Unable to realize sales the exporters failed to meet the manufacturers' bills when they became due. Many of the exporters in consequence went bankrupt. According to some reports the failure in Glasgow amounted to between one and two million pounds sterling.<sup>64</sup> The manufacturers with whom the exporters dealt found a considerable portion of their capital held up in bankrupt estates and were thus short of liquid capital. Credit too received a setback as some of the Scottish banks became involved in the crisis, for in many cases they advanced money to the manufacturers on the security of the bills received from the exporters. But the manufacturers, unable to collect from the exporters when their bills came due, failed to meet their obligation to the banks and thus the

banks found part of their capital tied up. Under the  
 circumstances the banks thought it prudent to curtail credit.<sup>65</sup>  
 There was little doubt that eventually some or most of the  
 stores on the South American market would be disposed of;  
 the manufacturers in time would be able to convert the bank-  
 rupt estates into cash and meet their obligations, and things  
 would return to normal. This was, however, relatively speaking,  
 a long term project. The immediate result of the South  
 American debacle on the business activity proved severely  
 restrictive and, combined with the tightening of the blockade  
 and difficulties with the United States, rendered the crises  
 extremely severe.

In Paisley, out of a population of some 30,000,  
 because of acute unemployment 1,200 families, comprising some  
 5,000 individuals, depended on assistance from publicly  
 subscribed sources.<sup>66</sup> Generally throughout Ayr, Lanark and  
 Renfrew of the 30,000 looms half remained idle while the weavers  
 desperately looked for alternative employment.<sup>67</sup> Those weavers  
 in Glasgow who were fortunate enough to work the looms did  
 so at greatly reduced wages amounting to no more than five  
 shillings or so per week.<sup>68</sup> Some of the cotton mills in the  
 city suspended operations for a time while others worked at  
 a reduced capacity.<sup>69</sup> In order to cope with the serious  
 situation the Glasgow magistrates imposed an extraordinary  
 assessment for the relief of the unemployed in the city while



the Paisley magistrates petitioned the government for funds to subsidize public works, namely the construction of a canal linking Glasgow, Paisley and Ardrosan , in order to provide alternate employment to those out of work.<sup>70</sup>

The situation of the working population, already difficult because of the disrupting effects of the war on the economy was rendered even more difficult because of the high prices of provisions which prevailed throughout the lengthy period of hostilities. A glance at the tables enclosed will reveal this tendency.<sup>71</sup> Whereas the yearly average price of wheat and oats during the five year period prior to the commencement of hostilities hovered between 47/- and 49/- per quarter of wheat and around 19/- or 20/- on the average for oats, during the succeeding years the table registers quite a significant increase in the price of these articles of consumption. The prices being yearly averages of course do not reveal the whole truth, not showing the fluctuating prices during the year or years of acute shortages. Thus during the severe food crisis of 1795/6 at one point wheat stood at 106/- and oats at 37/4d per quarter.<sup>72</sup> The average prices during the second half of 1795 and the first half of 1796 stood at 89/8d and 91/1d per quarter of wheat respectively and 27/2d and 32/8d for oats. During a succeeding crisis in 1799 and 1800 wheat shot up in price to 124/- and oats to 41/4d per quarter (December 1799).<sup>73</sup>

Many factors contributed to the rise in the prices of food. For one thing from about 1780 onwards Scotland depended largely on imports to supplement her home grown supply of corn in order to satisfy the growing demand of a gradually increasing population.<sup>74</sup> The war, however, which soon inflamed the whole of the Continent disrupted and rendered uncertain, if it did not totally curtail, access to the markets from which Britain traditionally replenished her corn supplies. A series of either deficient, indifferent or mediocre harvests made the importation all the more urgent. Unfortunately deficient harvests in Britain coincided with similar low yielding harvests on the Continent. Thus even while the importation of corn from the Continent remained possible prices remained high, while shipping and insurance charges, increasing as a result of greater war risks, tended<sup>75</sup> to push the prices even higher.

The difficulties created by the war in the field of food supplies greatly stimulated agricultural production at home, spelling a period of prosperity to the British farmer. High prices and prospects of large profits induced the farming community to further capital expenditure on improvements such as draining and ditching and extension of cultivation by bringing under the plough marginal lands, thereby raising production and output. This effort, however, made little impression on food prices. For one thing with the population

quickly increasing agricultural resources even though greatly augmented proved inadequate to satisfy the demand of the growing industrial towns as well as the countryside, while the increased cost of production tended to keep the prices at a high level. At no time during the duration of the war did they reach levels experienced prior to the outbreak of hostilities.

The prices of other articles of food increased accordingly though in their case it is more difficult to trace this movement. In Scotland during the mid 1790's by and large the prices of meat per pound varied between 3d and 5d for beef and mutton and between 4d and 5d for pork per lb. Butter sold for 6d to 1/- per lb, cheese for about 10d per lb. and a dozen eggs from 6d to 9d.<sup>76</sup> In 1801 on the average beef and mutton sold in Glasgow for 8½d per lb. cheese for 10d per lb. eggs 10½d a dozen while oatmeal, the mainstay of the Scottish diet, sold at 2/- per peck.<sup>77</sup> Three years later the prices increased even more. It might perhaps be worth while to show a table of prices for some basic food articles in Glasgow drawn by Cleland, for the last five years of the war period so that they might be compared with the pre-war prices.<sup>78</sup>

<u>Articles Of Food</u>	<u>1810</u> s. d.	<u>1811</u> s. d.	<u>1812</u> s. d.	<u>1813</u> s. d.	<u>1814</u> s. d.
Oatmeal per peck	1 8	1 8	1 9	2 2	1 9
Potatoes per peck	11	1 3	1 9	1 2	11
Beef, good boiling pieces per lb.	8½	8	8½	8½	9
Beef, coarse pieces per lb.	6½	6	6½	6½	7
Pork per lb.	7½	7	7½	7½	8
Scotch cheese per lb.	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0
Butter, fresh	1 4	1 4	1 4	1 4	1 4
Butter, salt	2½	2½	2½	2½	2½
Sugar, brown	9	8	9	1 0	10
Wheaten loaf	1 3¼	1 1¼	1 4	1 5	1 0
Household loaf	10½	9½	11	1 0½	9

As the cost of living rose wages moved in an upward direction but this movement was not common to all the trades and different occupations. Furthermore, these increases remained more apparent than real for though the actual rate of pay increased the rise by and large proved insufficient for the losses suffered either through unemployment or shorter working hours.

The largest increases were experienced by those engaged in agricultural labour whose wages on the average doubled. The great demands put on the agricultural sector during the war and consequent vast undertakings of improvements

and expansion in this sector created considerable demand for skilled and unskilled agricultural labour in consequence of which demand the wages considerably increased. Roughly speaking a ploughman in the south of Scotland saw the cash value of his wages increase by the years 1810/13 to £30 as compared with £16 gained in 1794.<sup>79</sup> A similar increase was experienced in the north of Scotland where the cash value of wages increased from £13. 10. 0d to £25. 10. 0d during the corresponding period.<sup>80</sup> The cash value of unmarried servants' wages<sup>81</sup> and of the day labourer rose accordingly.

In the case of the artisans the rise in wages remained less pronounced and less general. By and large the increase depended either on the ability of the journeymen in various trades to force the masters through an organized action which more often than not resulted in a strike to concede an augmentation of wages, or on the successful application to the magistrates or Justices of the Peace. Thus in August 1799 the ship carpenters in Leith, basing their demands on the high cost of provisions had their wages raised by the latter method.<sup>82</sup> Similarly the wrights of the same town and of Edinburgh and the cabinet and chair makers in and around the latter town successfully applied to the Quarter Session for<sup>83</sup> augmentation of wages because of the high cost of living. The Edinburgh printers experienced greater difficulty in their efforts to obtain a wage increase but eventually successfully

petitioned the Court of Session.<sup>84</sup> The shoemakers on the other hand succeeded in the same venture by means of a strike in 1795.<sup>85</sup> Generally speaking the average wages of masons which in 1790 were 1/6d per day rose by 1804 on the average to 2/11½d per day. The average wages of carpenters rose from 1/4d to 2/5½d during the corresponding period while those of tailors doubled between 1780 and 1800 and rose to 2/6d per day by 1809. The wrights saw their daily rate increase from an average of 1/2d in 1790 to 1/6d in 1800 and then double<sup>86</sup> by 1809. Similarly the average daily rate of the shoemakers rose from 1/2d to 2/- during the corresponding period.<sup>87</sup> These increases, though significant, in all probability were not sufficient to offset the rise in the cost of living considering the uncertainty of trade and employment, though undoubtedly the gains mitigated the hardship caused by the rise in the food prices.

The operatives in the textile industry did not fare so well. In fact in some cases while the cost of living rose wages declined. The hand-loom weavers for example who during the initial few years of the textile industry's expansion could command high earnings by the latter 1790's saw their wages reduced to 10/- or 12/- per week for inferior workmen and to between 25/- and 30/- for first class craftsmen as compared with 40/- and more, gained a few years earlier.<sup>88</sup> By 1812 the whole body of the Scottish weavers, whose wages

as a result of the commercial crisis of 1811 greatly declined, was locked in what proved to be an unsuccessful struggle with the manufacturers to have their wages brought to a level if not comparable with wages in other trades at least to a level calculated to afford a tolerable living.<sup>89</sup>

The lengthy period of war, particularly the latter part, proved a trying time for the Scottish working population, especially for that section of it employed in the manufacturing industries largely depending on exports. The war disrupted the markets, created an acute feeling of uncertainty in the business circles, stimulated speculation and accentuated fluctuation of the economy with all its various consequences. At the same time the cost of living increased, not always accompanied with a corresponding increase in wages. But the dislocation and restrictions from which British trade and industries suffered disappeared with the restoration of peace. However, other commercial difficulties then faced the British manufacturers. For one thing, general post-war stagnation on the Continent greatly affected British trade in that quarter. Furthermore, various industries which in consequence of war came into being in Europe and the United States, though they did not pose a serious competitive threat to the technologically more advanced British industry, had to be taken into consideration particularly since their existence brought about the erection of protective tariffs around them.<sup>90</sup>

The characteristics of the post-Napoleonic war era consisted of declining trade, increased production, falling prices and shrunken profits. Parallel with this development the labour market swelled. The emergence of these features on the economic scene indicated hard times ahead for business in general and the labour force in particular.

During the last years of the war trade, after the severe depression of 1810/12 gradually revived, helped on the one hand by the revocation of the Orders in Council and on the other by the breakdown of the Continental system during and after the Russian campaign. The prospect of Napoleon's final defeat and the restoration of peace loomed large in 1813 and 1814. The anticipation of the vast European markets thus being thrown open stimulated economic activity in Britain. The Scottish textile industry embarked on full scale production. Employment opportunities increased and wages rose. The news of the battle of Leipzig for example forced an immediate increase in the rate of pay for imitation shawls from 1/5d to 2/4d per ell and the goods rose in value from 2/9d to 4/6d per shawl.<sup>91</sup> The anticipation in business circles of a vastly increased trade with Europe proved a gross miscalculation. Europe though starved for British goods emerged from the war greatly impoverished and unable to pay for the goods dumped on her shores. In consequence large consignments remained unsold even though the prices fell sharply. Such returns on



sales as were made were further reduced in terms of British money by an increase in the value of sterling.<sup>92</sup>

The subsequent termination of war with the United States and the resumption of trade with the latter did not improve the situation to any appreciable extent for shipments on a large scale were dumped on the United States market for whatever they might realize. The cotton industry was perhaps the worst hit by the trade depression. The losses suffered by the manufacturers and exporters are clearly indicated by the discrepancy between the official value of exports reflecting the volume of trade and the real value of cotton exports. Thus for example the official value in 1814 amounted to £17.7 million rising to £22.3 million in 1815, an apparent increase of £4.6 million. The declared value, however, rose by only £0.3 million from £20 to £20.3 million.<sup>93</sup> A cut in the government expenditure to some extent further aggravated the difficult position of the industry. The prosperity of the Scottish iron industry during the war largely depended on the increased demand for iron caused by the war and the government orders for ordnance. With the restoration of peace the demand for armaments greatly decreased which, added to the general economic stagnation, caused serious consequences for this branch of industry.<sup>94</sup> In turn the declining demand for iron greatly affected the consumption of coal causing distress among the colliers.

The severe trade depression with a brief period of recovery in 1818 continued for almost five years. The period was characterized by low wages, extensive unemployment which in turn led to widespread unrest among the working population, acute industrial disputes, strikes and political agitation and conspiracies. The difficulties encountered by the Scottish wage earners during the period of continuous distress were rendered even worse, for while the English working population could fall back upon the Poor Law no such recourse was opened to the Scots. Under the provision of the Scottish Poor Law no able-bodied person under any circumstances enjoyed the right to relief. Consequently the so called industrious poor were left to their own devices. The distress, however, reached such proportions that soon it became recognized that some form of relief would be necessary if only to keep the distressed cotton workers and others from resorting to desperate measures. In most industrial centers such as Glasgow, Paisley, Aberdeen and Edinburgh Relief Committees were set up and public subscriptions called for.<sup>95</sup> Whenever possible the committees provided employment by undertaking public works at wages ranging between 10d to 1/- per day including soup, meal and coal tickets or by providing relief in terms of money and food.<sup>96</sup> This however remained a mere palliative designed to prevent starvation among those hardest hit by the depression. Besides public works could not always be

undertaken in places where they were needed to provide employment for those unemployed.

After 1819, the year of perhaps the worst depression encountered up to date, reflected in England in "Peterloo" and in Scotland in the "Radical War" and Bonnymuir, the level of industrial activity increased while trade gradually and sluggishly revived accompanied by a fall in the cost of living. For a few years the economic pulse quickened. During the twenties the linen manufacturing industry went through a period of expansion and brisk trade. The quickened pace of railway construction which had its beginning in the early 1800's stimulated to some extent the iron industry.<sup>97</sup> In the largest Scottish industry, cotton, judging from the increased volume of exports, production and output rose<sup>98</sup> considerably. The economic revival, however, was not of such a nature as to bring about any drastic change in the condition of the working population though some improvement did occur as compared with the post-war period. This improvement, however, was reflected more in the increased level of employment than in the increased level of wages. If any rise in earnings occurred during this period of brisk economic activity it remained limited, far from being general, and was achieved only after strong pressure from the workmen on their employers. Thus the wages of those connected with the building trade in Edinburgh rose appreciably, but this increase

was equally due to the extensive and ambitious building program undertaken in the capital city as much as to the exertion of the workmen themselves.<sup>99</sup> No such significant rise, however, took place in Glasgow.<sup>100</sup> Similarly the level of wages of the weavers connected with the linen trade increased mainly as a result of a relatively flourishing condition of that branch of the trade.<sup>101</sup> The increase, nevertheless, remained small. On the other hand a glance at the table of wages of the cotton weavers would indicate that no such increase in their case took place in spite of the fact that cotton production expanded. In other instances as in the case of some colliers and cotton spinners the masters reluctantly granted an advance in wages, not however before a series of industrial disputes and strikes had occurred.<sup>102</sup>

The working population did not enjoy for too long its recently won gains, as the period of improved conditions proved of a relatively short duration. In the wake of the economic recovery came the severe depression of 1825/26 which as far as the mass of the wage earners was concerned proved if not worse at least as bad as that of 1819. The boom in the linen trade mostly because of over-expansion and over-trading ended abruptly with disastrous consequences to the workers engaged in it. After the crash of 1825 there was practically no work for the hand-loom weaver in linen for close to eighteen months until mid 1827 when the situation

improved somewhat.<sup>103</sup> In Glasgow spinning mills either shut their doors entirely or reduced their output capacity by 50% while many power weaving factories erected during the<sup>104</sup> short period of trade expansion remained out of action. As a result wages fell sharply while many found themselves out of work. Various relief committees formed in the industrial counties and towns opened their doors to the needy. In Glasgow 13,720 persons were on relief while Paisley reported<sup>105</sup> 15,000 unemployed in the town and the surrounding district. The Duke of Hamilton in an urgent letter to Peel asking for government assistance informed the Home Secretary that of the 45,000 cotton workers in Lanarkshire for the past three months one-third remained unemployed while the rest found only<sup>106</sup> partial employment. The situation became graver when because of meager crops harvested as a result of inclement weather, food prices rose. This, combined with the widespread unemployment and low wages, rendered the distress even more severe. The situation with regard to food was alleviated by the action of the government. Overcome by the magnitude of the distress and perhaps anxious to avoid a repetition of political unrest among the lower orders it ordered the ports open to the importation of oats, peas and beans in the hope that its action would create a favourable impression on the distressed population, "that they will feel that the government was not inclined to shrink from responsibility in adopting<sup>107</sup> measures for their relief."

From the beginning of 1827 the trade picked up somewhat. The unemployed gradually returned to work to such an extent that the various committees for the relief of the industrious poor wound up their activities.<sup>108</sup> But insofar as the textile industry was concerned the respite proved of a relatively short duration, for in the month of April of 1829 another trade depression gripped the industry<sup>109</sup> driving many into the ranks of the unemployed, particularly the hand-loom weavers who were the first in line to feel the effects of the depression.<sup>110</sup> In this instance trade remained uncertain from 1829 through to 1831.<sup>111</sup> Insofar as the period between Waterloo and the Reform Bill of 1832 was concerned the only hopeful note was the falling cost of living. Between 1815 and 1820 it fluctuated, but from 1820 onward the declining trend as reflected in the prices of oatmeal and quartern loaf appears quite noticeable, affording some measure of relief<sup>112</sup> to the working people.

## III

The cyclical pattern of the economy with its periodic fluctuations involved the labouring class in considerable difficulties during the frequent periods of depression and stagnation of trade. What, however, rendered these difficulties, consisting of low wages and unemployment with all their negative results more pronounced, not only during the periods of depression but equally during the periods when the industrial production increased and trade in general remained in good condition, was the growth of the size of the labour force...

In a situation where the earnings of the wage earners were governed solely by the law of supply and demand, one of the fundamental tenets of the new economic doctrine, it became quite evident that as the size of the labour force increased beyond what the industry was capable of absorbing, the wage index would move in a downward direction. During the first stage of the industrial revolution the first flush of industrial expansion created a demand for labour far in excess of the supply, consequently high wages prevailed for a time.

The labour force, however, quickly responded to the stimulus of the industrial expansion and gradually the gap between the demand and the supply narrowed and in due course the market became overstocked, attended with the noxious and inevitable results - declining wages.

During the war period the problem arising out of the growing labour market seemed to be less real. For one thing the fighting forces absorbed a considerable number of able-bodied men which otherwise would have crowded the labour market.

The war which disrupted the supply of foreign corn stimulated domestic agricultural production. The acreage under cultivation increased by bringing marginal lands under the plough. This involved extensive clearing and draining of land and other similar heavy spade work, providing employment to many and thus relieving to some extent the pressure on the labour market.

Furthermore during the period covered by the war the economy in general, particularly the textile industry expanded at a relatively fast pace. If the involvement in a lengthy war occasioned a disruption and dislocation of trade it did not mean its temporary suspension. While the old markets became more or less restricted, opening of new markets to some extent redressed the balance. Vast government expenditure



in connection with the war stimulated industries connected with the war effort, such as textiles, to provide the large army with the necessary articles of wear. A demand for iron and government orders for ordnance allowed for increased production in this heavy industry which in turn involved greater demand for coal and consequently, more intensive exploration of mines. All these factors combined to lessen the effects of the ever growing number of working people. During the post-war period, however, the situation underwent a marked change.

During the period between 1760 and 1815 the rapid increase in population, due to the falling death rate arising out of considerable advances in medical knowledge, greatly contributed to the increase in the supply of labour. The factors however which immediately contributed to the swelling of the labour market consisted of the soldiers released from the army and a depression in agriculture. Castlereagh stated at the beginning of 1817 that since the termination of war no less than 300,000 fighting men had been demobilized.<sup>113</sup> An addition of such a large number to the labour force was bound to create adverse effects on the labour market. With respect to agriculture the cessation of hostilities removed the artificial stimulus to intensive cultivation. The opening of the markets from which Britain drew additional supplies of corn brought down the prices of corn and created panic among

the landlords who during the war had sunk considerable capital into improvements. As a result agricultural expansion received a check. In consequence of this development a number of people formerly employed in draining and clearing of land found themselves without work. Though these factors contributed to aggravating the problem of the labour surplus they were not responsible for its creation. The explanation more likely lies in the fact that economic and industrial expansion did not proceed at a pace sufficiently brisk to keep in step with and absorb the quickly growing population. Between the years 1755 and 1831, which roughly cover the first phase of the economic and industrial expansion, the population of Scotland increased by some 85% from 1,265,380 to 2,336,114. To make matters worse as far as the labour market was concerned during the corresponding period Scottish agriculture underwent a revolution of its own. The reorganization of farming rendered it more rational and efficient but as a result of the changes it left considerable numbers landless while the use of better implements reduced the number of agricultural labourers. In consequence the redundant population either emigrated overseas, particularly those from the Highlands or migrated to towns and villages in search of employment, pressing hard on the labour market. Similar results were registered when the Irish, driven from their homes by poverty, descended in large numbers on Scotland.

As already noted during the first phase of the economic expansion, apart from the textile and allied industries many other industries came into being, or those already in existence expanded. None of them, however, reached proportions comparable either to cotton or linen manufacturing.

The economic expansion no doubt stimulated the iron industry but the industry expanded only very gradually. The production of iron neither increased at an extraordinary rate nor achieved spectacular proportions. By 1824 the output of Scottish furnaces amounted to a mere 5% of the total British production.<sup>115</sup> This appears more or less insignificant compared with the expansion experienced after the 1830's when for example Scottish production during the decade between 1835 and 1845 jumped by 700%, amounting to 25% of the total British output.<sup>116</sup>

The relatively slow progress of the Scottish iron industry was partly due to the inferiority of Scottish coal insofar as it yielded a smaller percentage of coke than the Welsh or English coals, and this disadvantage was not overcome until the late 1820's when Nielson invented the hot blast. The main reason however for the sluggishness with which the iron industry expanded consisted of the limited scope imposed on the industry and limited markets. It remained confined to supplying the home market with such articles as pots, fire

grates and stoves for domestic use, various industries with tools and machinery as in the case of the textile industry, making boilers for the distilleries and steam engines for factories and mines.<sup>117</sup> Efforts had been made to capture some of the overseas markets and the West Indies proved a good customer for the industry. All this, however, did not add up to a stimulus sufficient to evoke an intensive and extensive expansion.<sup>118</sup> Even the heavy demand for iron during the Napoleonic wars did not extend the then existing capacities of the industry. At the height of the war in 1806 for example, only twenty of the twenty-nine furnaces were in blast.<sup>119</sup>

The expansion of the iron industry largely depended on the expansion and extension of other industries, particularly those which might rely heavily on the supply of iron such, for example, as shipbuilding or the construction of railways. As already noted the shipbuilding, stimulated by the extension of trade and economic expansion, grew, but this growth, nevertheless, remained limited. The era of shipbuilding and the growth of its importance as a factor in the Scottish industry and economy came only with the application and perfection of steam power as a means of propulsion and the use of iron in construction. Though both of these had been pioneered and experimented with during the period under review in this thesis, the application of both steam power and iron

in shipbuilding in any really significant proportions  
<sup>120</sup>  
 occurred only well after the 1830's.

Similarly the beginnings of railway construction could be traced to the early 1800's but nothing in any way significant was achieved in this direction until the mid  
<sup>121</sup>  
 1820's. The first major constructions were authorized between 1823 and 1826, a period of greatly increased economic activity, when some fifty-two miles of track were laid at a cost of nearly £850,000.  
<sup>122</sup>  
 The economic crisis of 1826, however, acted as a temporary break on this venture.

The period between the 1780's and the 1830's, as far as industrial and economic expansion were concerned, remained the era of the textile industry. In comparison with other industries, it expanded at the fastest rate. It became by far the largest single industry in Scotland, employing the greatest number of people.

At the same time, as the physical expansion of the textile industry reflected in the large number of spinning mills, bleaching and calico-printing works proceeded, technological progress connected with this expansion considerably widened the base of the labour market. New machines so simplified the manufacturing processes that neither great skill nor physical exertion was required on the part of those who supervised them. As a result, previously unemployable females

and children entered the labour market, composing the majority of the operatives in the new industrial establishments. By 1836 cotton, flax, woollen and silk spinning mills employed 49,189 persons of which number females of all ages comprised 34,370 and males below the age of twenty <sup>123</sup> 6,807. In the calico-printing trade, greatly simplified by Bell's invention of printing by cylinder, the labour of skilled men was hardly required. The employment of boys was substituted for that of journeymen on a large scale to the detriment of the latter. <sup>124</sup> The overcrowding of the labour market is clearly reflected in the persistent efforts of the early combinations of workmen to limit the entrance of the so called apprentices into trades.

There were limits, however, to the growth and expansion of this industry. Though the volume of production, judging from the export figures, grew steadily this increase remained due, particularly after 1820, more to the improvements in technique and the introduction of new and perfected mechanical devices rather than to physical expansion which would have, by creating new employment outlets, relieved the pressure from the labour market. Some physical expansion did take place during the 1820's in the linen trade in the shape of spinning mills after the difficulties connected with mechanical spinning of flax was resolved, and in the cotton trade in the shape of the power-loom factories. The expansion insofar as

the labour market was concerned remained limited. Though the number of newly erected flax spinning mills reached considerable proportions they remained small in comparison with the cotton mills.<sup>125</sup>

In the cotton industry the recovery between 1822 and 1825 and the prospect of brisk trade and a desire to cut manufacturing costs stimulated capital expenditure for the erection of power-loom factories.<sup>126</sup> The benefits of physical expansion insofar as labour was concerned was in this case counteracted by the fact that the new power-loom factories housed labour saving machines. Thus while on the one hand new jobs had been created, on the other demand for hand-loom weavers diminished and their wages decreased further. Besides, both the new flax spinning mills and the power-loom factories relied heavily on the female and child labour.

The gradual growth and expansion of the labour market and its dilatory consequences for the wage earners are clearly reflected and most vividly demonstrated in the case of the hand-loom weavers.

Initially, high earnings and the facility with which the art of weaving was acquired, not to mention the fact that the weaver, performing his work at home remained master of his own time even though he lost his economic independence, attracted in profusion a number of newcomers to the trade.

In 1791 the Glasgow manufacturers for example employed only 15,000 hand-loom weavers.<sup>127</sup> By 1819 this number increased to some 32,000 and by the 1830's the total number of hand-<sup>128</sup>looms in Scotland was some 80,000. Nevertheless, this only partly explains the overcrowding of the weaving trade for the number of hand-loom weavers continued to increase even when wages began on their downward path. The full explanation perhaps can be found in the fact that later on, particularly in the 1820's and 1830's, many were forced to take up weaving not as a matter of choice but as a matter of necessity. Industrial expansion then slackened somewhat while the labour market went on expanding. The spinning mills, power-loom factories, paper mills and sugar refineries, iron works and coal mines and other branches of the industry, however, could, because of physical limitations, absorb only a certain number of people. Meanwhile other trades, though this phase was gradually passing, still remained to a greater or lesser extent subject to some form of corporate regulation and consequently entrance into them remained somewhat restrictive. No such corporate regulations operated in the weaving trade. The entrance into it remained free and unrestricted. All that an individual required consisted of a hand-loom and the ability to procure work from the manufacturer. Furthermore the operatives in other branches of the industry and trade attempted with varying degrees of success to restrict this inflow of workmen into their respective branches. Thus



employment difficulties on the one hand and on the other facility of entrance into the weaving trade forced many of those who for various reasons found themselves on the labour market to take up weaving with the result that the number of weavers grew while the level of their wages during the course of some three to four decades drastically declined.

The invention of the power-loom and its introduction into the industry further aggravated the situation of the weavers. Contemporaries discounted the influence of that labour saving device on wages mainly because as they pointed out the power-loom still by and large remained in an experimental stage and confined to weaving only the more coarse and plain fabrics.<sup>129</sup> The more intricate and fancy work still had to be performed on the hand-loom. The low prices paid for weaving themselves arising out of a superabundance of weavers deterred the manufacturers just as much if not more than the imperfection of the machinery from sinking their capital into power-loom factories.<sup>130</sup> Even by the late 1830's the proportion of power-looms to hand-looms remained small.<sup>131</sup> Furthermore the weavers themselves contributed to the downward spiral movement of their wages in increasing their output as the piece rate decreased, causing overproduction which in turn brought the prices down.<sup>132</sup> In consequence the power-loom did not cause the decrease in wages nor pose a threat to the hand-loom weavers for the time being at any rate. The low wages arose

primarily because of a considerable increase in the ranks of the weavers and not because of the progress in technology.

In support of this interpretation we see that in the east of Scotland, the center of the linen industry, where even by the 1830's the power-loom scarcely made any headway, the weavers nevertheless did not appear to be in any way better off than those in the west, their wages having declined in equal measure. Even during the early 1820's described as the halcyon days of the linen trade, though the weavers' wages increased they neither remained stable nor reached proportions comparable with those in other trades.

Yet on the other hand it is difficult to conceive that the appearance of the power-loom and its use in manufacture left the level of weavers' earnings unaffected. The trade was overstocked with hands and under the circumstances the introduction of a labour saving device even on a limited scale was bound to accentuate the downward trend of wages though undoubtedly the power-loom did not emerge at the time as the main factor in bringing about this trend.

It can be seen from the tables supplied how the wages behaved.<sup>133</sup> These figures are taken from the wage books of several manufacturers and can be regarded as fairly representative of the earnings which prevailed in the trade as a whole. For reasons already discussed the average wages remained relatively high until the end of the Napoleonic wars.

From about 1816 with the exception of the first class shawl weavers and those employed in the linen trade, they dipped sharply and thereafter declined gradually but surely. The highly specialized shawl trade remained in comparatively good condition particularly after 1813 when the exclusive trading privileges of the East India Company were curtailed while the highly expert weavers were not easily to be had. Hence there were relatively high earnings in this branch of the trade. In the case of the linen trade the revival during the 1820's brought momentarily a moderate increase of earnings in that branch of the textile industry. Nevertheless, in both cases neither the increase nor the relatively high rate of pay survived the crisis of 1825/6.

1. Mantoux, P., The Industrial Revolution in the Eighteenth Century, London, 1961, pp. 403-8; Daniels, G.W., The Early English Cotton Industry, Manchester University Press, 1920, p. 89; Hammond, J.L. & B., The Skilled Labourer, 1760-1832, London, 1919, pp. 53-7, 149.
2. O.S.A., Vols. XI, p. 182; XII, p. 581; XX, p. 477.
3. Only towards the very end of the eighteenth century some young females rather than going into domestic service took up spinning on a full-time basis especially when the two-handed spinning wheels came into use making an increased output and therefore increased earnings a possibility. Ibid., Vols. IV, pp. 212, 335, 549; V, p. 225.
4. Ibid., Vols. II, p. 563; IV, p. 478; V, p. 61; VI, p. 43; X, pp. 65, 160; XI, p. 465; XII, p. 54; XVI, p. 475; XVIII, p. 64.
5. The percentage depended on the earnings of the agricultural labourers which varied throughout the country. For details see Ibid., Vols. I, p. 28; II, p. 20; IV, p. 40; V, p. 61; IX, pp. 502-6, 526.
6. Journals of the House of Commons, Vol. XXXVII, p. 925.
7. According to the writer of the pamphlet "An Important Crisis in the Calico and Muslin Manufactory in Great Britain" p. 4, there were in use in Britain in 1788, 20,700 hand "jennies" of eighty spindles each and 550 "mule-jennies."
8. On a "jenny" containing twenty-eight spindles a spinner could make 8/- to 9/- per week, according to manufacturers testimony 2/- to 2/6d per day. J.H.C., Vol. XXXVII, pp. 925, 926.
9. Vide supra p. 31.
10. As a result of the introduction of the water-frame the earnings of those spinners in England working an ordinary spinning wheel dropped from 10d and 1/3d per day to between 3d and 5d while the earnings of those working on the "jennies" fell from 8/- and 9/- to between 6/- and 5/- per week. The operative spinners maintained "that in the course of the last Summer great complaints were made by the cotton spinners in Lanarkshire for want of Employment" which the witness attributed to "Patent Machines, Carding Engines, used in the Cotton Manufacture which have greatly increased within the last Three or Four Years." J.H.C., Vol. XXXVII, p. 925.

11. In a letter to Archibald Buchanan of Catrine Cotton Works, Kirkman Finlay, a substantial cotton spinner in Glasgow, warned him of an impending attack on his power-loom factory advising him to seek help of the military. There are no indications that the attack ever materialized. Hamilton, H., The Industrial Revolution in Scotland, Oxford, 1932, p. 140.
12. The contemporaries frequently pointed out and complained that the Irish took work at lower wages. "In Dumfriesshire and Galloway there is never any lack of Irishmen to take the bread out of the mouth of our own poor... An Irishman who lives in a hovel, feeds on potatoes... can at all times underwork a Scotchman and there are too many, alas who, reckless of the evil that must sooner or later follow, think only of resorting to the cheapest market." Glasgow Herald, 6. 11. 1824. See also Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Hand-Loom Weavers, Parl. Pap., 1834, pp. 33, 107, 477.
13. In 1811 the weavers petitioned the Parliament primarily to establish a minimum wage in the trade and enforcement of apprenticeship and indenture to limit the numbers entering the trade. Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on a petition from Hand-Loom Weavers, Parl. Pap., 1811, Vol. II, p. 295. See also Report on Hand-Loom Weavers, Ibid., 1834, Vol. X, pp. 220, 245.
14. "Observation on the present condition of the labouring class by a weaver, Mr. George Penny from Perth." Memorial addressed to the Home Secretary, H.O., 102 Vol. XXXVII, 19. 8. 1826.
15. Vide supra p. 46.
16. O.S.A., Vol. XII, p. 22. See also Vols. IV, p. 251 VII, p. 174; IX, pp. 371, 593; X, p. 149; XI, pp. 160, 554; XIV, 554.
17. Ibid., Vol. IX, pp. 495, 499. The wages of other farm servants rose in proportion. Thus a male harvester received in 1735 10/- for the season, a female harvester 8/4d. By the 1790's these earnings rose to between 20/- and 38/- per season and 16/- and 20/- respectively.
18. Ibid., Vol. XVII, p. 409. In 1740 a woman servant earned 18/- per year, in 1794 2. 15. Od. Wages for harvesting in the case of a man increased from 11/4d to 23/- during the corresponding period.
19. Ibid., Vol. V, p. 255.

20. "A ploughman's wages are in general about £10 or £12 per year; but some who have excelled at ploughing matches, some time ago introduced into this country, have got wages advanced to £25 a year, besides bed, board and washing." Ibid., Vol. XII, p. 117.
21. "The price of labour has risen greatly within those four or five years from the great demand for the public works and manufactures carrying on this part of the country." Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 105 (New Kilpatrick, Dumbartonshire). "The iron mines in the neighbourhood together with operations of cotton manufacture, have contributed greatly to raise wages of labourers." Ibid., Vol. II, p. 218 (Blantyre, Lanarkshire).
22. The information concerning the daily rate of pay of artisans is scattered in profusion throughout the pages of the first Statistical Account. According to Sinclair the daily rate of pay of masons and carpenters in 1790 varied thus; masons 2/- daily rate first; East Lothians 2/- and 2/-; Mid-Lothian 1/4d and 1/4d; Forfar 1/2d and 1/2d; Kincardine 1/6d and 1/6d; Fife and Perth 1/4d and 1/4d; Aberdeen, Elgin and Nairn 1/2d and 1/-; Dumfries 1/6d and 1/4d; Selkirk and Peebles 1/3d and 1/4d; Roxburgh 1/8d and 1/4d; Argyle 1/7d and 1/4d; Ross and Cromarty 1/3d and 1/-; Lanark 1/6d and 1/4d; Berwick 1/8d and 1/6d; Ayr 2/- and 1/6d. Sinclair, Sir J., General Report of the Agricultural State and Political Circumstances of Scotland, 5 Vols. Edinburgh, 1814, Vol. III, p. 245.
23. Ibid., daily wages paid at different periods during the eighteenth century:
- |                  | <u>1720</u> | <u>1740</u> | <u>1760</u> | <u>1780</u> | <u>1800</u> |
|------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Shoemakers)      | 2½d         | 4d          | 7d          | 1/2d        | 1/8d        |
| Carpenters)      |             |             |             |             |             |
| Masons & Wrights | 4d          | 7d          | 1/-         | 1/8d        | 2/6d        |
| Tailors          | 2d          | 3d          | 4d          | 9d          | 1/6d        |
24. "The greatest inconvenience the trade labours under, is a scarcity of good weavers. People not qualified to teach take apprentices for two or three years instead of a longer period. The apprentices not attended to get into bad habits; and many of them never can make good cloth." O.S.A., Vol. XII, pp. 511, 512.

25. Industries of Kirkcaldy, p. 59; Rep. on Hand-Loom Weavers, Parl. Pap., 1834, Vol. X, p. 30.
26. The flying shuttle which greatly speeded the weaving process was invented by John Kay in 1733. Prior to its adoption by the weavers it took a good weaver twenty-four days to finish a piece of silesas 106 feet long and 27 inches wide for which he received £1. 1. Od. The flying shuttle cut the weaving period to fourteen days. Daniels, op. cit., p. 73; O.S.A., Vol. IX, pp. 593, 594; Rep. on Hand-Loom Weavers, Parl. Pap., 1834, Vol. X, p. 12.
27. Report on the Linen Trade, 1773, Reports from the Committees of the House of Commons, Vol. III, p. 102.
28. Report on Hand-Loom Weavers. Parl. Pap., 1834, Vol. X, p. 12; Hand-Loom Weavers Commissioners Rep., Ibid., 1839, Vol. XLIII, pp. 563, 564.
29. Thom, W., Rhymes and Recollections of a Hand-Loom Weaver, London, 1845, p. 9.
30. "Some years ago several new printfields were erected in Scotland, and the trade came to be greatly extended... which occasioning a great demand for journeymen their wages rose amazingly." O.S.A., Vol. III, p. 447.
31. Ibid., Vols. III, p. 447; XV, p. 356.
32. The wages of a ploughman increased in terms of money from £3 and £4 to between £8 and £10 per year; of a day labourer from 6d and 7d to between 1/2d and 1/4d per day; of a mason from 8d and 10d per day to 1/8d and 2/- per day; of a wright from 7d and 9d to between 1/6d and 1/8d; and of a tailor from 4d to between 10d and 1/-. Ibid., Vol. V, p. 255.
33. Ibid., pp. 253, 254.
34. Ibid., Vol. XX, p. 443.
35. Ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 436.
36. Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 517.
37. Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 50.
38. Ibid., Vol. XVIII, pp. 307, 308.
39. See Appendix No. I

40. Particularly young girls and boys who were employed in spinning mills in great numbers. Vide supra p. 153.
41. According to Owen raw cotton at 5/- per lb. was sold for £9. 18. 6d when ready for the muslin weaver. Hamilton, op. cit., p. 123.
42. Vide supra p. 31.
43. Scots Magazine, Vol. XLIX, p. 465.
44. Hamilton, op. cit., p. 271.
45. In 1796 and 1797 the French Revolutionary Government adopted specific measures aimed at checking the Commerce of Britain but these largely remained a dead letter for France at the time had at her disposal neither the means nor resources to enforce such measures. Rose, J.H., "Napoleon and the English Commerce," English Historical Review, Vol. VIII, pp. 704, 705.
46. Ibid., p. 706.
47. The import of cotton to Scotland was estimated in 1784 at 2,401,661 lbs. and in 1803 at 8,620,966 lbs. The value of the Scottish exports increased from £769,296 in 1790 to £2,449,171 by 1801. By 1810 the value of exported Scottish goods rose to £4,740,239. Encyclopedia Britannica, 4th edition, Edinburgh, 1810, Vol. XVII, p. 771; Sinclair, Gen. Rep., Vols. III, p. 8; V, p. 242.
48. The output of linen reached 105,000,000 yards in 1810 in addition to 26,457,079 yards of a variety of linens. Scots Magazine, Vol. LXVIII, p. 315; Warden, op. cit., p. 480.
49. Prior to 1803 K. Finlay had some 700 agents on the Continent and R. M'Kerrell a cotton manufacturer in Paisley with the exception of Austria had an agent in every Continental port. Evidence Against Orders in Council, Parl. Pap., 1812, Vol. III, pp. 396, 408, 521. In 1805 from Greenock alone there were exported 24,699,760 yards of manufactured cotton and 3,219,550 yards of a variety of linens. Scots Magazine, Vol. LXVIII, p. 315.
50. Hamilton, op. cit., p. 144.



51. See "Petition of several Merchants, Manufacturers and other Inhabitants of the Town of Dunfermline."  
J.H.C., 20. 5. 1812.
52. Sinclair, Analysis of Stat. Acc., Appdx, Pt. I, p. 207.
53. The value of British domestic exports rose sharply from £40.8 million in 1801 to £46.3 million in 1802 then declined drastically in 1803 to £38.1 million.  
See Appendix No.IV.
54. Between 1806 and 1807 British domestic exports declined by only 9%. See Appendix No. IV.
55. Hecksher, E.F., The Continental System, Oxford, 1922, pp. 187-194. Finlay successfully evaded the Continental blockade on an extensive scale. Stewart, G., Curiosities of Old Glasgow Citizenship, Edinburgh, 1881, p. 208.
56. In 1806 Sir Henry Popham, after attacking and capturing Buenos Aires dispatched a circular letter addressed to the British manufacturers reporting in glowing terms the possibilities of the South American markets.  
Scots Magazine, Vol. LXVIII, p. 784.
57. Gayer, A.D., Rostow, W.W., Schwartz, A.J., The Growth and Fluctuation of the British Economy, 1790-1850, Oxford, 1953, p. 89.
58. Evidence against Orders in Council, Parl. Pap., 1812, Vol. III, p. 522.
59. Gayer, Rostow, Schwartz, op. cit., p. 89.
60. For a detailed account of the policy of the United States see Hecksher, op. cit., Chap. IV.
61. Ibid., p. 89.
62. Took, T., History of Prices, 2 Vols. London, 1838, Vol. I, pp. 276, 277.
63. Parliamentary Debates, First Series, Vol. XIX, pp. 250-54.
64. Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 254.
65. Ibid., pp. 251, 252.

66. See "Petition of Several Persons Residing in the Town of Paisley etc.," J.H.C., 8. 5. 1811.
67. See "A Petition of Several Manufacturers, Merchants, Mechanics and Labourers in Lanark, Ayr and Renfrew," J.H.C., 8. 5. 1811.
68. See two petitions from Glasgow, Ibid., 24. 4. 1812; 21. 5. 1812.
69. Report on Hand-Loom Weavers, Parl. Pap., 1811, Vol. II, p. 393.
70. Glasgow Courier, 26. 6. 1811.
71. Appendix No. III.
72. The prices are taken from the Scots Magazine and adjusted after taking into consideration the difference between one boll and one quarter.
73. For example oatmeal in Glasgow sold for 3/6d and 3/9d per peck as compared with 1/3d per peck during normal times. In Paisley during the same period oatmeal sold for 4/- per peck. Denholm, op. cit., pp. 103, 104; Parkhill, J., History of Paisley, Paisley, 1857, p. 38. The scarcity and high price of oatmeal led to outbursts of rioting among the working population. Glasgow Courier, 18. 2. 1800; 1. 7. 1800; Scots Magazine, Vol. LXII, pp. 139, 359, 776.
74. The population of Scotland increased between 1755 and 1831 from 1,265,385 to 2,365,114.
75. Gayer, Rostow, Schwartz, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 29.
76. The prices of various foods are quoted in profusion throughout the volumes of the First Statistical Account.
77. Calculated on the basis of weekly quotation of retail prices in the Glasgow Advertiser for the year 1801.
78. Cleland, J., Statistical Tables Relative to the City of Glasgow, Glasgow, 1823, p. 132.
79. Bowley, A.L., Wages in the United Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century, Cambridge, 1900, p. 57.
80. Ibid.

81. In 1790 the average wages of unmarried male servants were 6, in 1794 8, and during the period 1804-14 16. Bowley, op. cit., p. 57.
82. Vide infra p. 198.
83. Vide infra p. 198.
84. Vide infra p. 198.
85. Session Papers, CCCXCIII, 45, 46.
86. Sinclair, Gen. Rep., Vol. III, p. 245.
87. Ibid.
88. O.S.A., Vols. III, p. 90; V, p. 505.
89. Vide supra p. 180.
90. Smart, W., Economic Annals of the Nineteenth Century, 2 Vols. London, 1910-1917, Vol. I, pp. 495, 564, 565.
91. Report on Hand-Loom Weavers, Parl. Pap., 1834, Vol. X, p. 267.
92. Took, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 345.
93. Appendix No. IV.
94. The expenditure assigned for Ordnance fell from 5,279,000 in 1812, and 4,431,000 in 1815 to 1,696,000 in 1816 and 2,221,300 in 1817. Smart, op. cit., pp. 341, 432, 480, 560.
95. In Dundee 5,000 individuals were supported from funds subscribed by voluntary contributions while the wages of those employed did not exceed 6/- per week. Secretary of the Relief Committee - Lord Sidmouth, 15. 1. 1817, H.O., 102, Vol. XXVII. In Aberdeen 600 industrious poor were on public relief. A. Stronach - Lord Sidmouth, 20. 1. 1817, Ibid.; See also Scots Magazine for January 1817.
96. In Edinburgh in 1817 the unemployed were used in making and improving roads at 10d per day apart from a ration of soup and meal. In Glasgow relief in money was only supplied at 2/- per week for a single person, 3/- for married persons plus 6d per child. Scots Magazine for January 1817.

97. Vide supra p. 152n.
98. See for export figures Appendix No. IV.
99. The wages of masons in Edinburgh increased from 18/- per week in 1820 to 28/- in 1824. Bowley, op. cit., p. 89.
100. The wages of masons in Glasgow increased from 15/- in 1819 to 17/- in 1826, Ibid.
101. See Appendix No. V.
102. Smart, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 232, 233.
103. Warden, Alex, J., The Linen Trade, 2nd ed., London, 1867, pp. 544, 545.
104. Scots Magazine, New Series, Vol. XVIII, pp. 246, 361.
105. Statement of the Committee for the Relief of the Industrious Poor in Glasgow, H.O., 102, Vol. XXXVII; Note on the Distress among the unemployed Operative Manufacturers in the District of Paisley, 28. 6. 1826; Report of a Committee appointed at the Meeting of the Nobles, Freeholders etc., in Renfrew in Paisley, 27. 7. 1826. Ibid.
106. Duke of Hamilton - R. Peel, 24. 7. 1826, H.O., 102, Vol. XXXVII.
107. R. Peel - A. Campbell, 1. 9. 1826, H.O., 102, Vol. XXXVII. James Dunlop the Provost of Paisley wrote in May of 1826 that Radicals of the 1820's were becoming active among the unemployed and several meetings of a political nature were held. There were indications that similar developments might take place in Glasgow. T. Dunlop - R. Robinson, 3. 5. 1826; also Gen. H. Hope - R. Peel, 5. 5. 1826 and 12. 5. 1826. Ibid.
108. Report from the Sub Committee for the Relief of the Industrious Poor in Renfrew, 18. 1, 1. 3. 1827; A. Campbell - R. Peel, 27. 1. 1827, H.O., 102, Vol. XXXVIII.
109. Memorial to R. Peel the Home Secretary from the Inhabitants of Paisley, 11. 4. 1829, H.O., 102, Vol. XL.
110. Ibid.

111. A. Campbell - Lord Melbourne, 19. 2, 23, 29. 12. 1831, H.O., 102, Vol. XL.
112. See Appendix No.VIII.
113. Smart, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 539.
114. See Chap. II
115. Campbell, R.H., Carron Company, Edinburgh, 1962, p. 159.
116. Ibid.
117. Ibid., pp. 108, 214, 216.
118. In 1828 of the 25 furnaces 18 were in blast with a yearly output of 36,500 tons. Hamilton, op. cit., p. 174.
119. Ibid.
120. First sea-going steamboat the "Rob Roy" was built in 1818. By 1823 a total of 95 steamships were built in Scotland. Shipbuilding expanded much faster in the forties and after, when improvement in boilers was achieved effecting the saving of fuel and thus allowing long distance voyages. Iron shipbuilding only gradually came into its own with the establishment of the firm Tod and McGregor pioneers of iron shipbuilding in the latter 1830's. Hamilton, op. cit., pp. 216-20.
121. For example rails were laid in connection with mining as early as 1768. See O.S.A., Vols. VIII, pp. 617, 618; XVI, p. 519. The construction of the first public railway from Kilmarnock to Troon a distance of some nine miles was authorized in 1808 and completed in 1812 at a cost of 95,000. Gayer, Rostow, Schwartz, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 186. Bremner, op. cit., p. 81.
122. In 1824 Monkland and Kirkintilloch railway. In 1826 Ballochney railway, Dundee and Newtyle, Edinburgh and Dalkeith and Garnkirk and Glasgow railways. Gayer, Rostow, Schwartz, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 186.
123. Accounts and Papers, Parl. Pap., 1836, Vol. XLV, p. 148.
124. Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on a Petition from Journeymen Calico-Printers, Parl. Pap., 1803-4, 1806, Vols. V, III.

125. In 1839, 192 cotton mills employed 32,516 people, an average of 184 persons per spinning mill; 183 flax spinning mills employed 17,897 persons an average of 97 persons per mill. Accounts and Papers, Parl. Pap., 1839, Vol. XLII, pp. 296, 297.
126. See the evidence of Kirkman Finlay and George Smith in the Report from the Committee of the House of Commons on Manufactures, Shipping and Commerce, Parl. Pap., 1833, Vol. VI, pp. 76, 569. In 1820 the number of power-looms was 2,000 which number rose to 10,000 by 1829. Baines, F., History of Cotton Manufacture, London, 1835, p. 235.
127. O.S.A., Vol. V, p. 502.
128. There were 31,000 hand-loom weavers in the east of Scotland, 26,000 employed in linen work, 5,000 in cotton and 5,050 in the area south of Forth and Clyde. Hand-Loom Weavers, Commissioners Reports, Parl. Pap., 1839, Vol. XLII, pp. 516, 702, 705.
129. See evidence of Kirkman Finlay in Report on Manufactures, Shipping and Commerce, Parl. Pap., 1833, Vol. VI, p. 72H, and Report on Hand-Loom Weavers, Ibid., 1834, Vol. X, pp. 16, 18.
130. Vide supra p. 44.
131. Vide supra p. 154n, 155.
132. See Lord Advocate's speech in the House of Commons, Parliamentary Debates, First Series, Vol. XLI, p. 922. Also Sinclair, Sir J., Analysis of the Statistical Account of Scotland, London, 1826, p. 47.
133. See Appendix No.V.

## NOTES

C H A P T E R   F O U R

EARLY TRADE UNIONS AND THE  
ANTI-COMBINATION LAW IN SCOTLAND



## I

The early instances of combinations of workmen to raise wages are less readily discoverable in Scotland than they are in England. This seems to be due primarily to the fact that the socio-economic conditions which are conducive to the development of this phenomenon emerged in England much earlier than in Scotland.

Combination of workmen to raise wages and the evolution of labour unions is primarily a natural outcome of separation between capital and labour. As soon as a class of men came into being who bought labour from another class an opposition of interest became inevitable. For while the capitalist industrial entrepreneur having acquired by degree a greater measure of control over the means of production aimed primarily at keeping his cost, which by and large meant wages, at a low level, the workmen, however, who under pressure of change in the industrial organization lost much of their economic independence and became mere wage earners aimed at extracting the best possible price for their skill and labour. Thus the

inevitable clash of interests frequently led to disputes and conflicts between the workmen and their employers. This in turn led to the organization of the former into combinations to strengthen their position vis-a-vis the latter and so more effectively further their cause. The separation between capital and labour and the evolution of capitalism in industries occurred in England as early as the seventeenth century, particularly in connection with the expansion of the woollen trade, thus creating conditions whereby early unions came into being. The enactment of anti-combination provisions at this time<sup>1</sup> readily testify to this development.

The conditions and circumstances which gave rise to the emergence of combinations remained absent in Scotland until virtually the middle of the eighteenth century. As we have noted, at the time of the Union while the economic life was stagnant the Scottish social as well as economic framework retained many of its medieval characteristics. With the opening of the eighteenth century, however, backwardness and stagnation in the economic field gave way to progress and activity. Growing trade, modernization of agriculture and expansion of manufacturing industries effected a change in the economic and social fabric of the country. The older industries

like linen, for example, were adopted to meet the new set of circumstances and emerged to a greater or lesser extent organized on a capitalistic basis while the newer industries like cotton and iron assumed capitalist organization from their inception.

No sooner had capitalism made its appearance in Scotland than we begin to notice a reaction on the part of the labour force in the form of combinations. Though there is no abundant evidence with regard to the instances of the latter, it is nevertheless sufficient to indicate that from about the 1750's onward combinations gradually became part of the industrial world.

Thus from about 1748 the journeymen tailors of Edinburgh appear to have formed an active combination which periodically came into collision with the masters.<sup>2</sup> In an effort to assume control over and limit the number of newcomers into the trade, the journeymen kept a list of those of their number who were without work, the purpose being that whenever a master needed workmen those on the list were sent to him. Later on the system became known under the name "house of call" and it seems that the journeymen by the 1830's succeeded in forcing the masters to accept only workmen that were sent to them by a "house,"<sup>3</sup> which in effect meant only members of the combination.

In 1755 the journeymen woolcombers similarly succeeded in forming a combination which seemed to flourish until 1762 when by the authority of the Court of Session it was dissolved.<sup>4</sup> This combination resembled more a Friendly Society than a combination for the purpose of raising wages. Some of the articles adopted by the association nevertheless indicate that the woolcombers' intentions went quite beyond the scope associated with benefit societies. Thus one of the articles obliged the members not to instruct a newcomer into the trade who previously was trained in another craft or was married prior to the commencement of the apprenticeship. Another declared that no apprentice shall teach another under the pain of expulsion, and another that no discharged soldier shall work in the trade in the city and suburbs while any member of the society remained out of work and willing to accept employment; finally, that no one shall be prevented from working under the rates of pay prevailing<sup>5</sup> at the time.

The leather trade, which as a result of free access to the colonial markets in America and the West Indies greatly expanded and became controlled by relatively speaking a few individuals, was beset by combination, particularly the shoe and boot manufacturing branch. For example, the journeymen engaged in that branch of the trade

in Edinburgh appear to have created a combination strong enough to extract concessions from their masters and remained in perpetual conflict with the latter to the extent that the Lord Advocate had to intercede.<sup>6</sup> The masters in Glasgow were so exasperated by combination among their journeymen that they threatened to petition Parliament to ban such associations in the trade by a special act.<sup>7</sup>

Similarly in other trades combination raised its head. In 1778 for example a combination among the wrights and masons took the field against the masters in Edinburgh.<sup>8</sup> In the 1790's we can observe a similar movement among the sailors of Aberdeen and Leith and at the close of the century among the nailers in Glasgow and printers of Edinburgh.<sup>9</sup>

Combination among the colliers seems to have been a later development. It may be that they came into being much earlier than the evidence would suggest,<sup>10</sup> nevertheless the first positive reference to a combination among colliers does not appear until 1817 when the miners in the lower ward of Lanarkshire combined and successfully negotiated an increase in wages.<sup>11</sup> Soon after the agents of this combination were sent to various collieries in Ayr, Stewarton, Stevenson, Kilmarnock, Dundonald, Irvine and Newton where

similar combinations were organized.<sup>12</sup> This effort led<sup>13</sup> to the formation of the Ayrshire Colliers Association. By 1818 a network of colliers' associations covered the counties of Lanark, Dumbarton, Stirling, Linlithgow and Clackmannan.<sup>14</sup> With the repeal of the Combination Laws in 1824 the activities of the colliers' association intensified. Sheriff Macdonald of Stirling alarmed by the progress of combination among the miners which had been the cause of a violent strike at the Duke of Hamilton's collieries at Redding and Brighton took it upon himself to investigate more closely the colliers' association. His investigation led him to believe that a general strike<sup>15</sup> of colliers throughout Scotland was imminent. This information might or might not have been correct. At any rate a general strike did not materialize, nevertheless, the concern shown by the contemporaries indicates to what extent unionism had spread among the colliers.

Perhaps the most extensive though not necessarily the most successful combination took place among the textile workers. First attempts at organization of this kind appeared among those workmen whom the changes in the field of industrial organization prior to the advent of mechanical inventions affected most intimately, namely the hand-loom weavers. This tendency remains at first reflected in the formation of informal social clubs which,

however, performed functions going beyond the limits of a mere social club. Thus in Paisley at a meeting of one such club after informal proceedings consisting of reading the day's newspapers, discussion and general conversation, the chairman at nine o'clock called the meeting to order so that reports with regard to the state of the trade could be made. Thus beginning with the chairman each member present informed the gathering of all that had come to his notice with regard to the trade, such as which manufacturing house wished to engage weavers, for what kind of work, at what prices, the general prices prevailing in the trade for raw materials, for yarns, for weaving and so on.<sup>16</sup> In consequence in a short space of time the members were intimately acquainted with the state of the trade as well as with any differences existing between the manufacturers and the operatives. There can be very little doubt that these clubs gradually lost their informal social character and became the nuclei of future combinations.

Some of the weavers reacted to the changing circumstances in their trade, whereby they were gradually reduced to the status of wage earners, by forming among themselves what might be termed producers' cooperatives. Thus in 1756 such a cooperative came into being in Kinross. Sums of money were advanced to the members for the purchase of yarn, which, when made into cloth was sold on the market.

Whatever profit, after deducting the cost of the yarn and the weavers price for labour, remained was paid into the treasury of the society.<sup>17</sup> In order to induce all the weavers in the area to join, the society dictated that the members of the society were expressly forbidden under heavy penalties to have any intercourse with the weavers outside the society insofar as the lending and borrowing of any implements of their craft was concerned.<sup>18</sup> Several years later a similar society came into being in Paisley.

In May of 1764 some 700 journeymen hand-loom weavers formed an association under the name of "The Paisley Universal Trading Company." According to the articles of the society the company was to remain active to begin with for twelve years. All the members were equal partners contributing a capital of 2/- initially and thereby 1/- per month decreasing in time to 6d. Its management remained in the hands of presses or<sup>a</sup> president, twenty directors and a collector or treasurer.<sup>19</sup> It was presumably intended that the company would conduct or facilitate the disposal of goods manufactured by its members as well as assist them with loans for the purpose of purchasing yarn.

This early attempt to establish producers' co-operatives did not seem to prove a success. Further research failed to reveal references to the existence of similar cooperative societies. The Paisley Society was dissolved



by the authority of the Court of Session in 1765<sup>20</sup> as being unlawful, which might partly explain why there are no records of the existence of other such societies. It must be admitted though that the circumstances surrounding the dissolution of the Paisley Society were such as to leave doubt whether such associations in themselves were unlawful. The subsequent fate of the Kinross Society remains a mystery. The idea of the weavers' cooperative societies was revived at a meeting of the Weavers Association in Glasgow in 1825 but proposals to establish such societies<sup>21</sup> did not meet with the delegates approval.

Although cooperative societies did not seem to find much favour with the weavers, combinations to raise wages did not meet with the same fate. Thus in 1773 we note a combination among the Paisley weavers and in 1787<sup>22</sup> among the Glasgow weavers. The latter combination led to a serious eruption of violence and upon being refused<sup>23</sup> an increase in wages, the weavers called a strike. But the combination did not seem to have sufficient control over its members, for some of the weavers consented to take webs from the manufacturers at prices below those demanded by the strikers. The efforts of the latter to prevent that happening resulted in a serious riot which was not quelled before the military were called and several<sup>24</sup> of the strikers lost their lives. The weavers in consequence

returned to work on the masters terms. Though this affair no doubt caused a setback to the combination it must not have proven serious enough for in 1792 we notice the representative of the Glasgow weavers successfully negotiating with the master manufacturers a uniform table of rates.<sup>25</sup>

The most formidable combination among the Scottish weavers came into being in 1809<sup>26</sup> during the period when trade suffered from the effects of war with France resulting in unemployment and low wages. For the first time the organization of this combination adopted a form more akin<sup>27</sup> to the later labour unions than earlier combinations. It assembled under its banner, if not all the Scottish weavers,<sup>28</sup> at least a large majority of them. In their behaviour the members of the union displayed a considerable amount of restraint while its leader with patience and a sense of responsibility not previously associated with combinations pursued the weavers' case. Before resorting to strike action they first approached Parliament, petitioning to have a minimum wage established in the trade.<sup>29</sup> They attempted to negotiate a settlement with the master manufacturers and they invoked ancient statutes empowering the Justices of the Peace to regulate wages.<sup>30</sup> Only when all else failed, a general strike of hand-loom weavers throughout Scotland was resolved upon and approved by all the delegates of the local

branches.<sup>31</sup> The strike did not prove a success but not because of a lack of strength on the part of the union or the resolution and solidarity of the weavers but because of the action of the law enforcement officers. In fact there are indications that the weavers were on the point of succeeding when the leaders of the union found themselves under arrest and were subsequently tried and convicted on a charge of combination.<sup>32</sup> After this intervention the strike collapsed, the men returned to work on the masters terms and the union sank into insignificance.

The weavers' union, however, did not sink into permanent obscurity and oblivion. If during the post-war period it is difficult to distinguish the weavers' activities in the industrial field it is because during this period of intense political and social unrest these activities fused with the Radical movement and political agitation for Parliamentary Reform. After the fiasco of the "Radical War" and the stern repression of political agitation the union once again took the field. At a meeting in September 1824 attended by seventy-one delegates from the local weavers' associations in Glasgow and district the union was reformed, its aims restated and a new constitution adopted.<sup>33</sup> From the reports of the delegates delivered at the meeting it is clear that membership increased.<sup>34</sup> Though at a similar meeting held a year later it was intimated that the membership

was falling and contributions diminishing, nevertheless in 1834 a meeting of 300 delegates claimed to represent some 50,000 weavers in Scotland.<sup>35</sup>

Unfortunately very little is known of the beginning of what became perhaps the most successful early union, the spinners' combination. It appears that the first organization among the spinners occurred sometime in 1805 or 1806 in Glasgow where the largest concentration of cotton mills existed.<sup>36</sup> A similar combination came into being among the spinners in Renfrew mainly in Paisley though the date of the origin of the Renfrew spinners' association remains shrouded in mystery. The union became active from about 1810 onwards.<sup>37</sup> A major conflict between the union and the master spinners, however, did not take place until 1825 when the masters, exasperated by its activity resorted to a lock-out in order to break the union.<sup>38</sup> This effort did not prove wholly successful and the union remained in the field continuing its efforts to safeguard the interests of the spinners until 1837 when it was broken up as a result of a violent strike which lead to the famous cotton spinners trial.<sup>39</sup>

In the subsidiary branches of the textile industry a combination among the calico-printers proved the most prominent. The earliest combination begun in the early 1790's

could be traced to the calico-printers in Campsie and vicinity.<sup>40</sup> The combination came into being primarily to induce the masters to refrain from engaging too many apprentices.<sup>41</sup> In 1805 and 1806 in conjunction with the calico-printers in England they took their case to the House of Commons.<sup>42</sup> By 1814 according to the Report on Combination in 1825 the Scottish calico-printers evolved a relatively strong and elaborate organization with a permanent secretary and district manager.<sup>43</sup> By 1830 the union proved sufficiently strong to be in a position to exercise some control over the entrance by imposing a fee of £10 to be paid by any newcomer to the trade.<sup>44</sup>

Similarly the combination of hecklers seemed to be relatively active. The date of the formation of the union is unfortunately not known, but by the middle 1820's it became quite prominent and successful. "The workmen in some measure controlled the trade" - wrote one of the flax manufacturers of Dundee - "dictating as to the rates of wages to be paid, number of journeymen and apprentices to be employed...All were enforced by combination and strike not rashly gone into however, but after much discussion among themselves, at meetings held in the evenings."<sup>45</sup> In 1822 for example when the masters wished to reduce the wages the union was successful in forcing the latter to desist from implementing such designs.<sup>46</sup> The success of the

union was partly due to the fact that heckling machines had as yet made little headway in Scotland and partly because of lack of cooperation between the masters.<sup>47</sup>

The strike of 1827, however, when the masters showed greater inclination to cooperate among themselves proved less successful. The hecklers held out for thirteen weeks after which time they were forced to return to work on the masters' terms, their union sinking into insignificance.<sup>48</sup>

## II

It is well known that the development and growth of combinations or unions among the workmen in Britain was not permitted to proceed unimpeded particularly when the emerging laissez-faire doctrine gained in prevalence. As early as 1799 by an Act of Parliament combinations among workmen for the purpose of obtaining an increase in wages or in any way seeking to alter the conditions of employment became a crime punishable by up to three months of imprisonment with hard labour.<sup>49</sup>

Insofar as combinations in Scotland were concerned the Scottish labouring class did not suffer from this legal impediment to the same degree as the working classes in England. The reason for this peculiar state of affairs stems from the fact that the statute of 1799 as amended in 1800 was put in doubt by the Scots insofar as its applicability in Scotland was concerned, and because though the anti-combination provisions in Scotland developed independently of the legislation in England the legal sanctions were in fact rarely applied.

There can be very little doubt that the legislators intended the statute to apply to the whole of Britain; its general tenor clearly indicates that intention.<sup>50</sup> In forming the statute, however, no attention was paid to the differences between the English and Scottish legal systems and practices. One Scottish contemporary legal authority asserted that though the general provisions of the statute applied to the whole island, clauses dealing specifically with the establishment of the legal machinery to deal with this offence and the whole mode of procedure referred to England alone and consequently could not be administered in Scotland.<sup>51</sup> This uncertainty with regard to its legal standing in Scotland is confirmed in the evidence given before the Committee of the House of Commons on Artisans and Machinery and Anti-Combination laws. A Scottish advocate when asked replied that the statute did not apply to Scotland.<sup>52</sup> The Sheriff-Depute of Renfrew declared before the latter Committee that its validity was held in doubt.<sup>53</sup> Similarly Sir William Rae, the Lord Advocate, testified that they were not supposed to apply to Scotland as no reference was made in it to established Scottish legal norms and practices.<sup>54</sup>

This lack of specific references to Scotland may be due to the fact that the statute arose out of an entirely English situation. The degree of social unrest loomed larger



in England than in Scotland. Consequently, the members of the House of Commons paid little attention to Scotland or the peculiarities of the Scottish law and differences between the English and Scottish methods and systems of its administration. The haste and speed with which the statute was formed and rushed through both Houses of Parliament no doubt partially accounts for this omission. No matter for what reasons, the statute in effect as far as Scotland was concerned, declared combination illegal without creating the necessary machinery to administer the law. There is only one doubtful reference on hand indicating that a prosecution was actually undertaken under its provisions.

Though the statute remained a dead letter, Scotland did not remain without anti-combination provisions. The Scots as soon as combination took root and appeared to disrupt the established order evolved their own particular provisions to deal with the menace of industrial disputes and strikes. The history of the development of anti-combination provisions in Scotland is interesting in itself for it illustrates the peculiarities of the Scottish law as well as a strong desire to guard jealously its uniqueness. It explains at the same time, however, why when the provisions finally emerged they proved less dangerous to the emerging labour movement.

The anti-combination provisions originated in England in Parliament. They consisted at first of a series of statutes dealing with particular trades and eventually culminating in the general Act of 1799, amended a year later, proscribing combination in all trades. In Scotland, on the other hand, anti-combination provisions emerged as the result of a series of judicial pronouncements in the courts which eventually established the criminality of combinations. These provisions, unlike in England, had their roots in the common law as interpreted by the Scottish Bench. The common law doctrine of the illegality of combination existed in England as well.<sup>55</sup> It did not appear, however, to have had the same degree of influence on the development of anti-combination provisions as it did in Scotland. The masters or employers rather than resort to the common law, the process of which was rather slow and cumbersome, sought and obtained specific Parliamentary legislation declaring combination illegal in a particular trade and creating machinery to deal with the offence quickly and effectively. Some forty such acts passed Parliament before the general statutes were enacted in 1799 and 1800.

Prior to the middle of the eighteenth century it is doubtful whether there existed any specific legislation or a common law doctrine dealing with combination. Acts of

the British Parliament after 1707 were either confined to England alone or if they were intended to extend to Scotland remained a dead letter. With regard to the statutory law, in general dealing with the master-servant relations, this seems to have been rarely if at all applied. The legal authority, cited previously, maintained that they were very seldom resorted to in the Scottish courts primarily for the same reasons that the two general Acts of 1799 and 1800 were not. They were not framed particularly for Scotland and consequently remained unintelligible in the light of Scottish legal practices.<sup>56</sup> Besides, these enactments were so numerous and passed in such a haphazard manner that in some cases they seemed to cancel or contradict each other.<sup>57</sup>

Most of the earlier Scottish legislation dealt mainly with the Guilds and Incorporations. A labour statute fashioned after the "Statute of Apprentices" empowered the Justices of the Peace to fix at quarter session wages of workmen, to punish those who refused to work at these rates and to enforce their observance on the part of the masters.<sup>58</sup> Since the Justices of the Peace alone seemed to be vested with the right to regulate the rate of pay, any effort to change those either by the masters or the workmen without their sanction must be interpreted as illegal. How often or whether at all these statutes were actually envoked to put

down a combination must remain a debatable question as there is a chronic lack of evidence which would deny or confirm our suspicion that they were not. According to Sir William Rae the old statutory law of Scotland regulated the wages but as such was not designed to illegalise

combination.<sup>59</sup> It must be noted that the office of the Justice of the Peace fashioned after that of England never developed the tradition nor carried the same prestige in Scotland. In the burgh, the Town Council or the Trade Incorporation itself probably dealt with the disputes arising between masters and their journeymen.<sup>60</sup> The number of such conflicts as the records suggest seem to have been small.

The earliest instance on record of a combination, that of the journeymen tailors of Edinburgh, constitutes also the earliest legal interference with a combination of workmen on record. Several of the journeymen who struck work after their demands for higher wages were not met with found themselves arraigned before the magistrate court and sentenced to two days in jail and six guineas damages. By the order of the court they were to remain in jail until the damages were paid and they undertook not to strike again on pain of being sent to jail for three months and thereafter banished from the city.<sup>61</sup> It is not possible to determine from the laconic reference on which legal grounds the journeymen were tried. It is quite likely that the case arose

out of a breach of contract though perhaps combination as such paid a contributory part. If it is doubtful what prompted the prosecution in the above case no such doubt exists in the two following cases.

The combination of journeymen woolcombers of Aberdeen, already referred to,<sup>62</sup> came after several years of existence into collision with the law. In 1762 we find the Procurator Fiscal of Aberdeen lodging a complaint against the association before the magistrate court in the town.<sup>63</sup> The exact nature of the complaint remains unfortunately unknown but judging from some of the articles adopted the complaint must have been one of "interfering in the trade."<sup>64</sup> The case, however, did not come up before the magistrate court but was removed by the bill of advocacy to the Court of Session in Edinburgh. This move in itself would suggest that no clear-cut idea existed at the time with regard to artisans' right to combine. Inferior courts were confined to the limits of the common law or the execution of the statutory law. All other actions founded in the common law in civil causes belonged to the Court of Session as the highest authority in civil cases. The judges after prolonged deliberation issued an interlocutor in which they declared that "such combinations of artifices whereby they collect money for common box inflict penalties

and made other by-laws subversive of peace and order are of dangerous tendency and against the law." <sup>65</sup> The case of the journeymen woolcombers coincided with a similar case.

In 1762 the master tailors unable to cope with combination among their journeymen brought their case before the magistrates. They particularly complained of the existence of the "houses of call" as causing great inconvenience as well as a periodic rise in wages. They further complained that the journeymen, contrary to long standing practice demanded one hour for breakfast in the morning. <sup>66</sup>

The magistrates after careful consideration declared that the right to adjust wages and regulate conditions of work belonged to them and promptly declared the combination of the journeymen to be against the law. They set the wages at one shilling per day and refused other demands made by the journeymen. At the same time, however, the magistrates declared that whenever the journeymen were not satisfied with either wages or conditions of work in the future they had the perfect right to petition to have these altered. <sup>67</sup>

Not satisfied with the decision of the magistrate court the journeymen tailors appealed by advocacy to the Court of Session. Their Lordships could not but uphold the

decision of the magistrates. Only five days previously they issued an interluoctor declaring, in effect, the combination of workmen illegal. The Lords of Session argued that inasmuch as regulation tended to infringe on the liberty of the individual some regulations effecting manufactures essential to the well being of society at large seemed necessary. What would happen if the bakers refused to bake bread, brewers brew ale, and colliers dig coal? In such cases great hardship would fall upon the people at large and in effect they would find themselves at the mercy of a small group of people engaged in these essential trades.

The principle upon which the judges of the Court of Session based their decision in these cases seems to have been that acts and covenants, though perhaps in themselves innocent, were prohibited in equity because of their tendency to have injurious effects on society.

It should be noted that the law did not single out combination of workmen but any combination which would prove to be injurious to the public welfare. In 1766 for example, when the government imposed a malt tax the Edinburgh brewers refused in protest to brew ale. The Court of Session quickly interceded and ordered the resumption of brewing. The Bench considered that the action of the brewers constituted an act likely to have an adverse effect on public welfare

which consequently made the act illegal in the light of  
the common law.<sup>69</sup>

The above cases would suggest that combination of workmen to raise wages came to be regarded as unlawful though not yet an indictable offence subject to the jurisdiction of the criminal court. More likely it was regarded as a minor offence, a misdemeanour and dealt with in a police court. It must be noted here that combination pursuing the legal course, i.e., applying to the magistrate court or Justices of the Peace to review wages with a view to an increase, remained perfectly legal. In 1800 for example, the magistrates afforded a rise of wages to the journeymen carpenters in Leith.<sup>70</sup> Similarly, the Edinburgh printers secured a rise in wages after an application to the Court of Session.<sup>71</sup>

Though the court in 1762 established the principle of the illegality of combinations the principle appears to have been rarely applied. There are few records of either combinations or their prosecutions. In 1778 for example, the Edinburgh journeymen masons and wrights struck work when the masters refused to increase their wages. The dispute and strike received considerable attention as both sides aired their views in the newspapers in the hope of enlisting public support on their side.<sup>72</sup> The United Incorporation of Masters warned the journeymen that though



the dispute affected the interests of the masters it also affected the interests of society at large and as such came under the "watchful eye" of the law; and that instead of resorting to "unlawful combination" they should submit<sup>73</sup> their case to the magistrates.

Now here is an example of a combination which has taken an illegal aspect yet no action seems to have been taken. Both the Sheriff and Procurator Fiscal officially condemned the strike but neither initiated legal proceedings<sup>74</sup> against the striking journeymen. Similarly, in 1792 the sailors of Leith struck work after the masters refused their demands for higher wages. No prosecution on this occasion took place but a sort of informal board of arbitration was set up consisting of the Provost of Leith, Sheriff-Depute, two baillies of Leith and a number of merchants and shipmasters who agreed on a rise of wages, though probably not as high as the men demanded. They enjoined the sailors to go back to work on the terms offered and warned them at the same time that those who "stop or impede any person whatever in the execution of his duty will be prosecuted and punished in terms of law."<sup>75</sup>

Thus the matter stood with regard to combination of workmen in Scotland at the close of the century. By the decision of the Court of Session combinations became illegal at common law on the ground that they tended to

subvert the established order and that in their consequences they endangered the welfare of society. But by this decision combination did not become a crime but a minor offence, a mere misdemeanour subject to the jurisdiction of the police court, the magistrate courts in towns and Justices of the Peace in the counties.

It would appear from the above evidence that the principle of the illegality of combination was established much earlier than hereto was suggested. Grey in his article on the combination law in Scotland demonstrated that combination finally became an indictable offence during the famous trial of the weavers in 1813.<sup>76</sup> If he meant only that the case established the combination as an indictable offence dealt with by the criminal court then no issue could be taken with him. However, he implied that the case for the first time established unlawfulness of combination. This however was not the case as the adduced evidence would suggest. At this juncture perhaps it would be desirable to make a distinction between "a crime" and an "unlawful act." The former of course always constitutes an illegal act but the latter is not always considered a criminal act subject to the jurisdiction of the criminal court. In 1762 the ruling of the Court of Session clearly established the principle of illegality of combination in the latter sense. In the case of the weavers in 1813

the decision of the court settled two things. In the first place, combination was raised on the legal ladder to acquire the legal status of an indictable offence subject to the jurisdiction of the criminal court. Secondly, the decision abolished a distinction which hitherto existed between a peaceful and legal combination, that is, a combination which sought through properly constituted channels, i.e., the magistrate court or the court of the Justices of the Peace, to secure a rise of wages or some other form of improvement in the working conditions and a combination which sought to by-pass these duly constituted channels and enforce the demands by some other means, primarily a strike.

Up to this point the efforts of the workmen to protect, in the changing circumstances, their economic position by means of combination were not too seriously impeded. For one thing as we have noted, though combination was declared illegal, and that at a comparatively early stage in its development, the execution of law in this respect does not seem to be much in evidence. In fact the cases of the Edinburgh masons and wrights as well as the sailors of Leith indicate that both the masters and the law enforcement officers were reluctant to resort to legal proceedings against the offenders particularly as neither of

the strikes was marred by violence. Only in cases, where as a result of combination violence erupted did the law interfere.

Besides this somewhat lax application of legal provisions against combination the workmen still had recourse to law insofar as their wages and conditions of work were concerned. Thus in 1796 the wrights of Leith and the cabinet and chair makers and wrights of Edinburgh applied to and were granted an increase of wages by the Justices of the Peace of Edinburghshire.<sup>77</sup> Similarly by applying to the magistrates the ship carpenters in Leith in 1799 and the Edinburgh printers in 1804 had their wages<sup>78</sup> increased.

Be that as it may the approach to the whole range of master-workmen relations in general, and to the judicial fixation of wages and combination in particular, gradually changed under the impact of changing economic circumstances. As commerce, trade and industrial enterprise expanded so the conception of the unrestricted economic freedom as embodied in the laissez-faire doctrine gained in validity. While denying the right of the State's interference in the economic sphere the disciples of the new creed assailed on all sides the whole range of rules and regulations enacted and imposed at one time or another governing trade,

commerce and industry. Insofar as wages were concerned they denounced the statutes which empowered the magistrates and the Justices of the Peace to regulate their level on the ground that the new circumstances emerging in the industries rendered these statutes obsolete and unable to meet the new situation.

As early as 1799 for example, the master nailers objected to the regulatory powers of the magistrates on the grounds that the court even after taking under consideration a great variety of factors affecting the trade could never be fully aware of its exact state and consequently were not in a position to determine what a reasonable wage ought to be. But even if the court was able to ascertain the true state of the trade it really did not have the power to enforce the wages it set. For if the situation was reversed the masters being petitioners and the court as a result of their application lowered the wages, the journeymen if dissatisfied could refuse to work and seek employment in other trades. It follows that if the masters thought they could not give employment at the wages set by the court they could either give up the trade or offer employment to those who would be willing to work at wages which the trade could afford.<sup>79</sup> Somewhat later when the weavers in Glasgow applied to the magistrates to review the scale of pay for weaving the master-manufacturers insisted that it was beyond

their competence, that if they had the right to regulate wages it was confined to the craftsmen who sold within the burgh where the trade remained relatively stationary. In an extensive trade such as cotton depending on wide and foreign markets and subject to fluctuation wages ought to be regulated by free and unrestricted competition.

The magistrates by and large sympathized with the masters view; nevertheless the fact remained that the statutes did exist empowering the Justices of the Peace and magistrates to regulate wages of craftsmen and artifices even if they were obsolete and not designed to meet the arising new conditions in the trade and industry. This whole question received an airing in connection with the weavers' petition in 1812 when the case was removed from the quarter session to the Court of Session in Edinburgh for the latter's opinion.

Lord Meadowbank thought the law to be quite clear, explicit and beyond any doubt: "the ancient statutes of Scotland are express and do not admit of any doubt, that it is within the power of Justices of the Peace to regulate the ordinary rate of wages of all Workmen and Artificers of every description." He thought that since combinations in the eyes of the law were illegal, for that very reason the power of the Justices of the Peace should be upheld for

otherwise the workmen would remain completely in the power  
of their employers.<sup>82</sup>

Lords Robertson and Glenlee expressed similar opinions. Lord Craig, on the other hand, thought that the statutes applied only to the country labourers.<sup>83</sup> In the opinion of Lord Bannantyne many of the old statutes were a dead letter. Circumstances were very much different now that manufactures depended so much on foreign markets than when the statutes were sanctioned. Consequently it remained doubtful whether they have ever been understood to apply to workmen in extensive industries.<sup>84</sup> Lord Justice Clerk remained altogether suspicious of the weavers' motives and hostile. He considered their action as a roundabout way of trying to secure a minimum wage which was then very much in the air. He sympathized with the masters and their arguments and along with Lord Bannantyne considered that the statutes had outgrown their usefulness.<sup>85</sup> The vote split evenly, three judges voting for upholding the powers of the Justices of the Peace with respect to regulation of wages, three against. After a consultation they agreed on the terms of the interlocutor whereby the power of the Justices of the Peace to regulate wages was upheld. At the same time, however, it was made clear that the power remained declaratory.<sup>86</sup>

This decision could not be regarded as anything but a victory for the masters and for the laissez-faire principles. Having no means whereby to enforce the rate of wages set by them, the power of the Justices of the Peace in this respect remained an illusion. In effect the decision of the Court of Session amounted to a declaration of invalidity of the statutes which empowered the magistrates and Justices of the Peace to regulate wages. Furthermore the right to form combinations to pursue redress of grievances through the proper and duly constituted channel, i.e., the magistrate courts, implicit in the decision of the Court of Session in 1762 now became meaningless.

Similarly the attitude of the law enforcement officers and legal authorities showed signs of changing, not so much under the influence of the laissez-faire or the anti-combination legislation in England as because of the violent nature of the combination. As a result, at first combinations attended with violence and then all combinations gradually became recognized as crimes subject to the criminal indictment and the jurisdiction of the criminal court. To this evolution we must now turn our attention.

It becomes very difficult at this stage to follow the development of the anti-combination provisions mainly because the records do not bear witness to many instances of



industrial disputes. In 1773, however, we see a very significant and interesting development. During that year we find for the first time a number of workmen, probably weavers, indicted for the offence of combination before the Court of Justiciary.<sup>87</sup> The novelty does not lie in the fact that a combination was interfered with by the law but in the fact that it was dealt with in the criminal court. The proceedings against the unfortunate weavers become, however, more intelligible upon closer examination of the circumstances surrounding the combination, its results and the indictment itself.

The combination occurred in 1773 at the time when the linen trade experienced considerable difficulties. The trade fell much below its normal levels; the output of cloth diminished and the weavers experienced considerable difficulties in obtaining work.<sup>88</sup> The masters, forced by reverses in the trade decided upon a reduction of prices for weaving. The weavers already hit hard by the stagnant trade and its consequent hardship were not in the mood to acquiesce in the reduction of their earnings. They organized themselves into a combination in order to resist the masters more effectively. The masters on their part were as determined to enforce the new prices as the weavers were to resist them. Tempers flared and the combination<sup>89</sup> culminated in a riot.

In the course of the disturbances several weavers were apprehended and indicted not only for combination, as mentioned earlier, but for rioting. Now rioting and mobbing constituted crimes at common law of very long standing, subject to the jurisdiction of the Court of Justiciary.<sup>90</sup> It is very probable that in this case the court concerned itself more with the charge of rioting than combination. This seems to be the most likely explanation in view of the fact that in the same year in similar circumstances where combination led to rioting the prosecution<sup>91</sup> brought in the charge of rioting alone.

The view that the case of combination accompanied by disturbances and breach of the peace such as rioting, that the offenders were tried and punished primarily for the crime of rioting is further supported by the case of one Granger, a Glasgow weaver, who in 1787 was indicted for entering into a combination with other weavers and being<sup>92</sup> concerned in a riot. On this occasion too, the court seemed to concern itself more with the charge of rioting than with that of combination. During the deliberation on the appropriate punishment the judges made numerous references<sup>93</sup> to the "heinous crime of mobbing" but none to the combination. And when the counsel for the defence addressing the jury put forward a plea that they should make a separate finding on the different charges in the indictment, he was cut short

by the Lord Justice Clerk who charged the jury to disregard the counsel's plea. The prisoner he said was charged with several offences but the indictment in fact contained<sup>94</sup> only one charge, one might add, that of rioting. Why then when it would appear that the Paisley weavers and Granger were tried and convicted<sup>95</sup> primarily for rioting, and when combination was as yet not recognized as a crime, the charge of entering into a combination was included in the criminal indictment at all? This indeed constitutes a difficult problem to solve since there are scarcely any clues which would warrant a definite answer. The most likely explanation seems to be that since the combination was directly responsible for the disturbances the prosecution included this charge as a contributory factor in the crime, more so since combination was already regarded as illegal. This may explain why the Lord Justice Clerk refused to allow the plea of the defense insisting that the indictment contained in reality only one charge. This view is further supported by Hutchison, already referred to, who in 1806 declared that combination was triable in the quarter session who may inflict a punishment of a fine or imprisonment. Aggravated cases, presumably combinations accompanied with violence which merited severer punishment may be tried before<sup>96</sup> the Judge Ordinary or before the Court of Justiciary. Early in 1811 for example, a year during which the trade went

through a difficult time, always an occasion of disturbances and eruptions of trade disputes, one Gavin Simpson, a cotton spinner in Glasgow, was brought before the criminal court indicted with committing an assault and combination. Objections by the defence to the charge dealing with combination found no favour with the court and the indictment was allowed to stand as originally drafted. Simpson subsequently was found guilty and sent to prison. Lord Justice Clerk made it quite clear in his summing up that combination was illegal. At the same time, however, the Advocate Depute abandoned proceedings on a similar charge<sup>97</sup> against six other cotton spinners.

The practice of dealing with combination aggravated with acts of violence did not always succeed. During the same year in Port Dundas the prosecution indicted two cotton spinners with an assault and "illegal combination against the masters." The defence admitting assault objected to the charge of combination, maintaining that the indictment was neither clear nor explicit on this point. The court on this occasion agreed with the defence and the case was abandoned pro loco and tempora. It is unfortunately not known whether a new indictment was brought in at some later date.

This practice of coupling the crime of mobbing and rioting with combination in the indictment no doubt led to the development of the further practice of indicting combinations even when unaccompanied by the above crimes. This may be all the more easily understood when considering that the intensity of industrial disputes increased towards the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. It was felt no doubt that the situation called for more stringent legal provisions. The diffusion and widespread acceptance of the laissez-faire doctrine no doubt contributed to a hardening of attitude towards combinations. Furthermore, political considerations played not an insignificant part in the evolution of harsher provisions as industrial unrest usually since the days of the French Revolution brought in its wake political unrest among the masses.<sup>99</sup> Some seven years prior to the publication of Hutchinson's work attempts had been made to deal in the criminal court with combination not aggravated by any acts of violence.

In 1799 three journeymen shoemakers were accused of unlawful combination to raise wages, forming for that purpose an association known as the Tramping Society or the United Journeymen Shoemakers.<sup>100</sup> The journeymen were arraigned before the criminal court though indictment did not impute any acts of violence. Unfortunately the men

pleaded guilty and no argument took place as far as the relevancy of the indictment was concerned. Erskine for the defence, however, fully concurred with the Lord Advocate in condemning the combination.<sup>101</sup> The speech delivered by the latter is of interest as the Lord Advocate made in it reference to the principles similar to those expressed some thirty-seven years previously by the Judges of the Session. He declared that entering into combinations constituted dangerous practices in the highest degree. It was not only dangerous to the masters but injurious to the welfare of the general public and consequently unlawful.<sup>102</sup> The reason for the criminality of combination did not change; what changed, however, was the place where an illegal combination unaccompanied by acts of violence was dealt with. The practice of dealing with combination in the criminal court was not finally established until 1813 during the trial of the weavers already referred to. The shoemakers consequently were tried and punished for a crime which as yet was not declared by any conventional methods in Scotland to be a crime. In fact in 1808 in a similar case concerning journeymen papermakers the indictment was thrown out by the judges.

The trial of the papermakers is important because for the first time the whole question of combination came to be discussed and the different opinions voiced by the

bench clearly shows the confusion and uncertainty in the minds of the interpreters of the law as to what exactly the law had to say about the legal status of combination.

The first indictment framed by the Lord Advocate<sup>103</sup> was rejected by the defence and withdrawn. A new one was drafted which runs as follows:

"That ableit by the law of this and every other well governed realm, combination or conspiracy among workmen or artifices to compel their masters or employers to raise their wages by striking work in large numbers at once, by rewarding or supporting those who stand against their masters or employers by money subscribed for that purpose or by concussing those who are willing to continue at the existing wages not to do so by bribery, abuse, threats, personal violence or resolutions not to work along with them is a crime of dangerous tendency and severely punishable." 104

The judges, Lord Justice Clerk and Lords Craig, Cullen, Armadale, Meadowbanks and Hermand were called to deliver an opinion whether the crime of combination or conspiracy by workmen to raise their wages is a relevant point of dittay; and whether this was a relevant case of combination.

Lord Cullen was cautious. The court he said had the right to pronounce on the criminality of an act but he was not anxious to create new offences especially since there was no appeal from the decision of the court. No eminent writer commented or mentioned such an offence which in itself

would put in doubt its existence. "In the abstract" -  
 he went on - "it is certainly lawful for workmen to ask  
 or demand higher wages; nor is there anything improper  
 in declining to work unless their wages are raised." 105

With regard to compulsion on which the indictment dwelt:

"It must depend very much on the nature of  
 combination...the compulsion which is a  
 general expression may be either altogether  
 innocent or a mere misdemeanour or some other  
 inferior species of offence but if compulsion  
 goes further and produces violence and disorder  
 then it may undoubtedly become a crime which  
 may be less or greater according to the  
 circumstances which may attend it." 106

Lord Cullen was prepared to admit the jurisdiction  
 of the Court of Justiciary in cases of combination attended  
 by more serious outbreaks of violence. This as we have  
 noted was already an established practice. Beyond that he  
 regarded that the proper way to settle disputes of that  
 kind was to bring action before the Justices of the Peace  
 or the Sheriff who were duly authorized to deal with such  
 an offence. 107

Lord Craig with regard to the abstract charge of  
 combination declared that he did not think it had:

"That degree of moral guile and depravity in  
 it as to subject it at the common law to  
 punishment by the Court of Justiciary." 108

Charges of compulsion such as concussing, threats,



words etc., were offences which at common law could be the subject of a relevant charge but indictment before them did not explicitly state them as subversive crimes. Had they been stated as being done for the explicit purpose of raising wages then this would have been a relevant point of dittay.<sup>109</sup> In other words, Craig did not question so much the relevancy of the crime of combination as such but objected to the indictment on technical grounds, it not being sufficiently specific and clear on the subject of compulsion.

Lords Armadale and Meadowbank were hostile. Both strenuously maintained that combination to compel a rise in wages was a relevant charge. Lord Armadale argued that according to the principle of the common law of Scotland all acts against the welfare of society and security of the country are criminal. Combination to compel according to him fell within the limits of the above principles.<sup>110</sup>

If the indictment merely charged that there simply existed a combination without demonstrating acts proved to be illegal then it would have been doubtful whether a simple combination to raise wages constituted a crime. "A combination of persons like an assembly of people is a mere general term; it may mean either legal or illegal combination according to the circumstances..."<sup>111</sup>

There might be a legal combination to pursue a legal purpose. On the other hand, combination though innocent in itself might be criminal because of its effects and consequences. This was very often true in the case of rioting and mobbing when an assembly of large bodies which though at the onset perfectly innocent resolved into tumultuous proceedings rendering them illegal. In the case of combination charges of threats, concussing and rewarding those who refused to serve the master charged in the indictment are criminal and highly relevant.

"I cannot figure any proceedings more ruinous than this would be (combination)...in a mercantile country as this is it is tremendous to think of it; suppose of a country the servants at extensive iron works striking work; or preventing others from working; coal works drowned; furnaces exposed to destruction by the mere negative conduct of bodies of people flying off to compel higher wages." 112

Combination then in itself is innocent but if it carried with it any degree of compulsion or resolved into violence it is criminal because acts of compulsion may be criminal in themselves or simply because the effects of compulsion are inimical to the welfare of society.

Lord Meadowbank drew a distinction between an ordinary combination and a combination to compel. A crime is committed when a natural right of the individual is

violated or rights which pertain to the political society or when it infringes upon arrangements which were sanctioned for the benefit of public order. Accordingly the latter combination is a crime, for the minor charges of the indictment fell within the above description.

"The right which belongs to every man to obtain as much as he could should be protected...but nothing is more incompatible with this right than any attempt to control the market of commodities or labour by forming combination among the buyers or sellers to create a monopoly in either sales or purchases...a monopoly of the market of labour by establishing a species of imperum in imperio." 113

Meadowbank was not developing a new theory.  
 114  
 Monopoly was regarded as unlawful for some time. He believed, however, that combination among the masters could have beneficial results. It would prevent paying higher wages by some masters and thereby increasing their primary costs which would have disastrous results on any industry disposed to foreign competition. Here Meadowbank either displayed partiality to the manufacturers or simply anticipated future developments. For at the time the British manufacturing industry had little to contend with  
 115  
 from foreign competition.

The indictment was ruled irrelevant by a majority of three to two - Lords Craig, Cullen and Herman voting against

the relevancy and Lords Meadowbank and Armadale for. Lord Justice Clerk though he had only a casting vote did not refrain from voicing his opinion:

"It is admitted on all hands that an individual workman may refuse serving a master if the wages offered are not agreeable to him. I see nothing criminal or blameable if he makes known his opinions to his fellow servants and if they concurring in the same opinion combine, that is, take joint measure to obtain redress of evil which affects them all in common." 116

This constituted a lawful combination providing the workmen pursued a course prescribed by law, that is, appeal to their employers first and if that failed they might appeal to the Justices of the Peace or higher court. 117 Then "if the Justices of the Peace are of the opinion that the wages are too low they will raise them and the masters of course must pay their workmen according to that rate..." 118

This time the effort to have simple combination made an indictable crime failed, but it only just failed. In fact had the indictment been more specific on the subject of compulsion and stated as a subversive crime it is most likely that Lord Cullen would have changed his vote. As it was the verdict on the criminality of combination to raise wages remained in doubt.

This situation did not prevail for long. Three years

later, in January of 1811, one Chambers and three others of his companion journeymen shoemakers were indicted for the same offence as the papermakers. The defence contended strenuously that the men did not use force but merely withdrew their labour when their demands were not met. The case was dismissed but the interlocutor indicated that if the indictment had been drawn up in different terms the judges might have found it relevant.<sup>119</sup>

The famous case of the Glasgow weavers in 1813 finally settled the issue. The prosecution succeeded, as a result of a strike in 1812 when the leaders were apprehended and tried.

The indictment against McKinnie and three other weavers was similar to that of the papermakers. It introduced nothing new. The composition of the Bench, however, changed. Boyle was now Lord Justice Clerk, Lord Cullen was dead and Lord Craig retired. No instances of violence of any kind were proven at this trial and the men were found guilty simply for the crime of combination which consequently established combination pure and simple to be a criminal act.<sup>120</sup> A few days later a weaver named Ferrier was found guilty of a crime of combination as labelled but "not guilty of any act of violence and intimidation or extortion charge."<sup>121</sup>

After half a century of development simple combination finally became an indictable offence. This fact in no way abrogated other forms of legal proceedings against combination but simply extended already existing legal impediments. According to the decision of the Court of Session during the second half of the eighteenth century simple combination could be tried in the magistrate courts or before the Justices of the Peace. Now that combination became a serious indictable crime it could be proceeded against in the Sheriff's court and the Court of Justiciary. Apart from this all criminal acts arising out of a combination such as riotous proceedings and a variety of forms of acts of violence could, of course, always be indicted. Thus, the law enforcement officers had at their disposal a variety of means and ways with which to muzzle any instances of the workers' attempts to organize in order to resist adverse economic pressures and undue exploitation by the masters.

In comparing the operation of the Scottish version of anti-combination provisions with those prevalent in England there can be little doubt that under the Scottish legal provisions dealing with combination of workmen to raise wages the labouring class in Scotland suffered less than did the workmen in England under the statutes of 1799

and 1800. This may sound strange and surprising in view of the variety of legal proceedings at the disposal of the law enforcement officers to deal with combination in Scotland. Yet these legal impediments were in fact more apparent than real. The legal provisions with respect to combination, partly because they were founded in common law which was less specific and less precise, partly because of the peculiar Scottish legal procedures and partly because of the reluctance to apply them with any degree of consistency in effect proved less dangerous to the nascent labour movement in Scotland. In the first place, to deal with combinations in a most effective manner it was necessary to act swiftly and expeditiously so as to disorganize and demoralize the workmen even before a combination had time to initiate the execution of its plans. The statutes of 1799 and 1800 provided specifically for such a speedy procedure. The courts of summary jurisdiction in England could deal swiftly with the arising combinations and strikes. Under such conditions it was difficult for the labouring class in England to retain some semblance of organization and thus serve their cause more effectively.

The case in Scotland was different. Insofar as combinations were concerned the Scottish legal procedure remained too slow and cumbersome to be effective. Whereas

by the statutes of 1799 and 1800 any one could bring to the notice of the Justices of the Peace the existence of a combination and the offenders could be tried and convicted on the evidence given under oath of one or two individuals. In Scotland all legal proceedings had to be initiated by either the Lord Advocate in cases of more serious crimes or the Procurator Fiscal in the county in cases of minor misdemeanors or crimes of a less serious nature. In consequence before the case of combination could come before the court investigations had to be started, precognitions taken and the case prepared, all of which consumed time thus allowing the members of the combination to prepare to meet the possibility and danger of a prosecution. By the time the law officers were ready to proceed with the case the combination might even have succeeded while those in danger of being apprehended could seek safety in flight.

Then there was always a doubt whether the Sheriff, Sheriff-Depute or the Procurator Fiscal being responsible for the enforcement of law and order in their county, no mean task at the time when the police system was in its infancy, would be inclined for the benefit of the masters to exercise strict supervision over the workers' activities particularly when no actual breach of the peace occurred. The case of the Edinburgh wrights and masons and the sailors



of Leith would indicate that the law enforcement officers<sup>122</sup> were reluctant to do so in such cases. In fact as the testimony before the House of Commons Committee of Inquiry on Combination Laws revealed they were not interested in simple combinations or combinations as such but only with the pernicious effects of the latter, that is, violence<sup>123</sup> resulting in bodily injuries or destruction of property.

Insofar as proceedings against simple combination by criminal indictment was concerned, though it carried a much heavier penalty than that provided by the statutes of 1799 and 1800, it was not as dangerous as it might appear. As a matter of course a lengthy period elapsed between the time of apprehension of the offender or offenders and the time of actual trial. This pause allowed the accused to engage a reputable lawyer and a better chance of preparing his defence. Then it fell upon the prosecutor to frame an indictment in such a precise and explicit way so that it would not be challenged and repelled. This was a difficult task particularly in a case such as combination where the Bench only recently showed a disposition to regard it as a crime at common law. Thus the accused could always hope that the indictment would be thrown out on technical grounds or that the judges might rule it, in spite of precedents, as an irrelevant point of ditty. Furthermore, criminal

proceedings depended on the Lord Advocate and it was not always certain that he would agree to initiate these against a simple combination. Sir William Rae who became Lord Advocate in 1819, and to whom, according to his own testimony, many applications were made to prosecute simple combinations refused to do so for in his own words: "It appeared to me that the masters might, by exhibiting a proper degree of firmness in some instances, by agreeing to a fair adjustment of wages in others, have prevented the combination."<sup>124</sup> Apparently he thought that the workmen and the masters should be left to themselves and seek their own devices to resolve their differences in their own way without help or interference from the authorities. Besides, criminal proceedings involved considerable expense. Should the state be involved in such expenses in order to further what in effect were the particular interests of the masters? According to Scottish legal practice private individuals being interested parties, and in the case of combinations the masters could be regarded as such, could initiate legal proceedings on their own account with the concurrence and permission which could not be refused, of either the Lord Advocate in cases of serious crimes or the Procurator Fiscal in cases of misdemeanours.<sup>125</sup> There are no indications, however, that the masters availed themselves of this particular legal procedure. Such a mode of proceeding

would have involved considerable expense on their part and though the masters had no objection to the state bearing it they were not inclined, presumably, to involve their own purses. In consequence, apart from the weavers trial in 1813 which established the criminality of simple combination and of some calico-printers in 1814<sup>126</sup> no evidence exists to indicate that any other criminal prosecution of simple combination had taken place. Cases of combinations, however, involving acts of violence committed in its course, were prosecuted and punished. But in such cases the offenders were prosecuted and punished for the actual acts of violence which constituted crimes whether proceeding from a combination or not, rather than for an illegal combination even if the latter charge formed part of the indictment.

In 1824 all laws in force against combination were repealed and a new Act<sup>127</sup> more liberal in character than the statutes of 1799 and 1800 was enacted. The new statute admitted the right of workmen to combine in order to seek improvements in working conditions, to fix the rate of wages, to persuade their fellow workmen to break an existing contract or to refuse to conclude a new one. Violence resulting out of threats or intimidation committed by workers individually or corporately remained, as previously, punishable offences though the punishment was reduced from three to two months of imprisonment. Like the statutes of 1799 and 1800 the new

Act, however, failed to satisfy the Scottish crown lawyers and law enforcement officers. Their main objection was that the new statute like the former ones disregarded Scottish legal practice. According to the provisions of the new Act the prosecution could only be undertaken on a complaint of two persons who must give evidence on oath. Such a mode of proceedings apart from being disagreeable to the people who must take the onus for initiating legal action, was never practiced in Scotland. All criminal prosecutions were undertaken by the Public Prosecutor, that is, the Procurator Fiscal or the Lord Advocate who initiated proceedings. Under the provision of the Act as it stood<sup>128</sup> this could not be done. Furthermore, the repeal of anti-combination laws swept away the possibility of proceeding against combination under the common law and this the law enforcement officers wished reintroduced insofar as Scotland was concerned.

The wishes of the Scots were soon met with when<sup>129</sup> the Act of 1824 was amended by another Act a year later. Under its provisions all proceedings in Scotland could be initiated by the Public Prosecutor. Prosecution under the common law was similarly made possible. Thus finally after some six decades the Scottish law with regard to combination was brought into line with that of England.

1. Prior to the general statutes of 1799 and 1800 forty acts forbidding combinations in various trades passed Parliament. Webb, Sidney and Beatrice, The History of Trade Unionism, London, 1926, p. 68.
2. Gentlemen's Magazine, Vol. XVIII, p. 427.
3. Edinburgh Review, Vol. LXVII, pp. 217, 218. See also Bain, E., Merchant and Craft Guilds: a History of the Aberdeen Incorporated Trades, Aberdeen, 1887, pp. 260-62, for early combination among tailors in Aberdeen.
4. See Minute Book of the Journeymen Woolcombers Society of Aberdeen, Business Archives, Unextracted Processes, Register House, Edinburgh.
5. Ibid.
6. Vide supra p. 181.
7. Glasgow Courier, 4. 10. 1810.
8. Scots Magazine, Vol. XL, pp. 329-31.
9. Ibid., Vol. LIV, pp. 568, 569; Lord Provost of Aberdeen - Lord Advocate, 5, 9. 12. 1792, H.O., 102, Vol. VI.
10. Both Acts of emancipation of the Scottish colliers (15 Geo. III c.28 and 39 Geo. III c.56) declared combinations among colliers illegal as formerly. "And be it further enacted that the laws now in force against combinations of whatever kind shall extend to and include colliers, coal bearers and other persons employed at coal works..." 15 Geo. III c. 28.
11. Glasgow Courier, 22. 11. 1817.
12. Ibid.
13. See "Ayrshire Colliers Association," Kilmarnock, 1824, in Report from the Select Committee on Anti-Combination Laws, Parl. Pap., 1825, Vol. IV, pp. 552-54.
14. Scots Magazine, New Series, Vol. II, p. 178.
15. Sheriff Macdonald - H. Hobhouse, 22. 8, 6. 10. 1825; Sheriff Macdonald - Duke of Montrose, 23. 4. 1825, H.O., 102, Vol. XXXVI.
16. Webb, op. cit., p. 23.

17. Bremner, D., The Industries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1869, p. 229.
18. Ibid.
19. Petition and Complaint of several weavers of Paisley, 28. 1. 1765, Session Papers, Vol. LXXI, 35.
20. Vide supra p. 194.
21. Scots Magazine, N.S., Vol. XVII, p. 114.
22. Scots Magazine, Vol. XXXV, p. 555, Vol. L, pp. 360, 361.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. Richmond, A., Narrative of the Conditions of the Manufacturing Population etc., London, 1824, p. 8.
26. Ibid., p. 14.
27. The weavers' combination was organized as follows. Territorially it was divided into districts composed of so many looms. Thus a large town such as Glasgow would be divided into several districts while in the country usually one village composed a district. The districts themselves were sub-divided into smaller units with one or more persons appointed to superintend them. Delegates from the local units formed a district committee. Any district committee had the power to call a general meeting of the district delegates. The general meeting had the power of settling all disputes and proposing and changing the laws and regulations of the association. The central or executive committee which conducted day to day business was composed of one delegate from the district. Ibid.
28. During the strike of 1812 it was estimated that some 40,000 looms became idle throughout Scotland, J. Dillon - Lord Sidmouth, 17. 12. 1812, H.O., 102, Vol. XXII.
29. Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on a Petition from Hand-Loom Weavers of Scotland and England, Parl. Pap., 1811, Vol. II.
30. Richmond, op. cit., pp. 19, 20; J. Dillon - Lord Sidmouth, 18. 12. 1812, H.O., 102, Vol. XXII.

31. Richmond, op. cit., p. 29.
32. Ibid., p. 32.
33. Edinburgh Annual Register, Vol. II, p. 219; See "Articles of the General Association of Weavers of Scotland" 1824 in Report on Anti-Combination Laws, Parl. Pap., 1825, Vol. IV, pp. 550-52.
34. Edinburgh Annual Register, Vol. II, p. 219.
35. Edinburgh Evening Courant, 20. 1. 1834.
36. Bremner, op. cit., p. 284; Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Artisans and Machinery, Parl. Pap., 1824, Vol. V, p. 492.
37. H. Houldsworth testified before the Committee on Artisans and Machinery that prior to 1810 though combination among the cotton spinners existed it was not very active. The first strike took place in 1810 when the union attempted to impose on the masters a closed shop policy. The masters resorted to a lock out and after a few weeks the spinners returned to work after signing an agreement that they would neither form or join another combination. Parl. Pap., 1824, Vol. V, pp. 476, 492.
38. Report from the Select Committee on the Combination of Workmen, Parl. Pap., 1837-38, Vol. VIII, pp. 34, 124, 125; See also Report on Artisans and Machinery, Ibid., 1824, Vol. V, p. 493.
39. For the account of the trial see Swinton, A., A Report on the Trial.....of Operative Cotton Spinners in Glasgow etc., Edinburgh, 1838, and Report on Combination of Workmen, Parl. Pap., 1837-38, Vol. VIII, passim.
40. O.S.A., Vol. III, pp. 447, 448.
41. Ibid.
42. See two Reports from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on a Petition from Calico-Printers, Parl. Pap., 1803-04, 1806, Vols. V, III.
43. Report on Anti-Combination Laws, Parl. Pap., 1825, Vol. IV, p. 887; Also Report on Artisans and Machinery, Ibid., 1824, Vol. V, p. 63.

44. Marwick, W.H., "Early Trade Unionism in Scotland," Economic History Review, Vol. V, No. 2, p. 90.
45. Quoted by Chapman, D., "The Combination of Hecklers in the East of Scotland, 1822-1827," Scottish Historical Review, Vol. XXVII, pp. 156, 157.
46. Ibid., p. 158.
47. Ibid., p. 159.
48. For details of this strike see Dundee, Perth, Cupar Advertiser, 7. 6, 16, 23, 8, 6, 13, 22. 9. 1827.
49. 39 Geo. III, c.81; 39 & 40 Geo. III, c.106.
50. Hutcheson, G., Treatise on the Office of the Justices of the Peace etc., in Scotland, 2 Vols., Edinburgh, 1806, Vol. II, p. 174.
51. Ibid.
52. Report on Artisans and Machinery, Parl. Pap., 1824, Vol. V, p. 484.
53. Report on Anti-Combination Laws, Parl. Pap., 1825, Vol. IV, p. 886.
54. Report on Artisans and Machinery, Parl. Pap., 1824, Vol. V, p. 486.
55. Webb, op. cit., p. 68.
56. Hutcheson, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 174.
57. "Furthermore the immense number (of statutes) and differences of minute particulars prevent courts to resort to them. They do not seem to have been governed by any general rule which perplexes and obscures law which in order to be useful should be clear to all, to masters, to servants and magistrates. All these Acts have been passed, without the general examination either of the general principles or former enactments. They are consequently confusing, supplanting and even contradictory. And as these enactments have been repeatedly explained, altered and amended there is scarcely any branch of trade or manufacture that is not the subject of many statutes as would form a bulky code for one." Hutcheson, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 178.



58. The statute was first enacted in 1617, confirmed on several occasions and finally ratified in 1686. C. 8, s. XIV; C. 16, Acts of Parliament of Scotland, Vols. IV, p. 537; VIII, p. 472.
59. Report on Artisans and Machinery, Parl. Pap., 1824, Vol. V, p. 486.
60. Gray, J.L., "Law of Combination in Scotland," Economica, December 1928, p. 335.
61. Gentlemen's Magazine, Vol. XVIII, p. 427.
62. Vide supra p. 174.
63. Lord Kames, Principles of Equity, Edinburgh, 1778, Vol. II, p. 93.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid., p. 94.
66. Ibid., p. 90.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid., p. 91.
69. Ibid., p. 93.
70. Glasgow Courier, 31. 3. 1800.
71. Webb, op.cit., p. 58. In 1799 ship carpenters received a rise in wages upon an application to the Justices of the Peace in Edinburgh. See Master Printers vs. Journeymen, Memorial for the Journeymen, 28. 2. 1804, Session Papers, CCXXV, 19.
72. Scots Magazine, Vol. XL, p. 329.
73. Ibid., p. 330.
74. Ibid., p. 329.
75. Ibid., Vol. LIV, pp. 568, 569.
76. Gray, op. cit., passim.
77. Replies for James Young and Others (Journeymen Nail-makers), 12. 2. 1798, Session Papers, CCCLXXVI, 46.

78. See Memorial for Journeymen Printers of Edinburgh, 28. 2. 1804, Session Papers, CCXXV, 19.
79. Answers for James Sword and Others (Master Nail Manufacturers), Ibid., Vol. CCCLXXVI, 46.
80. Memorial for Hand-Loom Weavers, 18. 6. 1812, Ibid., Vol. CCLXVI, 14; Glasgow Courier, 2. 7. 1812.
81. Quoted in the Glasgow Courier, 2. 7. 1812.
82. Ibid.
83. Ibid.
84. Ibid.
85. Ibid.
86. Ibid.
87. Scots Magazine, Vol. XXXV, p. 555.
88. Report from the Committee of the House of Commons on the State of the Linen Trade in Great Britain and Ireland, Reports from Committees of the House of Commons, Vol. III, pp. 101-104.
89. Scots Magazine, Vol. XXXV, p. 555.
90. Hume, D., Commentaries on the Law of Scotland Referring to Description and Punishment of Crimes, Edinburgh, 1797, Vol. II, pp. 226-273.
91. In 1773 Port of Glasgow and Greenock sailors combined to seek an increase in wages. Combination led to rioting, several sailors were apprehended but indicted with rioting alone. Scots Magazine, Vol. XXXV, p. 331.
92. Ibid., Vol. L, p. 360.
93. Ibid., p. 361.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid.; Vol. XXXV, p. 555.
96. Hutcheson, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 171.

97. Glasgow Courier, 24, 27. 4. 1811; Scots Magazine, Vol. LXXVIII, p. 392.
98. Glasgow Courier, 28. 2. 1811.
99. This tendency of regarding industrial unrest as antecedent to political unrest is clearly displayed in the Lord Advocate's letter to Lord Sidmouth dated 12. 7. 1812. "There exists in Scotland an association of operative weavers, who as far as I have been informed, take no unlawful oaths, neither do they elect their office bearers in a secret manner, nor conceal their proceedings from the members of the Society at large, nor do they form different divisions or branches of what may strictly be called the same Society. They do not therefore fall under the Statute (39 Geo. II, c.79. An Act for the more effectual suppression of Societies established for seditious and treasonable purposes) .....although the system is as dangerous in its nature as any of those associations which exist and are struck by the Act in the year 1799 and may be easily made instrument for accomplishing seditious or treasonable designs." H.O., 102, Vol. XXII.
100. Scots Magazine, Vol. LXI, p. 141.
101. Ibid.
102. Ibid.
103. Report on Artisans and Machinery, Parl. Pap., 1824, Vol. V, p. 489.
104. Ibid., pp. 502, 503.
105. Ibid., pp. 490, 491.
106. Ibid.
107. Ibid.
108. Ibid., p. 489.
109. Ibid., p. 490.
110. Ibid., pp. 491, 492.
111. Ibid., p. 492.
112. Ibid.

- 113. Report on Artisans and Machinery, Parl. Pap., 1824, Vol. V, p. 493.
- 114. Kames, op. cit., p. 98.
- 115. Report on Artisans and Machinery, Parl. Pap., 1824, Vol. V, p. 494.
- 116. . Ibid., p. 495.
- 117. Ibid.
- 118. Ibid.
- 119. Ibid., p. 498.
- 120. Ibid., p. 499.
- 121. Ibid.
- 122. Vide supra p. 194.
- 123. "We do not care" - declared one law officer - "about simple combinations if it were not for the effects which followed them." Report on Anti-Combination Laws, Parl. Pap., 1825, Vol. IV, p. 325.
- 124. Report on Artisans and Machinery, Parl. Pap., 1824, Vol. V, pp. 503, 504.
- 125. Ibid.
- 126. Lord Advocate - Lord Sidmouth, 26. 12. 1813; K. Finlay - Lord Sidmouth, 12. 10. 1815, H.O., 102, Vols. XXIV, XXV; Report on Anti-Combination Laws, Parl. Pap., 1825, Vol. IV, p. 887.
- 127. 5 Geo. IV, c.95.
- 128. Report on Anti-Combination Laws, Parl. Pap., 1825, Vol. IV, p. 893.
- 129. 6 Geo. IV, c.129.

NOTES

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE PROGRESS OF POVERTY AND THE CHURCH

Perhaps the most disturbing signs of the economic and social changes during the period of the Industrial Revolution in Scotland and particularly after 1815, consisted of the appearance of extensive and conspicuous want and poverty.

There can be little doubt that during the period of change in the industrial field and economic expansion, the wealth and prosperity of the community as a whole considerably increased. The distribution of this increased wealth, however, remained grossly unequal. Some of it undoubtedly filtered through to reach the lower ranks of society. It may even be argued that the opportunities created by the economic expansion and revolution in industry allowed those more enterprising in the lower strata of the society to rise above their former position in life and even achieve considerable wealth and prominence. By and large, however, the benefits which accrued to the vast majority of the working population remained, in comparison with those reaped by the upper and middle classes, insignificant. Be that as it may, even allowing that initially the working classes benefited, any gains which they might have made were,

nevertheless, negated to some extent at least, if not completely, by the economic insecurity and impermanency which became the feature of the new economic conditions.

If the pulsating economy, in turn expanding and contracting in response to the demands of the markets, created this insecurity and impermanency, the application of laissez-faire, in the economic sphere, intense and unrestricted competition, enlarged and overcrowded labour market no less than the progress of technology and the gradual introduction of automation in the industry rendered their pernicious effects more keenly felt. Frequent trade fluctuations threw the economy out of gear resulting in widespread and acute unemployment while the application of laissez-faire in the field of industrial relations and the intense competition, at the time when the labour market was overcrowded, rendered employment precarious and resulted in depressed wages. The fact that the working classes as yet failed to develop effective means in order to protect their economic position with any degree of success, for the early trade unions were too weak to be really effective, made the situation all the more difficult.

The resulting hardship and destitution, though more pronounced in the towns where industries predominated, was by no means confined to urban areas. It had also made an ominous appearance in the rural areas particularly after 1815



when agricultural prosperity gradually declined. The Corn Law of that year aimed at checking this decline, but in spite of it the prosperity of the war years never returned. Though agricultural workers, particularly the hinds or ploughmen, enjoyed greater security insofar as their employment was concerned,<sup>1</sup> their wages remained lower than those of the skilled and semi-skilled workmen in the industries, while the day labourers, besides their wages being low, enjoyed little economic security. Many women found it difficult to support themselves particularly in the eastern part of the country where domestic spinning of linen yarn gradually gave way to mechanical spinning while tambouring and sewing muslin, because of the vagaries of the cotton trade, afforded a precarious income. Many of the hand-loom weavers resided in the country and as this trade decayed they wore themselves out at their looms for a mere pittance. Under the circumstances it became difficult to support a family and even more so to put aside savings for times of emergency or for their old age. This situation which created hardship and misery called for some form of relief from destitution. Scotland, like England, developed a system of poor relief but although its administration rested on Parliamentary Acts it was steeped in Calvinist tradition and influenced by the latter's conception of the causes and cures of poverty and destitution.

The most fundamental feature of Calvin's teachings consisted of the doctrine of predestination and his rigid and ascetic moral ethics. Man is not capable of securing his own salvation. God alone is omniscient and omnipotent, He arranges everything by his own determination and He alone can save man. Since some men are saved, others damned, it follows that some are predestined for salvation, others are lost. Human effort is of no avail, it is irrelevant to salvation. The fact that man does not play any part in securing entrance to the Kingdom of God does not absolve him from the duty of leading a moral and godly life. On the contrary if man remained impotent to contribute to his own salvation, if a godly life and good works remained irrelevant, they were, nevertheless, indispensable as proof that salvation had been attained. Since Calvin's theology began and ended with the supremacy of God the essence of man's life consisted of His glorification. But glorification of God was not to be sought through the Church or prayer alone but by the sanctification of the world by strife and labour. Each occupation no matter how humble or exalted could be a "calling" and through the diligent pursuit of his particular "calling" man glorified his Creator. In this scheme of things, diligence and industry, thrift and sobriety, abstinence and restraint constituted the most desirable virtues to be attained through the exercise of strict discipline and self-control. Self indulgence, pursuit

of luxury, indolence, slothfulness and idleness were unmistakable signs of a lax character and moral degeneration and constituted the deadliest of sins.

It can easily be seen how such a conception of moral ethics conditioned the approach to charity and poor relief. It follows logically that want and destitution, resulting from any other cause than physical incapacity, permanent or temporary, must necessarily originate because of moral laxity and lack of self-control. And since man brought misfortune upon himself through laxity of morals and sin he scarcely deserved relief.

The whole system of poor relief in Scotland fashioned and adopted at the time when enthusiasm for Presbyterianism was at its height, was based on this principle, and the legal arrangements for the relief of the poor no less than the principle on which it was based changed little during the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the first half of the nineteenth century.

The legal arrangements for the relief of the poor<sup>2</sup> were relatively simple and straightforward. Each parish cared for its own poor. The period of residence required before relief could be granted was three years. The right to relief was recognized only in the cases of the impotent

and infirm, that is the aged, the orphans and all those who were incapable of supporting themselves. The aid thus given was not designed to serve as an entire means of support. It remained supplementary to family obligations and private charity while in some cases it was expected that the recipient might be able occasionally to earn something. These were the permanent or ordinary poor who figured on the poor roll where their names were entered after a thorough investigation of their circumstances. There were also the occasional poor who, because of a temporary distress, such as illness or accident, experienced hardship. Though these had no legal claim to relief, part, usually half, of the church door collections were put aside for their benefit. But since the Kirk session was not legally obliged to afford any relief to this group of occasional poor the moral background of the petitioner no doubt was the guiding factor. The able bodied poor were not recognized in law insofar as relief was concerned. If they were destitute this condition was due to personal factors and it was essentially their own fault, their indigence being the effect of their own idleness and profligacy. They were more in need of the discipline of work than of relief.

The idea that there existed a close relation between destitution and poverty and the morals of the individual was not wholly valid at the time of its inception,

much less so during the period of the Industrial Revolution. Poverty may be the result of profligacy, idleness and dissolute living but despondency and moral decay might equally be the result of conditions, circumstances and environment over which the individual had no control. This became particularly true during the period of profound economic and social changes.

The economic insecurity and continual everyday struggle for existence would have been sufficient in itself to create a feeling of hopelessness and despondency among the working classes, caught up in the quicksand of economic change, and undermine their morals. The conditions which emerged in the urban areas where, by and large, industry found its seat made certain of their moral decay.

The expansion of urban civilization is closely associated with the revolution in industry. On the one hand, under the impact of economic changes and industrialization and on the other, because of profound changes in agriculture the balance of population between the town and country underwent a drastic alteration. This transformation remains perhaps more discernible in Scotland than in England for the former had been plunged more suddenly into industrial development and from a more primitive economic state than the latter. Scotland entered the eighteenth century rural in

appearance and agricultural in character with only a sprinkling of towns which, with the exception of Edinburgh, remained small but well adapted to perform their functions under the existing economic conditions. It is sufficient to recall that Glasgow which, in a century, was to emerge as the largest city in Scotland with the largest concentration of industry as yet, remained very much rural in character containing no more than 12,500 people.<sup>3</sup>

During the course of the eighteenth century when the Scottish stagnant economy stirred, the situation gradually changed, the towns increased in size and assumed greater economic importance. During the first three decades, as the industrial enterprise expanded, this trend became more pronounced. Rising industries centered in and around towns attracted a large number of working people while changes in agriculture sent former tenants, now landless, in droves to the towns in search of employment and a future. A quick glance at the growth of some of the principal towns would clearly reveal the extent of urban expansion. Glasgow by the 1750's increased its population to 35,659 by 1801, the year of the first official census, it counted 77,385 and by 1831, 202,426 inhabitants.<sup>4</sup> The population of Edinburgh increased from 31,122 in 1755 to 161,909 by 1831. During the corresponding period the number of inhabitants of Aberdeen rose from 15,730 to 58,019, that of Dundee from

12,477 to 45,355, that of Paisley from 6,799 to 57,460<sup>5</sup> and that of Greenock from 3,858 to 27,571. By 1811 the population of the eight principal towns in Scotland accounted for 18.5% of the total population.

So rapid an expansion in such a relatively short space of time would have posed a series of serious problems to a well organized and efficient body vested with the city's administration. Prior to the burgh reform following the Parliamentary reform in 1832 the Town Councils in Scotland were neither. They were closed bodies, self-perpetuating, subject to no outside control or supervision, responsible to no one but themselves. Furthermore, in such matters as buildings and sanitation the powers of the Councils were ill defined and limited to specific Parliamentary Police Acts, to the application of the common law of nuisance, and to the traditional powers exercised by the Dean of Guild's Court.<sup>6</sup> This Court could condemn ruinous and dangerous buildings, it issued warrants of demolition, erection and alteration and it concerned itself with encroachment on private or public property. As a matter of fact the procedure of this ancient Court was steeped in tradition and sanctioned by usage. Since the Council was not elective but self-appointed it was responsible to no one, public good was not always the prime consideration of the Court or the City Fathers. Besides, the doctrine of laissez-faire was in

vogue, consequently private rights would less likely be challenged successfully or sacrificed to satisfy the common good. It must be added that overcrowding, squalor and filth, endangering the health of the inhabitants, particularly those on the lower rungs of the social ladder, did not excite great concern until the cholera epidemic of 1832.<sup>7</sup> Without any effective planning, control and supervision the towns grew, no consideration being given either to rudimentary comforts or sanitation.

It can be easily imagined how overcrowding and squalor came about. As the well-to-do moved to their new, healthier and pleasanter residences in the New Town, their houses were taken over and let to the newcomers, not before, however, their rooms were divided and subdivided to accommodate them. To satisfy the ever growing demand for accommodation most of the available space was being used for building. Thus the courts and small gardens, which provided both sunlight and air, disappeared. What emerged was a conglomeration of buildings close to each other, back to back, front to front, separated by narrow and dark passages, alleys and lanes.<sup>8</sup> Because of premium on space the working class families occupied "houses" consisting of one or two rooms. Since Scottish families consisted of an average of five persons,<sup>9</sup> that number and very frequently more had to be satisfied and make the best of these cramped quarters. Those



on the lower social scale, below the working classes, who lingered on the peripheries of the industrial world, the poor who had no regular employment or sufficient means of support, the freshly arrived newcomers, be they immigrating Irish or those from the rural areas, fared even worse. Their lot was one of the numerous lodging houses, the condition of which defy description,<sup>10</sup> or one of the miserable hovels of which most of the industrial towns abounded, families of six, eight and ten crowded into a small room destitute<sup>11</sup> of the most rudimentary furniture such as a bed.

If sanitation and public amenities in the newer sections of the towns were deficient, in the older they were practically non-existent. In the majority of cases water had to be carried from a common well in the close. Inside the houses remained, for the most part, devoid of the most essential conveniences. Water and sanitary installations did not come into use until the 1820's and<sup>12</sup> for the most part remained confined to the New Towns. By 1840 two-fifths of the houses with a rent of £4 and below, that is those inhabited by the poorer classes, still drew<sup>13</sup> their water from common wells.

In the yards and interior courts dung hills grew several feet high and were kept there indefinitely. Their removal, if attempted, was made all the more difficult as it

constituted a source of income to the owner who sold it as manure. The narrow lanes and alleys not only served as passages for human beings but also as the repositories of all the filth and refuse of the adjacent dwellings.

"The streets or rather lanes and alleys in which the poor live" - wrote one of the contemporary observers - "are filthy beyond measure; excrementitious matter and filth of every description is allowed to lay (sic) upon the lanes, if collected, it remains accumulating for months until the landlord who's property it is is pleased to remove it." 14

"The very ground is so filthy" - wrote another<sup>15</sup> observer - "that torrents of rain won't clean it." The earliest description of Glasgow slums, dated 1818, is handed down by Dr. Robert Graham greatly interested in sanitary conditions who invited the visitor to:

"...pick his steps among every species of distinguishing filth, through a long valley from four to five feet wide, flanked by houses five floors high, with here and there an opening for a pool of water from which there is no drain and in which all the nuisances of the neighbourhood are deposited in endless succession to float and putrify and waste away in noxious gases. Let him look, as he goes along into the cellars which open into this lane and he will probably find lodged in alternate habitations, which are in no way distinguished in their exterior and very little by the furniture which is within them, pigs, cows and human beings which can scarcely be recognised till brought to the light or till the eye of the visitant gets accustomed to the smoke and gloom of the cellars in which they live." 16

The situation in Glasgow and Edinburgh were repeated in other towns. The Reports on the Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Population of Scotland, 1842, are full of vivid descriptions of the kind given by Dr. Graham. Thus, of the living accommodation of the poor of Ayr for example, it was said that:

"There is usually a bedstead at each side of the door, often much shattered, beneath which all sorts of rubbish and lumber are huddled together, and also the store of potatoes for the family when they possess so much wealth. Nay, we sometimes detect a heap of horse-dung under the bed, which is collected by the children from the streets and sold when sufficient quantity has been accumulated. As to cleaning under the beds, this is never dreamt of, nor would it be easily effected, as they are generally closeted in upon three sides." 17

Towns had long been places more unhealthy than the rural areas but because of medical advances in general and successful control of the dreaded smallpox by means of inoculation the death rate in towns declined towards the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. After 1820, however, it showed a tendency to increase. In Glasgow for example, the death rate in 1822 was 1 in 41, in 1825 1 in 33.94, in 1828 1 in 30.82 and in 1832 the year of the cholera epidemic 1 in 20.35.<sup>18</sup> Since there was no reason to suspect that after 1820 medical knowledge declined we must look for the reason of increase

in the death rate elsewhere and we will find it in the conditions that prevailed in the towns. If the overcrowding and lack of sanitation in the towns themselves were not the cause of disease they at least contributed in large measure to its prevalence and epidemic proportions. Furthermore, the newcomers from the country, which were healthier places and unaccustomed to overcrowded living and congestion, showed markedly less resistance to disease than the original town dwellers. It must also be observed that the industries which attracted these newcomers were liable to frequent fluctuations resulting in unemployment, thus increasing hardship and privation. During these frequent periods, when depression in the trade no less than during the times of high prices of provisions, destitution became more widespread and more keenly felt, the incidence of sickness and disease greatly increased. Between 1796 and 1798, for example, the average number of patients admitted to the Glasgow Fever Hospital was 57. In 1799 and 1800, years of dearth and high cost of provisions, the number of patients admitted was 128 and 104 respectively.<sup>19</sup> During the twelve years between 1803 and 1814 the average number of patients admitted was 63 but during the years of post-war depression, between 1815 and 1819, the average yearly number of admissions was 934.<sup>20</sup> And again, while the average number of admissions during the period 1820-1824 was 308, during the period of

industrial depression which began in 1825 but the effects of which lasted until 1828, the average yearly admission<sup>21</sup> rate was 864. The medical profession was not slow to notice the relation between industrial depression and the increased incidence of disease. Dr. Cowan, on whose figures the above calculations were made, declared that:

"The tables given of the number of fever patients in each year will prove that the years in which they are most numerous are those in which destitution most prevailed and thus demonstrate that destitution and fever are inseparably linked together." 22

It is little to be wondered at that under the existing conditions prevailing in the towns, the wretchedness, squalor and congestion, disease and destitution, the moral standards of the labouring poor, broke and decayed. Despondency replaced hope and with a lack of hope, resistance to downgrading gradually vanished begetting indolence and idleness. Many sought solace in drink. Drunkenness greatly<sup>23</sup> increased, intensifying the process of degradation. Crime<sup>24</sup> was on the upsurge. Perhaps the influence of living conditions on the process of degradation may best be summed up by a contemporary observer who, as early as 1809, noticed the relationship between wretched conditions in the towns and moral decay:

"Pent up in the narrowest and dirtiest lanes, houses damp, confined, airless, crowded and huddled together more like places for cattle than men, they breathe foul and putrified air and lose spirit and desire for cleanliness decency and order. The effect of such circumstances, not only on the health and comfort, but morals and characters of the people is great. Those habits of decent neatness so important not only to comfort but to dignity of mind and maintenance of character, are lost because the opportunity of forming or maintaining them is not given. The woman loses the desire to please and sinks into slattern. Home affords few inducements to a husband after the labours of the day. His family presents a scene of filth and disorder - spiritless and unhappy, he is tempted to seek abroad the comfort which his own dwelling cannot give, and habit of drinking not infrequently complete the wretchedness of his condition. If such be the effects on the parents need I enlarge on what must be the state of and comfort of children?" 25

In spite of the fact that the inherited attitudes towards the cause of destitution became less and less related to the facts of poverty the churchmen, with a few exceptions here and there, and the upper strata of society tenaciously clung to these discredited assumptions. The Church, however, did not turn its back on poverty. Inherent in the assumptions was the conclusion that poverty could be and should be prevented, not relieved. Since destitution and poverty were the result of a moral defect it followed that once these defects were removed poverty itself would disappear. Consequently, efforts were made to strengthen the character of the individual, to infuse him with self discipline and control.

In this scheme, emphasis was placed on Christian education as a mould of character. Institutions such as Friendly Societies where self-help could be profitably exercised were encouraged. With the ingenious invention of the Savings Banks thrift was cultivated.<sup>26</sup> Efforts in the direction of improving the moral character are perhaps best exemplified by the social policy of Thomas Chalmers unquestionably a dominating personality among the Scottish Churchmen.

Chalmers approached the social and economic question at once as a disciple of Calvin, Adam Smith and Malthus. The ideas of these three thinkers coalesced and fused in Chalmers to give rise to a social outlook which was at once in step with Calvinist tradition and the prevalent concept of laissez-faire. Along with Adam Smith he firmly believed that economic matters should be left open to the free and unrestricted operation of natural forces for "unfettered Nature, working in individuals can do things better than regulation can."<sup>27</sup> He agreed with Malthus that population when unchecked would outstrip the means of subsistence:

"...if we count only on external resources or the increase of means for the support of a population leaving their number to proceed as it may, there is positively nothing which can save us from the habitual state of felt insufficiency..."<sup>28</sup>

On occasions prosperity might be experienced because of sudden briskness in trade;

"...but all round and in every possible direction there is a besetting limit which the mighty tide of an advancing population tends to overpass and which being impassable throws the tide back again upon general society, charged as it were, with distress and disorder..." 29

The Malthusian concept of the relationship between population and food supply dominated Chalmers' thinking and his approach to social problems created by the revolution in industry. The cure, however, by way of which he proposed to lift the people from the state of abject misery and destitution, bore the characteristic hallmarks of the Calvinistic stamp. He both desired improvements and believed that they could be achieved but not, however, through any positive action by the State either in economic or social fields but through the exercise by the people themselves of frugality, industriousness, strict discipline and self-restraint.<sup>30</sup> Industry, thrift and frugality would render the people more independent and thereby increase their bargaining power. Later marriages and smaller families, would diminish the supply of labour and hence raise wages. Only adequate education, moral and religious training and close spiritual supervision would ensure the practice of



christian economy for;

"...so long as the sensual predominates over the reflective part of human constitution will there be improvident marriages and premature families and an overdone competition for subsistence...and discomfort on an excessive population. So long as there is a gavelling taste among the people instead of an aspiring tendency towards something more in a way of comfort and cleanliness and elegance than is to be met with in sordid habitations of demi-barbarous country will they rush with precipitation into matrimony and care not how unable they are to meet its expense and forfeit whole case and accommodation of the future to the present ascendancy of blind uncalculating impulse." 31

If the exercise of moral restraint and Christian economy were to be achieved through the influence of religion and supervision of the Church, it would be necessary to increase the number of Established Churches, subdivide the parish to manageable size where a vigorous and educated ministry would establish personal relationship and responsibility.<sup>32</sup> In his labours the minister would be helped by religiously inspired lay-helpers in charge of a neighbourhood sufficiently small so as to enable them to exercise close spiritual supervision over their charges by establishing and cultivating personal contacts and relationships. Since Chalmers so emphatically stressed the part played by education in the process of moral rejuvenation of the people each parish would have as many day and Sabbath schools as the situation called for.<sup>33</sup>

Having evolved his remedy and cure for hardship, misery and destitution Chalmers vehemently opposed any extension or modification of the poor-relief. His opposition in this respect is not surprising for it followed logically from the premises of his thesis. Assuming that destitution was the result of the improvident habits of the people he opposed anything that might perpetuate them. The example of England, where the Speenhamland system of supplementing wages out of the poor rates on a scale related to the size of the workman's family, seemed a direct encouragement to the increase of population, convinced him of the evil of legalised pauperism:

"It is impossible but that an established system of pauperism must induce a great relaxation on the frugality and provident habits of our labouring classes. It is impossible that it must undermine the incentive to accumulate and by leading to repose that interest on public which would else have been secured by the effects of their own prudence and their own carefulness..." 34

In any case in the scheme of things proposed by Chalmers the need for relief would be greatly reduced and confined primarily to those physically incapacitated. In such cases relief should be the concern of private charity. His faith in human nature convinced him that people in general, when confronted with genuine want and destitution,

would be moved by compassion and contribute to its relief of their own free will.<sup>35</sup> Only when the private benevolence of the family or friends and neighbours for one reason or another failed, a person in need of assistance would be put on parish roll for regular assistance but not, however, before careful investigation by the deacon as to the circumstances of the individual. But even then the funds from which assistance was granted came from the voluntary collections at the church door.<sup>36</sup>

It was gradually becoming obvious that the whole system of poor relief was breaking down under the pressure of social change. Such assistance as was given under the existing provision proved inadequate even to relieve the wants of the "deserving" poor. The funds at the disposal of the Kirk session consisted, by and large, of collections at the church door. Although the Act of 1574 provided for legal assessment this was rarely resorted to,<sup>37</sup> mainly because of the apprehension that people, knowing that they could count upon legally assessed relief, would become, as a result, less provident and thrifty. Consequently the Kirk session relied primarily on voluntary contributions with the result that no adequate funds existed to relieve even the most pressing cases of want and destitution. In Glasgow, for example, the poor in 1815 who required permanent relief

received an average of £2. 16. 0d per year or slightly more than one shilling per week!<sup>38</sup> During the period between 1807 and 1816 the 44,199 persons who received various kinds of assistance had £114,195 distributed among them.<sup>39</sup> This amounted to a weekly allowance of slightly less than one shilling per person per week, scarcely a sufficient sum to secure even the lowest subsistence. The assumption that the remainder would be provided by the family of the recipient or through the charity of friends and neighbours was less valid in the early nineteenth than eighteenth, seventeenth or even sixteenth centuries. As a result of economic change the population became more mobile, family ties and loyalty loosened while neighbours and friends, particularly those in towns, were themselves only one step removed from destitution, yet they were expected to dispense charity. As one minister observed the whole system of poor relief gave ample ground for the common observation<sup>40</sup> "that it was the poor in Scotland who maintain the poor!" The case of the industrious poor became equally pressing. Frequent trade fluctuations and the overcrowded labour market spelled periodic unemployment to many. Yet they were denied relief simply because they could work, no account being taken that work might not be forthcoming. It is true that when severe depression overtook the industry and unemployment became rife public subscriptions were started to provide the

industrious poor with some form of relief either by providing employment through public works or by distributing allowances in money. But this type of relief was exceptional<sup>41</sup> and undertaken only during times of severe depression, yet hardship and unemployment to a greater or lesser degree became a permanent feature of the new economic order.

During the first three decades of the nineteenth century voices were heard here and there pointing out the deficiency of the Scottish poor law system and advocating compulsory legal assessment devoted to the relief of poverty. This in itself represented some advancement in the approach to destitution even though the assessment was to be levied for the support of the "deserving" poor only. That there was a need for it is demonstrated by the fact that by 1839, 236 out of some 900 parishes voluntarily accepted legal assessment and these were confined primarily to the southern<sup>42</sup> counties more densely populated and industrialized. But the voices demanding modification were not numerous nor as yet capable of changing either public opinion or the views of the Church. In 1819 the Sub-Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland emphatically declared that "the practice of legal and compulsory assessments for the support of the poor is radically unwise and dangerous."<sup>43</sup> The example of England where a more liberal Poor Law seemed incapable of checking the progress of pauperism reaffirmed

the conviction of many in Scotland of the pernicious effects of legal assessment, not to mention the demoralizing effects of affording a legally constituted relief to the able-bodied poor. By 1839 the General Assembly once again expressed its faith in the Scottish Poor Law system. Because of it:

"The poor are led to be industrious and provident; their relatives and neighbours are encouraged to assist them; a spirit of independence is cherished; unwillingness arises to come on the parish for the pittance which it yields;...a compulsory assessment is avoided; and the Church collections prove in general sufficient to provide the necessary funds." 44

Yet no matter what criticism could be levelled at the English Poor Law system there can be very little doubt that it contributed in no small measure to diminishing destitution and poverty which arose in the course of economic and social changes. If the relief of destitution in England proved costly, if the numbers on the poor rolls loomed large, it is because under the English system, most cases of poverty, if not all, were relieved. In Scotland in  
45  
comparison the cost of relief was much smaller, something in which the Scots took pride, but then most of the destitution and poverty went unrelieved. Failure in Scotland to adapt the Scottish Poor Law to the new circumstances created by the social and economic changes not only exposed

the lower classes to greater hardship but profoundly affected the relationship between the classes no less than between the Church and the people, increasing the resentment and discontent of the latter. Already during the patronage controversy this resentment became noticeable while the triumph of the Moderate Party within the Church alienated the lower classes and created a gulf between the mass of the people, the Church and the upper classes. An obstinate refusal on the part of the latter to face reality insofar as poverty and destitution was concerned only served to increase the resentment among the people and deepen the gulf between the classes to the extent that the more extreme section of the lower orders came to deprecate religion and look upon the clergy "as the most active Tools of the Government in oppressing the people."<sup>46</sup>

The Scottish system for the care and relief of the poor was not seriously nor effectively challenged until 1840 when Dr. W.P. Alison, Professor of Medicine at the University of Edinburgh, published his Observation on the Management of the Poor in Scotland. The subsequent controversy to which his paper gave rise led to a more careful scrutiny of the operation of the Poor Law in Scotland which resulted in the amending Act of 1845. But even this Act though it created a statutory obligation to make provision for the sick and

impotent failed to make provision for the industrious poor who at times of unemployment and depression would equally require assistance. Thus although the Act was an improvement on the old system, nevertheless, it still retained the characteristic feature of the traditional Scottish approach to questions of poverty.



## NOTES

1. Skilled agricultural labourers usually contracted to work for a period of six months or one year.
2. For a more detailed account of the Scottish Poor Law see Dunlop, A.M., The Law of Scotland regarding the Poor, Edinburgh, 1854; Cormack, A.A., Poor Relief in Scotland from the Middle Ages to the Present Day, Aberdeen, 1823; Returns from the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in the Third Report on the Poor Laws, Parl. Pap., 1818, Vol. V; Report by a Committee of the General Assembly on the Management of the Poor in Scotland, Ibid., 1839, Vol. V.
3. Graham, H.G., The Social Life in Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, London, 1906, p. 508.
4. Including parishes of Gorbals and Barony.
5. Including the parish of Abbey.
6. The Dean of Guilds Court was the old court of the Merchant Guild which lost all its mercantile jurisdiction confining itself to dealing with matters concerning the condition of the town and repair of buildings. It received legal recognition as such by an Act of Charles II, 1663, c.6.
7. Even as late as 1842 it was reported that "The higher classes are at present far too indifferent to the condition of the poor. They pronounce them reckless, discontented, dissolute and degraded but were their wretched abodes and their general condition minutely examined the surprise would be that they were not more reckless and discontented." Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Scotland, 1842, p. 77.
8. "In Glasgow the hovels which they (the poorer classes) inhabit are collected into dense masses of very great size between some of the larger streets. I believe it would greatly add to the healthiness of the place if some improvement which I have heard talked of were effected and straight and wide streets carried in different directions through these depositories (sic) of wretchedness." Graham, R., Practical Observations on Continued Fever, especially that form at present existing as Epidemic, Glasgow, 1818, p. 64.

9. According to Cleland's calculations the average number of persons in each family in Glasgow was slightly below five. Cleland, J., Statistical Tables relative to the City of Glasgow, 3rd ed., Glasgow, 1823, p. 6.
10. "The wynds in Glasgow comprise a fluctuating population of from 15,000 to 30,000 persons. This quarter consists of a labyrinth of lanes out of which numberless entrances lead into small square courts, each with a dunghill reeking in the center. Revolting as was the outward appearance of these places, I was little prepared for the filth and destitution within. In some of the lodging rooms (visited at night) we found a whole lair of human beings littered along the floor sometimes fifteen and twenty, some clothed some naked; men, women and children huddled promiscuously together. Their bed consisted of a layer of musty straw intermixed with rags. There was generally little or no furniture in these places, the sole article of comfort was a good fire." Symons, J.C., Arts and Artisans at Home and Abroad, quoted by Alison, W.P., Observation on the Management of the Poor etc., Edinburgh, 1840, pp. 13, 14.
11. Perry, R., (M.D.), Facts and Observations on the Sanatory (sic) State of Glasgow, Glasgow, 1844, p. 7.
12. Saunders, L.J., Scottish Democracy, 1815-1840, Edinburgh, 1950, p. 178.
13. Ibid.
14. Cowan, R., (M.D.), Vital Statistics of Glasgow, Glasgow, 1840, p. 34.
15. Bell, G., Blackfriars Wynd Analyzed, Edinburgh, 1850, p. 21.
16. Graham, Practical Observations, p. 56.
17. Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Scotland, 1842, p. 221.
18. Based on statistics supplied by Dr. R. Cowan, op. cit., p. 7.
19. Ibid., p. 8.
20. Ibid.

21. Cowan, op. cit., p. 8.
22. Ibid., p. 33.
23. In 1830 there was in Glasgow one shop licensed to sell liquor per fourteen families; in Glasgow suburbs one in twenty-five; in Paisley one in twenty-seven; in Greenock one in nineteen; in Dumbarton one in eleven; in Port Glasgow one in fifteen. In 1825 of the 5,508 cases dealt with in police court 2,398 were for being drunk and disorderly. Cleland, J., Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the City of Glasgow and County of Lanark, Glasgow, 1832, pp. 113, 112.
24. A. Alison the Sheriff of Lanarkshire ascribed the forty-fold increase in serious crime between 1808 and 1838 to misery and destitution. Alison, A., The Principles of Population, 1840, pp. 233 et seq.
25. Macgill, S., Remarks on Prisons, 1809, quoted by Begg, J., Pauperism and the Poor Law etc., Edinburgh, 1849, p. 19.
26. See Duncan, H., An Essay on the Nature and Advantages of Parish Banks, Edinburgh, 1815.
27. Quoted by Mechie, S., The Church and Scottish Social Development, 1780-1870, Oxford University Press, 1960, p. 48; "I have ever been in the habit of disliking the interference of the Legislature in matters of trade saving for the purpose of Revenue." Chalmers - Wilbeforce, 15. 12. 1819, quoted by Hanna, W., Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers, New York, 1850, Vol. II, p. 256.
28. Chalmers, T., On Political Economy in connection with the Moral State and Moral Prospects of Society, Glasgow, 1832, pp. 420, 421.
29. Ibid.
30. "The working classes are destined to obtain a far more secure place of comfort and independence in the common-wealth.....and this will come about not as a fruit of any victory gained on the arena of angry and discordant politics, but far more surely as a result of growing intelligence and worth among the labourers themselves." Quoted by Hanna, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 251.

31. Chalmers, T., Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns, New York, 1900, p. 86.
32. "It is necessary to go forth among the people, and there to superinduce the principles of an efficient morality on the mere principle of nature, and there to work a transformation of tastes and character and there to deliver lessons which of themselves will induce habit of thoughtfulness that must insensibly pervade the whole system of man's desire and doings making him more a being of reach and intellect and anticipation than he was formerly..." Ibid., p. 85, 86; "...Nothing but the multiplication of our Established Churches, with the subdivision of parishes and the allocation of each parish to its own church, together with a pure and popular exercise of the right of patronage will ever bring us back to a sound and wholesome state of the body politic." Chalmers - Wilberforce, 18. 4. 1820, quoted by Hanna, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 262.
33. See Chalmers, T., Consideration on the System of Parochial Schools in Scotland and on the Advantage of Establishing Them in Large Towns, 1819; The Influence of Bible Societies on the Temporal Necessities of the Poor, 1814.
34. Chalmers, Civic Econ., p. 191.
35. Ibid., p. 194.
36. Chalmers, Polit. Econ., pp. 429-432.
37. In 1700 only three out of 700 parishes adopted legal assessment. By 1800 this number increased to ninety-three, by 1818 the number rose to 145 and by 1839 to 236. Most of the assessed parishes were situated in the southern part of the country predominantly in the industrial areas. Report by a Committee of the General Assembly on the Management of the Poor in Scotland, 1839, p. 16.
38. Mechie, op. cit., p. 69.
39. Saunders, op. cit., p. 198.
40. O.S.A., Vol. II, p. 112.

41. Report of the Committee to whom it was remitted to suggest a Plan of affording Relief to the Labouring Classes etc., Edinburgh, 1816.
42. Report, General Assembly on the Management of the Poor, 1839, p. 16.
43. Quoted by Saunders, op. cit., p. 197.
44. Report, General Assembly on the Management of the Poor, 1839, p. 7.
45. In 1840 the cost of the poor relief in England was £4,570,000, in Scotland £115,121. In England the law relieved somewhat less than 8% of the population, in Scotland slightly more than 3%. Saunders, op. cit., p. 198.
46. Capt. Brown - Lord Advocate, 19. 9. 1819, H.O., 102, Vol. XXX.

## CHAPTER SIX

### THE POLITICAL AWAKENING OF THE LABOURING CLASS

The wind of change which blew across Britain affecting all spheres of industrial and social life did not leave the political scene unaffected. The sudden political awakening of the Scots in general, and of the lower ranks of society in particular, constitute perhaps the most interesting feature of Scottish history during the period under review more so when considering that the Scots prior to that time displayed very little public spirit or political predilection.

The political system in Scotland before and after the Union did not offer many avenues for the expression of either. Before the Union the Scottish Parliament remained to the very end essentially a feudal body, while efforts to emulate the Parliament of England proved for the most part abortive. The franchise though ostensibly based on the English model, the forty-shilling freehold, in fact was greatly limited by the exclusion from it of the poorer<sup>1</sup> gentry. Furthermore, the Act of 1681 made this already small and exclusive electorate a great deal smaller and more



exclusive.<sup>2</sup> In effect the Act virtually abolished the forty-shilling freehold franchise basing it on the valuation of land made during the thirteenth century. As the value of land since then had increased enormously the forty-shilling freehold lost all its meaning. The Act provided an escape clause for those big landholders who could not produce a title going back to the thirteenth century. It granted franchise to those whose property, according to the book<sup>3</sup> of the land tax, was valued at 400 Scots.

The legislative Union with England did not change the situation. The Scottish county franchise remained the same. In 1790, for example, the total number of those<sup>4</sup> entitled to vote stood at 2,655. This in effect meant that the entire Scottish electorate equalled that of Preston in England, was half as large as that of Bristol, one-fifth<sup>5</sup> that of London and one-seventh that of Westminster. This situation became even more ridiculous when considering the electorate county by county. Thus, in Perthshire the voters numbered 128, in Fifeshire 153, in Midlothian 83 while Renfrewshire had 32 electors, Banffshire 19 and Bute only<sup>6</sup> 3.

In the burghs and towns the local administrative system displayed a singular lack of popular element. At one time the Town Council possessed a representative character.

The Act of 1469, however, excluded all "commoners," that is, burgesses, from the election of the officers of the burgh and placed the election of the new council in the hands of the old one.<sup>7</sup> The last trace of the popular element disappeared when the election of the deacon, a representative of the Incorporated Trades on the Council, was abolished.<sup>8</sup> In only one sphere did the Scots display any vigour and interest and that was in matters of church and religion.

In a nation which attached so much importance to religion and matters pertaining to the Church, such a development was inevitable especially when the Reformation revitalized Scottish religious life to an extent that it permeated all spheres of life. It must be remembered that the Scottish Church resulting from the religious revolution was predominantly the church of the people. The revolution was not imposed or enforced from above like in many other parts of Europe. Neither the governing class nor the civil authority participated actively in it, though some of the nobles as individuals supported the reformers. It was strictly a popular movement led by the reforming element among the clergy and the acceptance of the reformed religion was motivated solely by the sincere desire among the people to follow the pure teachings of Christ. This fact, to a very large extent, explains the paradox between the political set-up in Scotland and the organization of the Church. While the former displayed definite oligarchic tendencies removing from the political and public life all traces of the

popular element the organization of the Church displayed strong republican and democratic tendencies.

The reformers, with Knox at their head, after successfully disposing of Catholicism, abolished prelacy and in its place instituted four classes of office bearers. But they admitted no superiority of any office in the Church. The doctor and the pastor were distinguished merely by the different work they performed - the former that of preaching and administering the sacraments while the office of the latter was simply theological and academic in character.<sup>9</sup> Every effort was made to give the people a place in the Church's organization and a voice in its affairs by the election of lay elders and by the popular calling of ministers. And the Church did not allow social distinctions either. All were equal in the eyes of God and all equally shared in the affairs of His Church. Social origin, therefore, did not constitute a barrier to any office. This could be equally filled by the local laird as by the weaver, cobbler, or farm labourer. The affairs of the congregation were managed by the Kirk-Session composed of the pastor, the elders and the deacons. It would be far from uncommon to see at those meetings men of humble origin alongside the local gentry discussing the spiritual welfare of the congregation as well as dispatching day-to-day business. The Presbytery attended to the wider interests of the Church

within its bounds while the General Assembly, composed of ministers and elders commissioned from different presbyteries, attended to the wider business and interest of the National Church.<sup>10</sup>

Because religion played such an important part in the life of the Scots; because the organization of the Church allowed the popular element to assert itself, and because of economic and social conditions, the popular element did not come forth in political or public life until the end of the eighteenth century. By then the conditions in Scotland had greatly changed in the economic, social, as well as religious spheres. Such being the case, the Scots for the most part of the eighteenth century remained absorbed by religious questions and Church affairs. At this stage the people focused their attention on the burning issue of ecclesiastical patronage.

At one time it seemed that the problem of lay patronage had received a final solution by the Act of 1690, a result of the "Glorious Revolution." The Act abolished prelacy once and for all and it vested the right to proposing ministers to livings in the heritors and elders. The congregation retained the right to accept or reject a candidate but its decision was subject to review by the Presbytery.<sup>11</sup> To all intents and purposes the Act abolished

patronage or at least its most objectionable features, though the congregation failed to secure exclusive voice in the choice of their ministers. The machinations of the Jacobites, however, secured the re-establishment of lay patronage by the united Parliament in 1712.<sup>12</sup> Thus the subject of ecclesiastical independence was reopened anew.

There would have been no cause for grievance on the part of the people leading to future conflict had their wishes with respect to the choice of ministers coincided with those of the patron. Such, however, was not the case. As the century wore on, more often than not, the patron's choice of a pastor was unacceptable to the congregation. This situation became graver when doctrinal differences assumed more significant proportions. Growing religious liberalism within the Church as much as without sharpened the conflict.

The upper classes, never subject to excessive religious zeal, became even less so under the influence of growing rationalism and religious liberalism and began to display distinctly latitudinarian tendencies. As a result of this development they withdrew gradually from active participation in the Church, alienated from it by prevailing covenanting spirit and ultra conservative theology. This created alarm within some sections of the

Church which regarded the growing gulf between the ruling class and the Establishment as dangerous in the extreme. Apart from religious considerations which no doubt motivated them the Church depended largely for financial support on the upper classes. The New Moderates, as they came to be known, set out to win the aristocracy and the gentry back into the fold. This they proposed to achieve by accomodating the creed and the doctrine of the Church to the ideas of the upper classes.

Briefly, New Moderatism displayed two tendencies, one in the field of ecclesiastical organization while the other concerned theology. With respect to the former they did not seek any structural changes but insisted on placing great emphasis on the role of the General Assembly seeking to make it supreme and to enforce its decisions on the Presbyteries. In matters of doctrine they became identified with the growth of religious freedom, with rational interpretation of the doctrine and with a more sympathetic approach to man in his relation to God.

As the first step in the direction of winning the upper classes the Moderates sought to enforce patronage rigidly. Furthermore, lay patronage seemed advantageous in this respect that the patrons could be counted upon to appoint ministers of a more liberal complexion leaning heavily

towards the policy of the Moderates and thereby strengthening the ranks of that party.

In an attempt to enforce their policy, especially the law of patronage, the Moderates encountered vigorous opposition from the great mass of the people<sup>13</sup> who remained unaffected by the spirit of religious liberalism. On the contrary, they remained passionately devoted to the more conservative theology, to the traditional religion of the Convenanting days full of vigour and zeal. Consequently when the patrons appointed ministers whom the congregation regarded as lukewarm in their faith and unorthodox in their doctrine the people resisted their induction. It is in the face of these appointments that the people aimed at asserting their independence in matters of "callings" by insisting on the right of the congregation to propose and call their own ministers. In this endeavour they were strongly supported by ministers of a more zealous complexion who, feeling that they were losing ground, sided with the people's demands.

The Popular Party, however, fought a losing battle. As the older generation of ministers died out the number of patron's appointees, who naturally supported patronage and the policy of the Moderates, increased. Consequently the balance in the General Assembly shifted heavily in the latter's

favour. Not even two secessions, one in 1740 the other in 1761, succeeded in opening the eyes of the Moderates to the dangers arising out of their policy. With the ascendancy of William Robertson Moderatism triumphed.<sup>14</sup> The Popular party, however, refused to give up the struggle. Its chance came in 1781 when Principal Robertson resigned. Immediately they levelled a fresh assault demanding the abolition of patronage. They even secured some success<sup>15</sup> in the General Assembly. Nevertheless, the Moderates succeeded in mustering sufficient strength to vindicate patronage finally when the Assembly refused to instruct the Commission to apply to Parliament for its abolition.<sup>16</sup>

The significant part of the controversy at this stage, however, is both the language and the attitude of the people and the Popular party in the rich contemporary literature on the subject. It is loaded with resentment against aristocracy and assumes a distinctly political character. The Incorporated Trades of Dundee, for example, hoped for the successful conclusion of the issue in order that "those principles of liberty and regards to the right of man" could be vindicated.<sup>17</sup> One of the authors of numerous Addresses pointed out the incompatibility between patronage and the republican organization of the Church. The ecclesiastical organization was republican while a patronage favoured arbitrary government and smattered of



unlimited monarchy. The law of patronage could only increase the power of the aristocracy which already was too powerful and further add to the system of corruption.<sup>18</sup> Another author, after drawing a distinction with respect to Church and State constitutions, maintained that the abolition of the law of patronage was essential if the people were to retain any notion of liberty, for the civil constitution reduced the people "to the exercise only of common functions of animals, the gratification of hunger and thirst and other similar enjoyments."<sup>19</sup> These sentiments could easily be, as indeed they were, transposed from religious and ecclesiastical to that of public and political fields.

A political system for the most part reflects the social and economic conditions of a country. If the political system did not afford a greater measure of popular element in the government and local administration it is because the social and economic conditions in Scotland were not conducive to the development of a keen, vigorous and independent public spirit. Changes in this direction, however, were in the offing. The decades between 1790 and 1832 were marked by a sudden and dramatic awakening of the Scots and loud demands for the adaptation of the political system to keep in step with social and economic developments.

During the course of the second half of the eighteenth

and the first three decades of the nineteenth centuries Scotland as we have noted, underwent a profound change. Her economic life revived, agriculture improved and thrived, trade and manufactures expanded, new industries stimulated by technological progress came into being and in general, in comparison with former times, wealth and prosperity greatly increased. Economic improvements and growing prosperity were bound sooner or later to influence men's ideas and change their outlook. Already as a result of the Union, Scotland emerged from her isolation, economic, social and intellectual, the Scots becoming less withdrawn, more open and susceptible to outside influence. The progress of trade and industry, the greatly increased and extended commercial ties with other parts of the world no less than the growing prosperity facilitated the widening of their interests as well as intellectual horizons. The new social conditions which were emerging under the impact of economic forces made for independence of thought and action.

The awakening of the Scots to public and political issues became evident to some extent during the course of the American War of Independence and the subsequent political crisis caused by the loss of the American colonies. But it is in the demands for both the county and burgh reform that we have a more tangible proof of the Scots' growing awareness and keener interest in public and political affairs.

The progress in England of the demands for administrative and Parliamentary reform were watched in Scotland with interest. Early in 1782 the passive interest was translated into direct action when the northern counties of Moray, Inverness and Caithness no doubt inspired by the Yorkshire Committee, appointed commissioners to consider the question of fictitious and nominal votes.<sup>20</sup> This movement quickly gathered momentum for in August of the same year delegates of twenty-six counties met to deliberate on the best means of removing abuses so prevalent in county elections.<sup>21</sup> As a result two Bills were drafted and referred to the counties for consideration.

Simultaneously with the action in the counties the question of Parliamentary reform as well as that of the burgh administration was taken up in the towns. Unlike the county the burgh reform was prosecuted with greater vigour and zeal. Under the influence of a series of letters appearing in the Caledonian Mercury,<sup>22</sup> said to be written by a wealthy Edinburgh merchant, pointing out the anomalous manner in which the Parliamentary representatives of the burghs were chosen, a committee composed of Edinburgh citizens was set up in April of 1783 to look into this question.<sup>23</sup> The movement gathered momentum as the response from other towns was not lacking. In March of 1784 a

convention of delegates from various towns was held at which thirty-three out of sixty-six royal burghs were represented, this number rising to forty-seven by 1785.<sup>24</sup>

The outbreak of the French Revolution, the sweeping away of the Old Regime and the assertion of the rights of freedom and liberty by the French people evoked great interest in the events in France as well as enthusiasm and admiration in some quarters in Scotland. This interest can be gauged by the rise in the number of newspapers.

In 1782 there were only eight in Scotland but by 1790 this number rose to twenty-seven.<sup>25</sup>

"The politics of France" - reported the Edinburgh Herald - "and other parts of the Continent by which the example has been followed, give importance to the public affairs of the present period beyond those of almost any other area that can be remembered."<sup>26</sup>

Many newspapers of the day carried full reports of the proceedings in France as well as their discussion.<sup>27</sup> The Dundee Whig Club went so far in its enthusiasm that it voted an address to the National Assembly congratulating the French people "on the recovery of your ancient and free constitution" and expressing an ardent wish "that this liberty may be permanently established in France."<sup>28</sup>

Similarly Burke's scathing criticism of the Revolution and the principles underlying it did not pass unanswered. His arguments were ably met and refuted by Thomas Christie and

James Mackintosh whose works on the subject found, if not wholehearted approbation, at least a measure of admiration among many Scots. Although the Scottish middle classes became gradually aware of the defects in the British constitution, the French Revolution failed to translate a passive desire for a reform which would have emancipated them from their political bondage into active agitation for a change in the political system. In fact even the demands for a Parliamentary reform coming from that section died down. The Bills proposing changes in the county elections, drawn up by the committee of the county delegates, when referred to the counties for consideration provoked such a considerable diversity of opinion that the movement for county reform lost much of its momentum and subsequently made little or no progress.<sup>30</sup> In the burghs what had begun as a movement for the reform of Parliamentary representation of the towns ended only as a demand for the reform of the latter's internal administration. Although one of the Bills drafted by the committee of the burgh delegates dealt with the election of Parliamentary representatives, it was subsequently withdrawn as the result of the defeat of Pitt's proposal of a mild Parliamentary reform.<sup>31</sup> Neither the Scottish gentry nor the middle class engaged energetically in the agitation for Parliamentary reform until the late 1820's when the latter decidedly took

the field. One reason for this might be due to the fact, as one contemporary observed, the British constitution did not require as drastic an alteration as did the former political system in France. By and large it offered a greater measure of freedom and liberty which were appreciated and cherished. Measures which would alter the equality and adequacy of the representation in Parliament and the mode of choosing its members might be regarded as very desirable but did not call for action which would convulse the state.<sup>32</sup> The radical principles voiced by the French revolutionaries made little progress among the more substantial section of society. The apparent lack of active enthusiasm even for a moderate reform of Parliament may also be due to the fact that Scotland only recently entered a phase of industrial and commercial expansion which absorbed the attention and the energies of the Scots. Furthermore, the anomalies which existed in the burgh administration, particularly those in connection with the election of the Town Council were more glaring and vexing than the defective system of Parliamentary representation. The rising bourgeoisie might tolerate their political bondage for a time, but not not having a voice in matters which touched them as intimately as the administration of the affairs of the burgh where they resided and conducted their business. It was to the removal of these glaring anomalies that they

turned their attention and expanded their energy, the consideration of Parliamentary representatives fading into the background.<sup>33</sup> A number of individuals from the more substantial section of society did fall under the spell of the equality and the rights of man. Lieut-Col. Dalrymple of Fordell, for example, became the President of the "Glasgow Associated Friends of the Constitution and of the People." Col. Norman Macleod joined the society shortly after its formation and remained dedicated to the cause of a radical reformation of Parliament.<sup>34</sup> Thomas Muir, an advocate, was greatly implicated in the agitation for reform for which he was to suffer transportation to Botany Bay.<sup>35</sup> Lord Dear, the eldest son of the Earl of Selkirk, was a member of the "London Friends of the People" and the "London Corresponding Society" figured prominently at the first General Convention of the Delegates from the Societies of the "Friends of the People" held in Edinburgh on the 11th, 12th and 13th of December 1792.<sup>36</sup> They constituted an exception, however, and even some of the many prominent members held aloof from the activities of the Societies of the "Friends of the People" when the agitation for reform took a more radical turn.<sup>37</sup>

If the French Revolution and the political principles underlying it failed to impress the Scottish middle classes and stimulate them to embracing wholeheartedly the cause of Parliamentary reform, the seed of democratic ideals sown by

the prophets of the equality of man found a fertile ground among the lower classes.

The economic revival experienced during the second half of the eighteenth century affected the lower, no less than the higher, classes of society. The growing prosperity filtered down through the ranks of society reaching even its lowest sections. The diffusion of material prosperity in turn made for the emergence of a secular spirit which profoundly affected the manufacturing classes, the artisans and the new industrial proletariat coming into being. The progress of trade and industry created new conditions which had an unsettling effect on society. Under the impact of economic forces wide cracks appeared in the existing social structure. Bonds which hitherto held society together gradually loosened. The segregation into classes, more perceptible in towns and industrial areas, broke close personal relationships between masters and servants, increasing the awareness of social distinctions. The traditional relationship between the classes, characterized by a feeling of community of interest and reciprocal responsibilities, were undermined. The old paternalistic order, associated primarily with a society predominantly agricultural, was slowly passing from the Scottish social scene giving way to a social organization which became, under the influence of the new condition, impersonal in character.



The growing prosperity and the new social conditions gave rise to a spirit of independence which permeated among the lower as well as the middle classes. The former became restive and shook off their habitual political inertia. Convinced that they too had a stake in society they began to assert their interests in the community. This assertiveness, which was perceptible to some extent during the patronage controversy, re-appeared more strongly in the industrial field in the form of independent action of the emerging labour unions. To this expression of independence in the economic field was added a growing interest in politics and public affairs later to develop into a participation in the political agitation. A relatively high standard of education among the common people, a result of the religious revolution in the sixteenth century, greatly facilitated the widening of their outlook and interests. Although Knox's educational ideal and program were never fully realized and in fact the standard of education and teaching declined <sup>38</sup> in the eighteenth century, nevertheless a school was to be found in almost every parish. The standard of literacy consequently was very high. <sup>39</sup>

If the new social conditions and a relatively high educational standard created a favourable climate for the awakening of the common people it was the French Revolution

which provided the necessary stimulus and accelerated it.

The events unfurling in France created great interest among the lower classes. Newspapers were eagerly procured and

read.<sup>40</sup> It was not uncommon among the members of the working classes to congregate in taverns or form clubs for the purpose of reading the daily news and discussing public

affairs. It was said of the Paisley weavers that when the Glasgow Chronicle arrived thrice a week all the looms stopped

while its contents were read and eagerly discussed.<sup>41</sup> The events in France, however, not only evoked a keen and vigorous interest in politics. The principles unfurled on the standard of the Revolution, the proclamation of the equality and brotherhood of man fired the imagination of the people, stirred their feelings and gave expression to aspirations which hitherto lay dormant under the surface.

It was Tom Paine the apostle of the revolutionary ideals who, in his Rights of Man in simple and straightforward terms, gave precision to the growing but still vague sense of grievances. While in Britain, said Paine, the right to vote was reserved to the exclusive few (which was more true of Scotland than it was of England) in France all men who paid a few pennies in taxes participated in the election of their

representatives.<sup>42</sup> While in France the distribution of the representatives was in ratio to the number of electors, in England the distribution was grossly anomalous. Thus

Yorkshire, with a population of nearly one million, sent two members to the House of Commons while Rutland, not containing one hundredth of the population of the former<sup>43</sup> sent two members as well. Old Sarum, containing a few inhabitants and even less dwellings, sent two members while Manchester, with a population of nearly sixty thousand,<sup>44</sup> sent none. Under the French constitution corruption was unknown since pensioners and placemen were excluded from the Assembly. Taxes therefore rather than being expended on the maintenance of a set of venal and corrupt courtiers<sup>45</sup> were directed to their legitimate end. To ensure greater vigilance of public affairs by the people, Assembly was elected every two years. Titles and nobility were abolished and so "the peer" - said Paine - "is exalted to MAN."<sup>46</sup> In this way contrasting the British and French constitutions Paine not only exposed the grievances but pointed out the remedies. The issue of a Proclamation by the government, alarmed at the progress of Paine's pamphlets and ideas contained therein suppressing seditious writings, only served<sup>47</sup> as an excellent advertisement for his Rights of Man, and contributed to the rapid spread of the so-called subversive literature. The first "Society of the Friends of the People"<sup>48</sup> was formed in Edinburgh in July 1792. By the end of the same year Scotland was covered by a network of eighty such societies distributed among thirty-five towns and villages of

the manufacturing districts.<sup>49</sup> The leadership of the movement for a radical reform might have come from the ranks of the middle class but its strength was derived from the common people. That these societies did not aim to attract into their ranks a more substantial element of society is reflected in the low subscription of three pennies quarterly which made the membership accessible even to the lowest element of society.<sup>50</sup> And since the members of the former refused to be drawn into the movement it remained mostly composed of the members of the lower classes, the shopkeepers, artisans, weavers, cotton spinners and others of similar description, people "from whom anything disagreeable can be expected."<sup>51</sup> The fact that the members of the societies came from the lower classes influenced the nature of the demands put forward. These were not for any limited extension of franchise and a more equitable distribution of Parliamentary seats but for a thorough reform based on manhood suffrage and shorter duration of Parliament.<sup>52</sup> In December 1792 the societies held their First General Convention of Delegates. The government, well informed of the proceedings of the "Friends of the People" by spies, became gravely alarmed.<sup>53</sup> The radical measures proposed, the language and expression of some of the more enthusiastic members indicated an imitation of the French example<sup>54</sup> while the outbreak of violence here and there, though not necessarily

instigated by the "Friends of the People;" confirmed the government's opinion of the revolutionary character of these societies.

The feeling of excitement and widespread discontent, not only with the government but with all constituted authority, ran high occasionally sparking riots during which Dundas' "the manager of Scotland" was burned in effigy many times over.<sup>55</sup> On November 16th, 1792 in Dundee some people attempted to plant a "Tree of Liberty," after the French fashion but as it was pulled down during the night by some unknown gentleman another was put in its place two days later to the shouts of "Liberty and Equality" and jubilation of the populace which paraded through the town breaking windows here and there.<sup>56</sup> Ten days later a disturbance broke out in Perth during which Dundas suffered "an ordeal by fire" while the Sheriff reported that frequently shouts of "Liberty, Equality and no King" could be heard from the section of the town inhabited by the lower classes.<sup>57</sup> June 4th, the King's birthday witnessed a riot in Edinburgh which lasted three full days.<sup>58</sup> It was to no avail that the Societies of the "Friends of the People" protested strongly that they disapproved of violence and passed a resolution condemning it as seditious and excluding from its ranks all those "found guilty of rioting, creating or aiding sedition in the country."<sup>59</sup> This was simply dismissed as a deceptive

subterfuge calculated to conceal their real designs which were firmly believed to be the subversion of the constitution.

Yet the government itself contributed to the growing unrest and discontent. The Corn Bill of 1791 was met with loud protests in Scotland and these were not confined to the lower classes. Both the Town Council of Glasgow and the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce declared against it protesting that it was in the interest of manufactures that a free importation of corn and meal should be maintained.<sup>60</sup> As far as the lower classes were concerned the Bill enacted in favour of landed interests could not have been regarded but as a distinct class measure. Failure to secure the repeal of the Test Act and the abolition of slave trade, both issues which excited the imagination of the Scots, only served as further irritants.

The threat of war with France and the eventual outbreak of hostilities early in 1793 created further resentment. Resolutions, some violent, but all strongly condemning the war appeared in the newspapers throughout the country,<sup>61</sup> particularly in the industrial west. The opposition to war with France was not only caused by an intense political feeling, economic considerations of a commercial nature played their part. By 1792 the Scottish cotton industry was in the process of development and expansion and if it were to

thrive, peace and accessibility to the world markets were regarded as essential. Thus the "Paisley United Societies" declared that peace was not only "the great cause of humanity" but it was also of the "utmost importance to your commercial interest."<sup>62</sup>

"We see our manufactures ruined" - declared the petitioners for peace from Glasgow - "our commerce daily declining, misery and poverty making rapid progress throughout the nation... Thousands of our fellow citizens are already out of employment and it is feared that thousands more will soon be crying for want of bread." <sup>63</sup>

The failure of Grey's motion for reform, the arrests<sup>64</sup> of Muir and Palmer, rather than disheartening the ardent reformers, infused new life into the democratic movement. Towards the end of October 1793 a Convention of Delegates<sup>65</sup> of the "Friends of the People" met in Edinburgh and the delegates re-affirmed their determination, perhaps in more radical terms, to prosecute the cause of reform. When the "London Corresponding Society" and the "London Constitutional Society"<sup>66</sup> sent delegates the convention assumed the title of the "British Convention of the Delegates of the Friends of the People." Universal suffrage and annual Parliaments<sup>67</sup> became unequivocally their goal. At this juncture, however, the authorities stepped in once again. The Convention was dispersed by the Lord Provost at the head of some thirty

constables while Gerrald, Margarot and Skirving were arrested and subsequently tried, all receiving sentences of transportation to Botany Bay for fourteen years.<sup>68</sup> The suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act followed and a year later enactment of more stringent Treason and Sedition Acts.

As a result of the government's measures political agitation died down and the open activities of the democratic movement ceased. The repressive measures seemed to subdue the spirit of the people. Things remained relatively quiet but only on the surface, under it discontent was rife, occasionally bursting through. Thus the presentation in Edinburgh of a play entitled "The Royal Martyr" comparing the situation of Charles I and Louis XVI and inviting the public to draw a proper lesson "from stepping out of the path of virtue and religion" served as a signal for a democratic demonstration.<sup>69</sup> Enforcement of the much disliked Militia Act led to widespread disturbances and riots<sup>70</sup> while the rise and spread of the secret organization, the "United Scotsmen," indicated that the cause of reform was not dead.

Most likely the "United Scotsmen" came into being as a result of the ramifications of other societies devoted to securing reform attracting into its ranks more radical elements. The choice of name and of organization indicated the strong influence of similar societies in Ireland. Like



the "United Irishmen" the "United Scotsmen" had an elaborate system of parochial, county and provincial committees. At the base was a cell consisting of not more than sixteen members. If any one parish contained more than three cells a Parochial Committee would come into being composed of two members balloted from each society. In turn when the members of the Parochial Committees reached three or more a County Committee was formed composed of the delegates from the former. Provincial and National Committees would be similarly formed.<sup>71</sup> The purpose of the "United Scotsmen" was the forwarding of a "brotherhood of affection, a communion of rights" and of the cause of a radical reform of Parliament based on the principle of civil, political and religious liberty which included universal suffrage and annual Parliaments.<sup>72</sup> The enforcement of the Militia Act facilitated the spreading of the association.<sup>73</sup> In the middle of the year 1797 several meetings of delegates from the west took place in Glasgow.<sup>74</sup> The "Resolutions and Constitutions of the Society of United Scotsmen" circulated in the counties of Forfar, Perth and Fife.<sup>75</sup> But before the movement had time to take root government action checked its progress. Events in Ireland, the outbreak of rebellion prompted the authorities to come down heavily against the "United." In November 1797 one Mealmaker regarded as a prominent leader in the movement was arrested and brought to

trial the following January. Similar action was taken in England against the society of the "United Englishmen." After these events all open political activity seems to have ceased. The files of the Scottish Home Office Correspondence remains singularly silent on the subject of open political activity or any secret political agitation. Although the repressive measures and their ruthless application greatly curtailed the activities of the Democrats or Radicals as they later became known, they failed to stamp out an ardent desire for reform. They only succeeded in widening the breach among the lower and upper and middle classes which was being created under the impact of economic forces and consequent social changes. The lower classes became firmly convinced that their salvation lay in political emancipation particularly after their applications to the Legislature, such for example as were made by the weavers or the calico-printers asking to redress legitimate grievances, met with cold indifference. After one such unsuccessful petition of the combined Scottish and English weavers one of their number summed up the situation: "Had you possessed 70,000 votes for the election of members to sit in the House would your application have been treated with such indifference not to say inattention?"

Towards the end of 1811 and the beginning of 1812 we begin to hear once again of the activities of the "United

Scotsmen."<sup>78</sup> Although the Lord Advocate was satisfied that "no immediate danger was to be apprehended" the authorities increased their vigilance.<sup>79</sup> And well they might. Toward the end of 1812 Margat, of the Convention days in Edinburgh, the only prisoner to return from Botany Bay, was reported to be in Paisley and Glasgow, no doubt hard at work stirring up the people.<sup>80</sup> Such activities were all the more dangerous as the widespread unemployment caused by trade recession, a result of the Continental blockade and Orders in Council, made the lower classes restive, increased discontent and made them more receptive to embracing once again the cause of reform.

The restoration of peace in 1815 did not as was hoped, improve the economic conditions. Bad as the condition of labour was during the war because of frequent and wild trade fluctuations it became worse during the five years following Waterloo. Amidst unemployment and low wages, and subsequent hardship and misery the framing and enactment of the new Corn Bill raising the level of the price at which importation was allowed from 50/- to 80/- exasperated the people. Protests<sup>81</sup> and petitions against it poured in from all quarters. The petition from Glasgow, which can be taken as typical, indicated through which channel the discontent might find expression.

"Your petitioners were always led to consider your Honourable House as the Constitutional Guardian of our Rights and Liberties, and as an Organ for Public Opinion; but the marked disregard which, on this recent and momentous occasion, has been shown to the voice of the nation, constitutionally expressed, has excited in them sentiments of a very opposite kind, and demonstrated beyond the possibility of contradiction, that in your Honourable House, the Representation of the People is radically defective." 82

Under such circumstances it was not difficult for Major Cartwright, an ardent democrat, to rekindle the smouldering desire for radical reform. He spent two months in Scotland on his mission advocating manhood suffrage and annual Parliaments, his itinerant activities proving successful. As a result of his efforts many societies favouring radical reform came into being while Cobbett's Weekly Political Register, selling at the low price of 2d per copy<sup>83</sup> nourished the people with Radical propaganda. In October, 1816 the largest meeting yet in Scotland in favour of Parliamentary reform took place in Glasgow attended by some 40,000 people mostly of the lower classes.<sup>84</sup> The meeting passed resolutions in favour of reform and elected a committee to lay the grievances before the Prince Regent,<sup>85</sup> the committee selecting Major Cartwright as its agent.<sup>86</sup>

The rife discontent, accentuated by trade depression, the rapid progress of radical principles, the agitated mind and the defiant attitude of the people reflected in numerous

and at times turbulent meetings,<sup>87</sup> convinced the authorities that nothing less was contemplated by the lower classes,<sup>88</sup> than a revolution or rebellion.<sup>89</sup> The Reports of Richmond, a government spy, of secret associations devoted to securing reform by means of force in the event the petition to be laid before Parliament failed, and the production by him of an oath which bound the associates to strive "either by moral or physical strength as the case may require" to obtain for all persons "the elective franchise at the age of twenty-one,"<sup>90</sup> confirmed their suspicions. The authorities in England, after the riots in London during which the Prince Regent was insulted by the mob during his return from opening Parliament, came to the same conclusions. As a result the government introduced into the House four Bills calculated to arrest the progress of any further revolutionary activities, the most important of them being the suspending Habeas Corpus Act.

Meanwhile in Scotland Richmond's revelations led to swift arrests. On February 23rd, 1817, eighteen men were apprehended in Glasgow who were thought to be members of the secret committee directing the treasonable proceedings,<sup>91</sup> with a view to staging trials similar to those that took place in 1793. Unlike the latter occasion, the Lord Advocate was deprived of the pleasure and triumph of successful prosecutions which might have served as a warning to others.

The conviction of one M'Laren, a weaver, and Baird, a grocer,  
 on charges of sedition, was easily secured<sup>92</sup> but the more  
 important prosecution of Edgar and M'Kinlay, two of the  
 prisoners apprehended in Glasgow, broke down. Edgar and  
 M'Kinlay were prosecuted under the Act of 1812 which made  
 it a felony to administer any oath intended to pledge the  
 taker to commit treason. Either the Act must have been  
 singularly obscure or the Lord Advocate deficient in  
 ability for he seemed unable to frame an indictment which  
 would withstand criticism brought to bear upon it by the  
 defence. Twice the indictment was repelled and ruled  
 irrelevant by the judges.<sup>93</sup> Finally the third indictment,  
 by a margin of two to three, was allowed to go to proof  
 yet unfortunately for the Lord Advocate other circumstances  
 prevented the case from succeeding.

It would appear that the law officers persuaded  
 one of the prisoners, John Campbell, either by extending a  
 hope or a positive promise of reward, to turn King's evidence.<sup>94</sup>  
 John Campbell, however, when questioned by the counsel for  
 the defence revealed that he had been tampered with.<sup>95</sup> In  
 consequence of such a revelation, John Campbell, being the  
 star witness for the prosecution, the case against M'Kinlay  
 collapsed and proceedings against other prisoners were  
 subsequently abandoned.

Even though the trials failed, the show of strength and determination by the authorities no less than the improving trade conditions<sup>96</sup> arrested any further progress of a vigorous political agitation.

The respite, however, proved of short duration. Towards the end of 1818 and throughout 1819 and 1820 the agitation stimulated no doubt by another trade recession was reopened and prosecuted with increased vigour. In England, the beginning of 1819 witnessed numerous meetings, particularly in Lancashire the center of the cotton trade, hit particularly hard by the recent recession, which passed resolutions demanding the repeal of the Corn Law of 1815 and the reform of franchise.<sup>97</sup> Similarly in Scotland, meetings in favour of radical reform began to take place, particularly in the industrial west. As in England a network of societies called "Unions" devoted to manhood suffrage and annual Parliaments came into being covering the counties of Ayr, Dumbarton, Lanark, Renfrew and Stirling, organized on lines not unlike those of the "United Scotsmen."<sup>98</sup> Unemployment which by August 1819 was rife in and around Glasgow increased the feeling of frustration among the people, intensified the hatred for the upper classes, and fortified the belief that the only salvation lay in a drastic reform of Parliament which would give a voice to the people in the election of their

representatives.

"It is easy, my fellow citizens" - so ran the first number of the Spirit of Union, a newly established Radical organ in Glasgow - "for those who are thus amply supplied both with necessities and luxuries of life, to become your admonitors, and calm you with good words instead of good food, feeling as they do in the riches of their own carcasses the full force of their observation. But is there one among the whole host of these advisers who knows what it is to live on mere meal and water and even of this receive a limited proportion?" 99

At a meeting of the unemployed weavers held in Glasgow on August 26th the industrial distress and the condition of the working population was unequivocally attributed to the want of universal suffrage and annual  
100  
Parliaments. While the tension was mounting the "Peterloo Massacre" only served to incense the people. Yet no serious outbreaks of violence were reported until a foolish action of one of the official in Paisley sparked a riot which ran the course of three days besides being a cause of a sympathetic riot in Glasgow.

On Saturday September 11th, on a moor near Paisley, a great Radical demonstration took place to which working people from Kilbarchan, Dalry, Johnstone, Kilmarnock, Nialston, Glasgow and other places numbering some 18,000 made their way with banners flying and bands playing but in an orderly fashion. After the Manchester affair was denounced



and resolutions in favour of reform passed the meeting would have disbanded in an orderly manner had not one of the officials, as the Glasgow contingent marched through Paisley, seized one of the banners. A scuffle ensued, crowds gathered and a riot developed which lasted until the following Monday.<sup>101</sup> The news of the riot in Paisley sparked riots in Glasgow and Bridgetown and in both cases the cavalry was required to disperse the rioters.<sup>102</sup>

The proceedings of the Radicals in Scotland no less than those in England once again convinced the government that an armed insurrection was in the offing set either for December 13th or in the New Year. It may be that the authorities were in possession of reliable information. It would appear that the ranks of the Radicals in Scotland were divided, one group preaching caution and moderation,<sup>103</sup> another more extreme and violent measures. A member of the police force in Edinburgh dispatched to Glasgow by the Lord Advocate, to infiltrate the ranks of the Radicals, informed him that "The Reformers I have good reason to know highly disapprove of these proceedings." They regarded riots and use of violence as prejudicial to the cause of reform. The more intelligent and sensible among them would prefer to continue with intensified propaganda and agitation<sup>104</sup> "until they ensure success." The extremist element must have taken the upper hand for on Sunday April 2nd Glasgow

awakened to the manifesto issued by the mysterious "Committee of Organization for Forming a Provisional Government" calling upon the people, soldiers in particular, to take arms to recover their rights concluding with a stirring exclamation "Liberty or Death is our motto, and we have sworn to return home in triumph or return no more."<sup>105</sup>

For the most part the workmen obeyed the call to strike<sup>106</sup> and gathered on the streets of Glasgow but the Radical army failed to materialize. The only "battle" of the "revolution" took place at Bonnymuir where a small party of four score or so of the Radicals, venturing to join up with the workers from Carron and Falkirk, was intercepted by a detachment of Hussars. After a short skirmish the Radicals fled in all directions, nineteen of them being taken prisoners.<sup>107</sup>

It is obvious that the whole insurrection was engineered by a small extremist group or, as some of the contemporaries alleged, by government spies<sup>108</sup> who managed to delude a small group of dupes, yet the authorities decided to exploit the situation and make an example of those apprehended. Forty-one persons were actually charged with high treason all of whom belonged to the lower class the largest group among them belonging to the depressed craft of weaving.<sup>109</sup>

Thus ended the first phase of the democratic agitation in Scotland, born out of social and economic changes, inspired by the equality and the rights of man heralded by

the French Revolution and stimulated by industrial depression. Although Radicalism suffered a defeat the cause of reform did not die with it. If the radical demands of the people remained as yet unacceptable, moderate opinion, demanding limited and specific reforms, was irresistible and could not be denied on the ground that it smattered of revolution. Reactionary Toryism gradually retreated while the bloodless revolution in France advanced the cause of reform which, with the accession of the Whigs into power, became at last a reality.

The Reform Act of 1832 removed the oppressive and grossly irrational Scottish representative system, or perhaps it would be more correct to say it created a representative system in Scotland for the first time, though on a very limited scale. In burghs the self-perpetuating council was abolished and franchise conferred on households valued at £10 while in the counties franchise was conferred on landowners valued at £10 or tenants with seven year leases who paid £50 in rent. Although the political agitation of the people played a considerable part in the reform movement and its ultimate success, the lower classes of society who could not show property qualifications, (and that included all the workers and most, if not all, artisans) remained excluded from franchise. Nevertheless the breach had been made. It now

remained to widen it. No sooner had the great Reform Bill become law the movement for political emancipation of the lower classes resumed its course.

NOTES

1. Mathieson, W.L., The Awakening of Scotland, Glasgow, 1910, p. 17.
2. Acts of Parliament of Scotland, Vol. VIII, p. 353.
3. Mathieson, The Awakening of Scotland, p. 18.
4. Scots Magazine, Vol. LII, p. 354.
5. Mathieson, The Awakening of Scotland, p. 16.
6. Ibid., p. 20.
7. Acts of Parliament of Scotland, Vol. II, p. 92.
8. Instead of being elected the Deacon was nominated by the trades and the Council combined, Porrit, E., The Unreformed House of Commons, Cambridge University Press, 1903, Vol. II, p. 63.
9. McCrie, T., The Story of the Scottish Church, London, 1875, p. 48.
10. Ibid.
11. Mathieson, W.L., Scotland and the Union, 1695-1747, Glasgow, 1905, p. 208; Reid, W.S., "Scottish Disruption and Reunion, 1843-1929," Christendom, Vol. VIII, No. 3, p. 319.
12. Meikle, H.W., Scotland and the French Revolution, Glasgow, 1912, p. 35.
13. "The point on which the common people of Scotland are maddest is that of patronage," H.O., 102, Vol. I, 28. 5. 1784.
14. McCrie, op. cit., pp. 510, 511.
15. Mathieson, The Awakening of Scotland, p. 181.
16. McCrie, op. cit., p. 511.
17. Caledonian Mercury, 26. 2. 1783.
18. An Address on Civil and Ecclesiastical Liberty, Edinburgh, 1783.
19. An Inquiry into the Principles of Ecclesiastical Patronage and Presentation, Edinburgh, 1783.

20. Caledonian Mercury, 31. 7, 7. 8. 1782.
21. Ibid., 7. 8. 1782.
22. 23, 28. 12. 1782; 6, 22. 1, 5. 2. 1783.
23. Caledonian Mercury, 21. 4. 1783.
24. Meikle, op. cit., pp. 18, 24.
25. Ibid., p. 86.
26. 15. 3. 1790.
27. See for example the files of the Caledonian Mercury for the period.
28. Caledonian Mercury, 2. 9. 1790.
29. Letters on the Revolution of France etc., London, 1791; Vindiciae Gallicae, London, 1792.
30. One Bill proposed the abolition of the subdivision of superiorities for the purpose of elections the other proposed in addition, to attach the franchise to the land as opposed to superiority valued at £200 Scots. Observations on the Laws of Election of Members of Parliament, Edinburgh, 1782; An Address to the Landed Gentlemen of Scotland upon the subject of Nominal and Fictitious Qualifications etc., Edinburgh, 1783. The question was reopened in 1792, and early in 1793 another Bill was drafted but because of diliatory tactics employed by the Lord Advocate who at the Convention of the county delegates represented Midlothian the whole question of county reform became moribund. Meikle, op. cit., pp. 127, 128.
31. Ibid., p. 19. In May 1791 and April 1793 Sheridan brought the question of the burgh reform before the House (Parl. Hist., Vol. XXXIX, pp. 639, 1183) but nothing came out of it. The spreading of "seditious principles" in Britain and the excesses of the French Revolution rendered reform a dirty word.
32. Mons. B---de, Reflections on the Causes and Probable Consequences of the Late Revolution in France with a view of the Ecclesiastical and Civil Constitution of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1790.

33. In 1817 the question of burgh reform was reopened once again. In 1815 the town council of Montrose elected its members by a ballot and when this innovation was repeated a year later the Court of Session declared the ballot illegal and quashed the election. In consequence a poll-warrant was issued. The burgesses having thus seen their rights revived demanded, and their demands were acceded to, that future vacancies on the council should be submitted to their vote permanently. This injected new life into the movement for the burgh reform and by the beginning of 1818 thirty out of sixty-six burghs voted resolutions in favour of reform. This move proved equally fruitless. Scots Magazine, June-December, 1817, April, 1818.
34. Caledonian Mercury, 13. 10. 1792.
35. Thomas Muir, born 1765 son of a Glasgow merchant, educated at Glasgow and Edinburgh Universities. In 1787 he was admitted to the Faculty of Advocates. He was one of the first to be engaged in organizing the Society of the Friends of the People in Edinburgh, and spent some time in organizing the movement in the west. He was Vice President of the Glasgow society as well as of the Associated Societies in and around Edinburgh. Dictionary of National Biography, London, 1895, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 268, 269.
36. See Minutes of the Proceedings reported by a government spy, H.O., 102, Vol. VI.
37. For example Col. Macleod who expressed his approval of the first Convention withdrew his support from the third Convention which took place on November 19th, 1793. Lord Dear because of ill health withdrew after a few sittings. Meikle, op. cit., p. 141.
38. See Graham, H.G., Social Life in Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, London, 1899, Chapter XI.
39. "This is perhaps the only country in the world where all are taught to read and write.....With respect to education, the peasantry of Scotland as far excel those of England as the latter are superior to the same order of men in those nations which adhere to Catholic religion." Mons. B----de, op. cit.



40. "The French Revolution first raised a general curiosity and newspapers were generally sought often procured and read." H.O., 102, Vol. VI, 29. 11. 1792.  
"Although the parish consists wholly of the poorer ranks of society newspapers are very generally read and attended to, and the desire for them increases."  
"An attention to public affairs a thing formerly unknown among the lower ranks pretty generally prevails now." O.S.A., Vols. I, p. 457; XIV, p. 483.
41. Lamb, D., "Notes on Rural and Suburban Life in Scotland in the 'Thirties'," Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow, Vol. XXXIII, 1902, p. 253.
42. Paine, T., The Rights of Man, Everyman's Library, 1958, p. 50.
43. Ibid., pp. 51, 52.
44. Ibid., p. 51.
45. Ibid., pp. 52, 53.
46. Ibid., p. 59.
47. The editor of the "Bee" stated...."that in a small town in the north of Scotland before the proclamation there was just one copy of Paine's pamphlet; and the bookseller of that place declared three weeks ago that he had since then sold seven hundred and fifty copies of it." Quoted by Meikle, op. cit., p. 80.
48. Caledonian Mercury, 28. 7. 1792.
49. The first Convention of the "Friends of the People" was attended by 160 delegates from eighty local societies. See spy's reports, H.O., 102, Vol. VI.
50. See "Plan of the Internal Government of the Society of the Friends of the Constitution and of the People," for Glasgow, H.O., 102, Vol. V.
51. Sheriff of Ayr - H. Dundas, 24. 11. 1792, H.O., 102, Vol. VI. While in Perth investigating the "Friends of the People" there Watt, government spy, observed that "in general the Associated Friends of the People consist chiefly of operative weavers.....and operative people in various Trades of Perth." Ibid., ff. 341-343.

52. The members of the Glasgow Society of the "Friends of the People" had to sign a resolution to the effect that the society would cooperate with the "London Friends of the People" in all measures calculated to bring about an equal representation of the people in Parliament as well as shorter duration of Parliament. There can be little doubt, however, that this was understood to mean manhood suffrage and annual Parliament as far as the people were concerned. See the "Plan of Internal Government of the Society of the Friends of the People," for Glasgow, H.O., 102, Vol. V, and resolutions of various societies of the "Friends of the People" in the Caledonian Mercury, 4. 8, 4. 13. 10, 8, 10. 12. 1792.
53. See reports of Robert Watt and "J.B.," government spies in H.O., 102, Vol. VI.
54. Lord Dear for example addressed the Convention by the familiar term "Fellow Citizens." It was reported by one of the spies that during a sitting of the committee of the society of the "Friends of the People" one member remarked "It is a maxim of mine that a King should be sacrificed to the Nation every 100 years." Report on Scottish Societies by a spy, H.O., 102, Vol. VI.
55. Historical Register, June 1792.
56. Provost Riddoch - Lord Advocate, 8. 12. 1792, H.O., 102, Vol. VI.
57. Caledonian Mercury, 12. 11. 1792, H.O., 102. Vol. VI, 24. 11. 1792.
58. For a detailed account see Meikle, W.H., "The King's Birthday Riot in Edinburgh, 1792," Scottish Historical Review, Vol. VII, pp. 21-28.
59. Caledonian Mercury, 24. 11. 1792.
60. Edinburgh Herald, 31. 1. 1791.

61. "You may rest assured from the accounts I have received from Glasgow, Perth and Angus, that those rascals have laid a plan for exciting the country again to discontent and disorder on account of the war, and that this is the topic on which they are to dwell." R. Dundas - H. Dundas, 29. 7. 1793. H.O., 102, Vol. VIII. See also reports of "J.B.," government spy, 16, 18, 21. 6, 2, 5, 12. 7. 1793, Ibid. The following societies published resolutions against the war: Bridgetown, Renton, Kilmarnock, Loch Mill, Irvine, Lenox, Campsie, Cambuslang, Darvel, Torrens. Glasgow Advertiser, June-March, passim.
62. Sheriff Orr - H. Dundas, 16. 2, 15. 3. 1793; also 15, 18. 2. 1793, H.O., 102, Vol. VII.
63. Caledonian Mercury, 21. 9. 1793.
64. Rev. T.F. Palmer, Unitarian minister. A prominent member of the Dundee Society of the "Friends of the People" member of the first Convention. He was a co-author with G. Mealmaker of an address complaining of war, taxes and demanding manhood suffrage. The address which was printed in July 1793 was considered as treasonable in consequence of which Palmer was arrested, tried, convicted and sentenced to seven years transportation. Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XLIII, pp. 162, 163.
65. R. Dundas - H. Dundas, 28. 10. 1793, H.O., 102, Vol. IX.
66. Margarot and Gerrald represented the "London Corresponding Society," C. Sinclair and Henry York, the "London Constitutional Society." State Trials, Vol. XXIV, pp. 41, 42, 342.
67. The first Convention limited itself to passing a more vague resolution demanding "an equal representation of the People in Parliament." The third Convention however declared itself in favour of manhood suffrage and annual Parliaments. See State Trials, Vol. XXIII, pp. 452, 453.
68. R. Dundas - H. Dundas, 6. 12. 1793, H.O., 102, Vol. IX. State Trials, Vol. XXIII, p. 479.
69. Caledonian Mercury, 5. 4. 1794. Report of "J.B.," 18. 4. 1794, H.O., 102, Vol. X. State Trials, Vol. XXIV, pp. 82, 83.

70. Glasgow Courier, 26. 8. 1797. H.O., 102, Vol. XIV, 3, 27, 29. 8. 1797.
71. "Resolutions and Constitution of the Society of the United Scotsmen" enclosed in a letter from R. Dundas to the Duke of Portland, 13. 1. 1798, H.O., 102, Vol. XVI.
72. "Resolutions and Constitution of the Society of the United Scotsmen" Ibid.
73. "You will observe that the first step of this system (imported from Ireland) has been by threats to intimidate Justices from acting on the Militia Bill; while a mob being once collected, and having effected that purpose, are by degrees to be carried by Cameron and other ringleaders to purposes widely different." Duke of Atholl - Lord Advocate, 10. 9. 1797, H.O., 102, Vol. XV.
74. Ibid., Vol. XVI, Declaration taken before the Sheriff at Glasgow, April, 1798.
75. State Trials, Vol. XXVI, p. 1138.
76. A. Warrender - Lord Advocate, 10. 11. 1797, H.O., 102, Vol. XV. State Trials, Vol. XXVI, p. 1138 et seq.
77. Quoted by Hammond, J.L. and B., The Skilled Labourer, 1760-1832, London, 1920, p. 85.
78. A. Colquhoun - R. Ryder, 6. 9. 1811, H.O., 102, Vol. XXII.
79. A. Colquhoun - R. Ryder, 19. 11. 1812, Ibid., Vol. XXII.
80. Ibid., 4, 15, 19. 11, 22. 12. 1812.
81. Ibid., Vol. XXV, 30, 2, 7, 20, 23, 24. 3, 12. 4. 1815.
82. Ibid., 21. 4. 1815.
83. During his mission in Scotland Cartwright visited Renfrew, Paisley, Stirling, Alloa, the coast of Ayr, Coupar Angus, Forfar, Brechin, Dunfermline, Newburgh, Perth, Crail, St. Andrews, Aberdeen, Stonehaven, Montrose, Dundee, Cupor-Fife, Kirkcaldy, Lanark, Hamilton, Edinburgh and Glasgow. A Collection of Reports of the Proceedings of the Hampden Club, London, 1814-22.

84. H.O., 102, Vol. XXVII, 19. 1. 1817.
85. Scots Magazine, Vol. LXXVIII, p. 873. Richmond, A., Narrative of the Conditions of the Manufacturing Population etc., London, 1824, p. 52.
86. Scots Magazine, Vol. LXXVIII, p. 873.
87. James Black in a letter to Lord Sidmouth pleaded for a Bill which would forbid meetings frequently held in Glasgow to the annoyance of the public. 20. 1. 1817, H.O., 102, Vol. XXVII.
88. "I have no hesitation in saying that reform is merely a pretext, and that the present movement originates from the recent visit of Major Cartwright to this vicinity and other incendiaries employed by Hampden Club and that the object is nothing less than revolution and rebellion; and what strenghtens my opinion - at least in the view of the people here - is that several of them who were particularly active in the seditious practice of 1793 have been first to step forward on this occasion." Provost of Dunfermline - Lord Advocate, 9. 12. 1816, H.O., 102, Vol. XXVI.
89. Richmond was a leader of the weavers' combination of 1812, he escaped arrest on that occasion and was fugitated by the court. Later on he returned and was drawn in by Kirkman Finlay to work for the government as a spy.
90. Lord Advocate - Lord Sidmouth, 31. 1. 1817, H.O., 102, Vol. XXVII.
91. Scots Magazine, Vol. LXXIX, p. 235.
92. Ibid., pp. 260-69.
93. Ibid., pp. 235, 313, 395. "The delay which has arisen in these cases, has given me the greatest uneasiness, and my only consolation is that it has proceeded altogether from the Court, which I cannot help saying, has shewn a want of nerve that, had it belonged to the Judges in the year 1795, would have gone far indeed to the destruction of Government" Lord Advocate - Lord Sidmouth, 4. 6. 1817, H.O., 102, Vol. XXVIII.

94. See Cockburn, H., Memorials of His Times, Edinburgh, 1872, pp. 334-336. Mackenzie, P., Exposure of the Spy System pursued in Glasgow etc., Glasgow, 1832, pp. 16, 30, 31-33. There is no concrete evidence in the files of the Home Office Correspondence (Scotland) that a promise was made. On the 23. 3. 1817 the Lord Advocate enquired of Lord Sidmouth how far he should go in order to induce Campbell to testify to which Lord Sidmouth replied that he should not go further than offering protection adding that Campbell's reward would be proportionate to the value of his disclosures and evidence. From the Lord Advocate's letter of 20. 7. 1817, it would appear that some promise was actually made. Lord Advocate - Lord Sidmouth, 22. 3, 20. 7. 1817, Lord Sidmouth - Lord Advocate, 26. 3. 1817, H.O., 102, Vols. XXVII, XXVIII.
95. Cockburn, op. cit., p. 285.
96. "I am sure I may safely affirm that the situation as to wages as well as employment is in gradual state of improvement....." K. Finlay - Lord Sidmouth, 22. 1, 12. 2. 1817, H.O., 102, Vol. XXVII.
97. Manchester Observer, 9, 23. 1, 20. 2. 1819.
98. The "Union Societies" were composed of some fifteen to twenty persons led by a class leader, the cells elected delegates to form district committees and delegates from the districts formed the central committee. This central committee named six to seven persons to the secret committee. Deposition of "A.B.", H.O., 102, Vol. XXXII, ff. 235, 236.
99. "Spirit of the Union," No. 1, Vol. I, H.O., 102, Vol. XXXI, ff. 67-70.
100. Scots Magazine, New Series, Vol. V, pp. 274, 275.
101. H.O., 102, Vol. XXX, 13. 9. 1819. Metcalf, W.M., History of Paisley, Paisley, 1909, pp. 374-76.
102. H.O., 102, Vol. XXX, 14, 16. 9. 1819.
103. Ibid., Vol. XXXI, Lord Advocate - Lord Sidmouth, 27. 10. 1819.
104. Ibid., 19. 9. 1819.

105. Lord Provost of Glasgow - Lord Sidmouth, 2. 4. 1820,  
H.O., 102, Vol. XXXII.
106. Ibid., H. Monteith - Lord Sidmouth, 4. 4. 1820;  
Lord Advocate - Lord Sidmouth, 5. 4. 1820, 268.
107. See Mackenzie's, Exposure of the Spy System.
109. Of the forty-one prisoners eighteen were weavers, nine  
were nail makers, two smiths, stocking makers and  
shoemakers and one labourer, tailor, grocer, change-  
keeper, wright, bookbinder, cabinet maker and muslin  
sindger. "Calendar of Prisoners charged with High  
Treason," H.O., 102, Vol. XXXIII, f. 145.
108. Mackenzie, Exposure of the Spy System.

## C O N C L U S I O N



During the period between 1790 and 1832 the Scottish social and industrial scene underwent a profound change and with this change the position and condition of the industrial labourer greatly altered. By 1832 the Scottish labourer, primarily the labourer engaged in the textile manufacture, found himself in a more inferior position than he had held prior to the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. His economic independence, which he began to lose in earnest by the middle of the eighteenth century, was irrevocably lost with the advent of machinery, technological progress and emerging capitalism. Previously a domestic worker and for the most part owner of his tools of production and still connected with agriculture, he now lost all links with the land and performed his labour in an establishment owned and equipped by his employer. Some of the workmen, like the weavers, still toiled at home but invariably for a manufacturer and frequently on looms owned by their employers. The introduction of power-looms during the second decade of the nineteenth century indicated that

weaving too, would be soon conducted in a factory.

To some extent the workmen benefited from the sweeping changes in the industrial pattern for along with industrialization and extended trade the over-all standard of living rose as compared with the middle of the eighteenth century. But in a world of growing prosperity the workmen's material improvement became minimised when contrasted with the wealth and opulence of the upper and middle classes. Frequent trade fluctuations rendered the level of wages and employment uncertain while the emerging conditions in the quickly growing and overcrowded towns served to further minimise the benefits derived out of economic and industrial expansion. Meanwhile the number of those seeking employment, a result of growing population, emigration from Ireland, and changes in the style and methods of agriculture increased, flooding the labour market and thereby lowering the price of labour. Furthermore shortage of provisions during the long struggle with France and the operation of the Corn Laws tended to increase food prices and decrease the real value of wages, while the application of the doctrine of laissez-faire put the workmen at a disadvantage vis à vis their employers when collective resistance and striking work was declared illegal. The Scottish workmen did not suffer from this restriction to the same extent as the English workers for though combination became finally illegal

in Scotland in 1813 the law was rarely put into effect.

All these changes in the industrial and social sphere even by 1832 affected, relatively speaking, only a small section of the labouring class. Scotland still remained largely an agricultural country. Nevertheless, the four decades between 1792 and 1832 mark the beginning of industrial Scotland and the emergence of the Scottish industrial working class; they mark the beginning of the struggle of that class on the industrial and political fronts with adverse economic and political forces.

## A P P E N D I C E S

APPENDIX I

Average prices of oatmeal per boll in Glasgow and Edinburgh between 1720 and 1789 showing ten year averages. (Melville Papers, Ms 641, ff.11-14, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh).

<u>GLASGOW</u>				<u>EDINBURGH</u>			
	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>		<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>		
1720	8	11		10	-		
21	8	10		10	-		
22	12	3		10	8		
23	10	2		11	6		
24	7	7		8	10		
25	11	4		11	1		
26	9	8		10	-		
27	11	4	Ten year	10	8	Ten year	
28	12	10	average	12	4	average	
29	9	9	10s 4½d	11	-	10s 7½d	
1730	8	8		8	8		
31	8	8		9	6		
32	8	7		8	4		
33	9	9		10	-		
34	10	8		10	-		
35	11	2		11	-		
36	10	8		10	8		
37	10	-		10	6		
38	10	-	T. y. a.	8	2	T. y. a.	
39	19	2	10s 9¼d	11	-	9s 9½d	
1740	20	-		17	-		
41	9	8		10	8		
42	8	4		8	4		
43	7	-		7	6		
44	10	5		11	8		
45	16	-		12	8		
46	11	-		10	6		
47	9	4		8	8		
48	9	11	T. y. a.	10	-	T. y. a.	
49	10	4	11s 2½d	10	8	10s 9½d	
1750	11	8		10	8		
51	15	-		13	8		
52	13	4		13	4		
53	13	8		12	-		
54	11	-		10	-		
55	13	10		12	-		
56	18	8		16	8		
57	15	-		13	8		
58	10	-	T. y. a.	10	-	T. y. a.	
59	9	8	13s 2½d	8	8	12s 0½d	

(Cont'd)

GLASGOW

	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>	
1760	10	4	
61	12	-	
62	17	4	
63	13	-	
64	15	4	
65	18	-	
66	18	-	
67	16	-	
68	13	8	T. y. a.
69	15	9	<u>14s 11<math>\frac{1}{4}</math>d</u>
1770	15	8	
71	15	9	
72	17	6	
73	17	-	
74	15	4	
75	13	-	
76	14	-	
77	14	-	
78	14	8	T. y. a.
79	12	4	<u>14s 11d</u>
1780	15	4	
81	14	-	
82	20	2	
83	16	5	
84	16	4	
85	14	7	
86	15	3	
87	15	10	
88	13	-	T. y. a.
89	14	6	<u>15s 6<math>\frac{1}{2}</math>d</u>

EDINBURGH

	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>	
	9	6	
	10	6	
	16	8	
	11	8	
	13	4	
	16	-	
	15	6	
	15	4	
	12	-	T. v. a.
	14	-	<u>13s 7<math>\frac{1}{4}</math></u>
	14	-	
	16	8	
	16	8	
	15	-	
	15	6	
	12	-	
	12	-	
	12	-	
	12	8	T. y. a.
	10	-	<u>13s 7<math>\frac{1}{4}</math></u>
	13	4	
	12	-	
	21	-	
	15	-	
	15	6	
	14	-	
	15	6	
	14	6	
	12	-	T. y. a.
	14	6	<u>14s 8<math>\frac{1}{4}</math></u>

APPENDIX II

Import and Export of oats, oatmeal and wheat from  
Scotland, 1770-1803 (Parl. Pap., 1803-4, Vol. VII.)

OATS

	<u>Import</u>		<u>Export</u>		<u>Excess of Imports Over Exports</u>	
	<u>Qtrs.</u>	<u>Bsh.</u>	<u>Qtrs.</u>	<u>Bsh.</u>	<u>Qtrs.</u>	<u>Bsh.</u>
1770	14,291	5	-	-	14,291	5
71	9,153	7	-	-	9,153	7
72	13,405	7	49	-	13,356	7
73	60,683	6	99	5	60,584	1
74	67,911	-	43	7	67,867	1
75	73,174	-	133	2	73,040	6
76	4,905	-	2,440	6	2,464	2
77	291	4	2,898	6	† 2,607	2
78	1,331	1	1,505	1	† 174	-
79	16,680	3	197	6	† 16,482	5
1780	5,679	7	3,266	6	2,413	1
81	53,180	3	867	-	52,313	3
82	3,543	-	712	-	2,831	-
83	62,165	-	2,011	1	60,153	7
84	82,214	-	1,140	4	81,073	4
85	38,344	3	6,311	2	32,033	1
86	43,908	2	2,334	2	41,574	-
87	72,978	2	1,627	7	71,353	3
88	50,052	1	1,218	2	48,833	7
89	64,462	3	1,432	7	63,029	4
1790	89,218	7	387	-	88,831	7
91	115,530	1	917	6	114,612	2
92	124,332	5	1,480	-	122,852	5
93	112,416	6	385	4	112,031	2
94	73,692	2	1,037	5	72,654	5
95	82,128	3	880	1	81,248	2
96	86,168	1	333	4	85,834	5
97	83,909	5	1,148	7	82,760	6
98	67,116	4	1,331	2	65,785	2
99	48,295	2	2,369	3	45,925	7
1800	60,230	4	800	-	59,430	4
01	44,256	-	1,614	2	42,641	6
02	79,123	1	1,997	4	74,125	5
03	61,760	4	1,679	2	60,081	2

(Cont'd)

OATMEAL

	<u>Imports</u>		<u>Exports</u>		<u>Excess of Imports Over Exports</u>	
	<u>Qtrs.</u>	<u>Bsh.</u>	<u>Qtrs.</u>	<u>Bsh.</u>	<u>Qtrs.</u>	<u>Bsh.</u>
1770	650	-	9,186	-	+8,536	-
71	5,454	-	12,270	4	+6,816	4
72	21,069	-	2	7	21,066	1
73	36,677	2	11	1	36,666	1
74	81,742	4	78	-	81,664	4
75	25,351	4	28	-	25,323	4
76	128	7	804	-	+ 675	1
77	-	-	4,367	2	+ 4,367	2
78	160	-	26,856	-	+26,696	-
79	7	-	3,758	4	+ 3,751	4
1780	-	-	4,822	3	+ 4,822	3
81	-	-	9,363	7	+ 9,363	7
82	542	-	2,563	5	+ 2,021	5
83	1,007	2	228	-	779	2
84	11,278	2	132	1	11,146	1
85	58,752	-	5,336	2	53,415	6
86	25,970	1	2,944	6	23,025	3
87	43,736	4	2,550	1	41,186	3
88	38,483	4	430	5	38,052	7
89	-	-	5,264	1	+ 5,264	1
1790	24,632	1	245	7	24,386	2
91	31,547	7	160	2	31,387	5
92	25,692	5	76	3	25,616	2
93	6,710	5	60	3	6,650	2
94	5,689	2	133	3	5,555	7
95	2,449	2	83	6	2,365	4
96	16,428	1	187	6	16,240	3
97	16,073	5	229	3	15,844	2
98	13,893	5	224	-	13,669	5
99	8,600	5	265	4	8,335	1
1800	388	2	83	1	305	1
01	16	-	119	7	+ 103	7
02	-	-	259	3	-	-
03	-	-	227	1	-	-

(Cont'd)



WHEAT

	<u>Imports</u>		<u>Exports</u>		<u>Excess of Imports Over Exports</u>	
	<u>Qtrs.</u>	<u>Bsh.</u>	<u>Qtrs.</u>	<u>Bsh.</u>	<u>Qtrs.</u>	<u>Bsh.</u>
1770	9	7	-	-	9	7
71	-	-	-	-	-	-
72	3,010	-	-	-	3,010	-
73	5,273	5	-	-	5,273	5
74	25,238	1	-	-	25,238	1
75	14,082	1	343	-	13,739	1
76	80	-	2,732	6	+2,652	6
77	204	-	306	2	+102	2
78	-	-	4	-	+4	-
79	-	-	213	4	+213	4
1780	-	-	816	5	+816	5
81	-	-	82	3	+82	3
82	666	4	552	4	114	-
83	77,694	4	3,854	5	73,839	7
84	41,628	-	3,652	6	37,975	2
85	11,815	5	569	3	11,246	2
86	-	-	370	-	+370	-
87	9,336	7	75,695	5	+66,358	6
88	25,110	5	58,010	5	+32,910	-
89	20,018	1	74,369	3	+54,351	2
1790	25,580	-	752	5	24,827	3
91	72,798	4	2,079	-	70,719	4
92	2,685	7	5,773	6	+3,087	7
93	6,859	2	-	-	6,859	2
94	20,155	5	1,447	2	18,718	3
95	11,746	7	-	-	11,746	7
96	54,729	-	-	-	54,729	-
97	55,883	1	-	-	55,883	1
98	30,830	1	1,181	4	29,648	5
99	48,009	2	-	-	49,009	2
1800	125,132	6	1,775	4	123,357	2
01	75,932	-	-	-	75,932	-
02	110,004	7	9,914	4	100,090	3
03	62,421	2	2,933	-	59,488	2

APPENDIX III

Average prices of wheat and oatmeal per quarter, 1789-99, 1804-1813, based on quotations of prices at Haddington in the Scots Magazine (1789-1799) and a list of prices in H.C.J., Vol. LXVIII, pp.863,864.

<u>WHEAT</u>			<u>OATMEAL</u>		
	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>		<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>
1789	47	4	1789	13	4
90	48	2	90	19	9
91	48	0	91	20	5
92	41	8	92	18	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
93	49	1	93	23	0
		<u>Average</u>			<u>Average</u>
		46s 10d			19s 0d
1794	50	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1794	22	9 $\frac{3}{4}$
95	75	7	95	25	3
96	76	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	96	26	0
97	51	2	97	18	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
98	52	2	98	20	4
99	78	8	99	32	10
		<u>Average</u>			<u>Average</u>
		64s 1d			24s 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
1804	57	8	1804	22	11 $\frac{3}{4}$
05	76	11 $\frac{1}{4}$	05	27	6
06	66	1	06	27	11
07	66	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	07	26	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
08	70	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	08	33	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
		<u>Average</u>			<u>Average</u>
		67s 7d			26s 5d
1809	84	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	1809	31	9
10	78	5	10	28	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
11	69	10	11	24	10
12	105	11	12	40	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
13	106	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	13	40	0
		<u>Average</u>			<u>Average</u>
		89s 2d			33s 1d

APPENDIX IVValue of exports of British Manufactured  
Cottons and British Manufactured Goods.

	<u>COTTON EXPORTS</u> (In Million £)		<u>MANUFACTURED GOODS</u> (In Million £)
	<u>Official Value</u>	<u>Declared Value</u>	<u>Official Value</u>
1788	1.3	-	-
89	1.2	-	-
1790	1.7	-	-
91	1.9	-	-
92	2.0	-	-
93	1.7	-	-
94	2.4	-	-
95	2.4	-	-
96	3.2	-	-
97	2.6	-	-
98	3.6	-	-
99	5.8	-	-
1800	5.9	-	-
01	7.1	-	40.8
02	7.6	-	46.3
03	7.1	-	37.1
04	8.7	-	38.1
05	9.5	-	38.1
06	10.5	-	40.9
07	10.3	-	37.2
08	13.0	-	37.3
09	19.4	-	47.4
1810	19.0	-	48.4
11	12.0	-	32.9
12	16.5	-	41.7
13	-	-	-
14	17.7	20.0	45.5
15	22.3	20.6	51.6
16	17.6	15.6	41.7
17	21.3	16.0	41.8
18	22.6	18.8	46.6
19	16.3	14.7	35.2
1820	22.5	16.5	36.4
21	23.5	16.1	36.7
22	26.9	17.2	37.0
23	30.2	16.3	35.5
24	29.5	18.4	38.4
25	25.2	18.3	38.9
26	25.2	14.0	31.5
27	33.2	17.5	37.2
28	33.5	17.1	36.8
29	37.3	17.4	35.8

(Cont'd)

	<u>Official Value</u>	<u>Declared Value</u>	<u>Official Value</u>
1830	41.1	19.3	38.3
31	39.4	17.2	37.2
32	43.8	17.3	36.5

APPENDIX V

The average weekly earnings of hand-loom weavers (Report on Hand-Loom Weavers, Parl. Pap., 1834, Vol. X; 1839, Vol. XLII.)

1. Clear Average Wages Of Weavers In Forfarshire

<u>Year</u>	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>
1814	21	6	1820	11	-	1826	6	6
15	7	-	21	11	-	27	6	6
16	7	-	22	11	-	28	8	-
17	7	-	23	11	-	29	6	6
18	7	-	24	11	-	1830	6	-
19	9	-	25	11	-	31	6	-
						32	5	6

2. Clear Wages Earned For Weaving Shawls

	<u>First Class Shawls</u>				<u>Second Class Shawls</u>			
	<u>1st class weavers</u>		<u>2nd class weavers</u>		<u>Figured</u>		<u>Plain</u>	
	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>
1810-16	26	6	23	-	-	-	-	-
1816-20	24	-	17	6	21	-	13	6
1821	27	6	13	10	21	-	13	6
22	24	6	13	6	21	-	13	6
23	24	6	12	6	19	6	13	-
24	24	-	12	-	19	6	13	-
25	25	6	13	-	19	6	13	-
26	16	9	12	6	17	-	11	6
27	16	9	9	6	17	-	11	6
28	12	6	9	-	17	-	10	-
29	11	6	8	9	17	-	10	-
1830	12	6	9	6	16	6	7	6
31	13	6	10	6	13	-	6	-
32	12	2	9	6	11	6	6	6

(Cont'd)

3. Clear Wages Earned For Weaving Gingham And Pullicates

<u>Year</u>	<u>1st class weavers</u>		<u>2nd class weavers</u>	
	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>
1810-16	24	6	17	-
1816-20	13	5	10	-
21	12	2	9	6
22	12	2	9	6
23	12	2	9	6
24	12	2	9	6
25	10	-	7	6
26	8	2	6	6
27	10	-	7	6
28	8	5	6	6
29	8	-	6	6
1830	7	6	6	-
31	7	6	6	-
32	7	6	5	9

4. Clear Wages Earned For Weaving Fancy Muslin And Silk Gauze

	<u>1st class weavers</u>		<u>2nd class weavers</u>	
	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>
1810-16	20	-	10	6
1816-20	18	-	10	3
21	18	-	10	3
22	16	6	10	3
23	15	9	10	3
24	14	-	10	-
25	13	-	9	6
26	12	6	9	-
27	11	3	8	6
28	11	3	8	6
29	11	3	8	6
1830	10	6	7	9
31	10	6	7	9
32	10	6	7	9

(Cont'd)

5. Clear Wages Earned For Weaving Plain Muslins

<u>Year</u>	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>
1816	17	2	1826	9	5
1817-1820	14	6	27	8	11
21	14	5	28	9	2
22	13	11	29	7	11
23	12	5	1830	6	5
24	12	10	31	6	5
25	15	-	32	6	9

6. Clear Wages Earned For All Types Of Weaving In Lanark

<u>Year</u>	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>
1814	19	$1\frac{1}{2}$	1824	8	$9\frac{3}{4}$
15	13	6	25	6	$11\frac{1}{2}$
16	8	6	26	6	$3\frac{3}{4}$
17	7	3	27	6	$3\frac{3}{4}$
18	9	$1\frac{1}{2}$	28	6	-
19	7	3	29	4	$5\frac{1}{4}$
1820	8	$2\frac{1}{2}$	1830	4	9
21	9	$0\frac{1}{2}$	31	4	9
22	7	$10\frac{1}{2}$	32	4	$1\frac{1}{2}$
23	7	$10\frac{1}{2}$			

APPENDIX VI

Average wages of colliers in Scotland between 1811-1832 inclusive of a house and allowance of coal (Report on Hand-Loom Weavers, Parl. Pap., 1839, Vol. XLII.)

	<u>Weekly Average</u>		<u>Daily Rate</u>	
	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>
1811	24	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	11
12	24	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	11
13	20	5	4	-
14	21	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	3
15	22	5	4	6
16	22	9	4	7
17	19	11	4	-
18	17	5	3	8
19	19	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	11
1820	18	9	3	9
21	16	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	3
22	17	10	3	6
23	18	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	7
24	20	-	4	2
25	26	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	3
26	24	8	5	-
27	20	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	3
28	20	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	3
29	20	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	3
1830	20	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	3
31	19	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	11
32	20	- $\frac{1}{2}$	4	1



APPENDIX VII

Retail prices in Paisley of oatmeal, butter  
and cheese between 1814 and 1832 (Report on  
Hand-Loom Weavers, Parl. Pap., 1834, Vol. X.)

	<u>Oatmeal</u> <u>Per Lb.</u>		<u>Butter</u> <u>Per Lb.</u>		<u>Cheese</u> <u>Per Lb.</u>	
	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>
1814	1	7	1	8	-	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
15	1	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	11
16	1	5	1	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	9
17	2	-	1	3	-	9
18	1	10	1	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
19	1	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
1820	1	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
21	1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	3	-	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
22	1	1	1	2	-	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
23	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	-	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
24	1	4	1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	9
25	1	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	5	-	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
26	1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	9
27	1	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	11	-	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
28	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	11	-	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
29	1	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
1830	1	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	10	-	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
31	1	4	-	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
32	1	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	6 $\frac{1}{2}$

APPENDIX VIII

Prices of quartern loaf and oatmeal in Glasgow,  
1810-1832 (Cleland, J., Statistical Tables  
Relative to the City of Glasgow, 3rd edition,  
Glasgow, 1823; the Glasgow Courier, 1820-1832.)

	<u>Quartern</u> <u>Loaf</u>		<u>Oatmeal</u> <u>(per peck)</u>	
	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>
1810	1	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	1	8
11	1	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	1	8
12	1	4	1	9
13	1	5	2	2
14	1	-	1	9
15	-	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	6
16	1	2	1	6
17	1	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	10
18	1	2	1	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
19	-	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	1	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
1820	-	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
21	-	10	1	2
22	-	9	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
23	-	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
24	-	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	1	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
25	-	11	1	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
26	-	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	4
27	-	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
28	-	-	-	-
29	-	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	- $\frac{1}{2}$
1830	-	9 $\frac{3}{4}$	1	- $\frac{3}{4}$
31	-	9	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
32	-	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1 $\frac{1}{4}$

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