

The Middle Class in Halifax, 1780-1850

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Abstract

In recent years, regional works on the British middle class in the nineteenth century have derived the methodology to clarify the widely divergent situations of social relationships and economic, political and social activities of the middle class in provincial towns in the nineteenth century. This methodology, fitted as 'interactive approach', takes an inclusive approach towards the middle class in a specific regional community by using multiple contemporary sources. However, this analytical strategy risks fostering the 'tyranny of the discrete', enclosing its research object to a narrow specific topic. This thesis tries to overcome that danger and to present a multidimensional account of 'the middle-class world' in the nineteenth-century town by analysing an institutional matrix for the middle classes in specific local community where powers, relationships, identities and ideologies were constructed.

This study explores 'the middle-class world' by focussing on economic and social structure, the political sphere and public institutions in Halifax from 1780 to 1850. It employs the systematic approach of an original computer database for managing multiple quantitative sources, and tests the application of this through cross-reference between the database and the qualitative documents. While the middle classes faced demographic growth, expansion of textile industries and industrial diversification, their occupational states were diverged. The governance of public institutions in Halifax from 1780 to 1850 was under the leadership of the middle classes. The third chapter tries to describe the middle classes in public institutions and political life in Halifax from 1780 to 1820 in order to clarify continuity and change of 'the middle-class culture' in Halifax, which John Smail argues crystallised in the public sphere in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. The following chapters employ the rich data of the later period to explore the public life of the town. While the electoral pattern of the Halifax Borough after 1832 shows the political dynamics of the middle classes in Halifax, institutional and ideological factors to sustain the political life of the middle classes are investigated. Then, it analyses the process and institutional background by which the middle classes became structured through their collective actions in public institutions from the 1820s to the 1850s. 'The middle-class world' in Halifax from 1780 to 1850 has critical implications for the study of the British middle class by demonstrating the complexity of their practices, relationships and identities in economic, political and social spheres, and these institutional matrixes in Halifax. It concludes that the age from 1780 to 1850 was the critical period of the British middle class in provincial towns.

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List of Abbreviations

BDA	<i>West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford District Archives</i>
CDA	<i>West Yorkshire Archive Service, Calderdale District Archives</i>
HC	<i>The Halifax Courier</i>
HCC	<i>The Halifax Commercial Chronicle</i>
HG	<i>The Halifax Guardian</i>
HHE	<i>The Halifax and Huddersfield Express</i>
HJ	<i>The Halifax Journal</i>
HR	<i>The Halifax Reformer</i>
JHC	<i>Journal of the House of Commons</i>
JHL	<i>Journal of the House of Lords</i>
NS	<i>The Northern Star</i>
P.P.	<i>Parliamentary Paper</i>
RYUMI	<i>Report of the Yorkshire Union of the Mechanics Institutes</i>
THAS	<i>Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society</i>
WAH	<i>West Yorkshire Archive Service, Wakefield Archives Headquarter</i>

List of Abbreviations for Industrial Classification *

Eleven Basic Classifications

Code	Basic category
AG	Agriculture and Fishing
BU	Building
DE	Dealing
DS	Domestic service
IS	Industrial service
MF	Manufacturing
MI	Mining
PP	Public service or professional
TR	Transport
RE	Rentier
XX	No Occupational Title or Unidentified or Unknown

* For this classification, see section 2 in chapter1.

All items for Industrial Classification

Code	Category
AG01	Agriculture
BU01	Building
DE01	Dealing: Raw materials
DE02	Dealing: Clothing, and dress
DE03	Dealing: Food, tobacco, drinking and lodging
DE04	Dealing: General and unspecified
DS01	Domestic service
IS01	Industrial service
MF01	Manufacturing: Engineering/machinery, and metals
MF02	Manufacturing: Precious metals
MF03	Manufacturing: Glass and Pottery
MF04	Manufacturing: Fuel and chemical
MF05	Manufacturing: Leather
MF06	Manufacturing: Woodworking
MF07	Manufacturing: Paper and printing
MF08	Manufacturing: Textiles
MF09	Manufacturing: Dress
MF10	Manufacturing: Food, drink and tobacco
MF11	Manufacturing: Unspecified
MI01	Mining
PP01	Public service and professional
TR01	Transport
RE01	Rentier
XX01	No Occupational Title or Unidentified or Unknown

List of Abbreviations for Occupational Classification*

Code	Category
AG	Agriculture
AT	Agent and Traveller
BA	Banker
BU	Building
CB	Clerk and Bookkeeper
CO	Commerce
CR	Craft
DE	Dealer
DP	Distribution and Processing
GD	Government and Defence
MC	Manufacturing and Commerce
MF	Manufacturing
MI	Mining
PL	Professional, Legal
PM	Professional, Medicine
PR	Professional, Religion
PO	Professional, others
PS	Miscellaneous Service
RE	Rentier
TR	Transport
XX	No Occupational Title or Unidentified or Unknown
PA	Professional all, merging ‘Professional, legal’, ‘Professional, medicine’, ‘Professional, region’, and ‘Professional, others’

* For this classification, see section 2 in chapter 1.

Introduction¹

1. Regional Studies of the British Middle Class

This is a study of the middle-class world in a specific local community, Halifax, from 1780 to 1850. The investigation focuses, firstly, on an analysis of the economic and social backgrounds of the middle classes in Halifax. Secondly, this study investigates political and social activities in the public life of Halifax, and social relationships, which some social historians call ‘class-relationships’.² Thirdly, agency, structure and authority of those public institutions in Halifax are examined. In other words, this study explores how the middle class became located in specific institutional matrix for the local community from 1780 to 1850.

Recent studies emphasise the practices of the middle class in the nineteenth century provincial towns in the contexts of urban culture, economy, politics and society. ‘The middle class created the towns as social units from the economic and material structures which they controlled’.³ However, an understanding of the middle class in the nineteenth century towns has become more diffused, and approaches to the analysis of their social relationships and activities has become more diversified. Furthermore, recent studies in the early modern

¹ Hereafter, in all chapters in this thesis, the place of publication for books is London, unless otherwise stated.

² R.J. Morris and Richard Rodger (eds.), *The Victorian City: a Reader in British Urban History* (1993), pp. 26-29; R.J. Morris (ed.), *Class, Power and Social Structure in British Nineteenth-century Towns* (Leicester, 1986), pp. 2-19.

³ R.J. Morris, ‘The Middle Class and British Towns and Cities of the Industrial Revolution 1780-1870’, in Derek Fraser and Anthony Sutcliffe (eds.), *The Pursuit of Urban History* (1983), p. 304.

period, especially on the eighteenth century, display dynamics of the middle class, sometimes called 'the middling sort'. It is therefore necessary to construct an approach which synthesises these findings of the regional studies for the middle class in the nineteenth-century, and presents a perspective to connect the middle class in the eighteenth century and that in the nineteenth century. The objectives of this introduction are, firstly, to outline approaches to the study of the nature for the middle class in the nineteenth century towns. Secondly, to clarify the meanings of the middle class in the nineteenth century towns by evaluating such key works as John Smail's,⁴ the middle class in specific local community in the eighteenth century. Thirdly, to explore the perspective of the middle class in Halifax and outline systematic approach adopted for understanding the middle-class world in Halifax from 1780 to 1850.

Many studies of the British middle class in the nineteenth-century towns have focussed on the 'urban nature' of the provincial towns. As R.J. Morris suggests,⁵ there are two aspects to these studies. The first is towns' experience of 'size and density, and variety', and the second is 'power and institutional resources'. Therefore, it is not surprising that these regional studies of the British middle class have emphasised the thesis that activities and relationships of the middle class in local communities took diversified forms.⁶ While these regional case

⁴ John Smail, *The Origins of Middle Class Culture: Halifax, Yorkshire, 1660-1780* (Ithaca, 1994).

⁵ R.J. Morris, 'Structure, Culture and Society in British Towns', in Martin Daunt (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain: Volume III 1840-1950* (Cambridge), p. 425.

⁶ Two recent collections emphasise this thesis. Alan Kidd and David Nicholls (eds.), *The Making of the British Middle Class? Studies of Regional and Cultural Diversity since the Eighteenth Century* (Stroud, 1998); idem (eds.), *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism: Middle Class Identity in Britain, 1800-1940* (Manchester, 1999).

studies examine class-relationships and ideologies for urban middle and working classes,⁷ other studies have concentrated on the heterogeneous character of the middle class in the nineteenth century towns, focussing on complex social forms and relationships within the middle class in provincial towns in the nineteenth-century.

First some have tried to assess the economic, political and social status of the middle class in local communities.⁸ Middle class economic activities were the core of provincial town economies in the nineteenth century. Moreover, the middle class through social and cultural extension became important actors in the political sphere, when they were constructing their distinct cultural and social sphere in the nineteenth century.⁹ Second, the middle class in provincial cities tried to stabilise inter-class relationship and to consolidate a hierarchical

⁷ Morris (ed.), *Class, Power and Social Structure*, Introduction; Mike Savage, 'Urban History and Social Class: Two Paradigms', *Urban History*, 20 (1993); John Foster, *Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution: Early Industrial Capitalism in Three English Towns* (1974); Robert Q. Gray, *The Labour Aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh* (Oxford, 1976); Geoffrey Crossick, *An Artisan Elite in Victorian Society: Kentish London 1840-1880* (1978); D.S. Gadian, 'Class Consciousness in Oldham and other North-West Industrial Towns 1830-1850', *Historical Journal*, 21 (1978), 161-172; idem, 'Class Formation and Class Action in North-West Industrial Towns, 1830-50', in Morris (ed.), *Class, Power and Social Structure*; R.A. Sykes, 'Some Aspects of Working-Class Consciousness in Oldham, 1830-1842', *Historical Journal*, 23 (1980); Peter Taylor, *Popular Politics in Early Industrial Britain: Bolton 1825-1850* (Halifax, 1995); Michael Winstanley, 'Oldham Radicalism and the Origins of Popular Liberalism, 1830-52', *Historical Journal* 36 (1993); Clive Behagg, *Politics and Production in the Early Nineteenth-century* (1990).

⁸ R.J. Morris, *Class, Sect and Party. The Making of the British Middle Class: Leeds, 1820-1850* (Manchester, 1990); Theodore Koditschek, *Class Formation and Urban Industrial Society: Bradford, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, 1990); John Field, 'Wealth, Styles of Life and Social Tone amongst Portsmouth's Middle Class, 1800-75', in Morris (ed.), *Class, Power and Social Structure*; Graeme Morton, *Unionist Nationalism: Governing Urban Scotland, 1830-1860* (East Lothian, 1999); Stana Nenadic, 'Businessmen, the Urban Middle Classes, and the "Dominance" of Manufacturers in Nineteenth-century Britain', *Economic History Review*, 44 (1991).

⁹ V.A.C. Gatrell, 'Incorporation and the Pursuit of Liberal Hegemony in Manchester 1790-1839', in D. Fraser (ed.), *Municipal Reform and the Industrial City* (Leicester, 1982); Anthony Howe, *The Cotton Masters, 1830-1860* (Oxford, 1984); Janet Wolff and John Seed (eds.), *The Culture of Capital: Art, Power and the Nineteenth-century Middle Class* (Manchester, 1988).

structure for themselves through public institutions, in the face of serious local economic, political and religious divisions.¹⁰ In other words, the middle classes in the provincial towns embedded social relationships for themselves, articulated their diversified consciousness, and pursued social stability in their public life.¹¹ Urban institutions in the nineteenth century such as the municipal corporation and other local administrative bodies or voluntary societies co-existed and shared their roles. Networks between these organisations also became more embedded through activities of the middle class. The urban elite in the nineteenth century was critical to the formation of social authority in these institutions.¹² Lastly, the middle class public life in provincial towns was influenced by ideologies such as separate spheres,¹³ and liberalism.¹⁴ As John Seed points out,¹⁵ ‘ideology is never simply a phantasmic reflection of social reality but is always a constituent part of it and has to be materially and socially produced in languages, practices, institutions.’ John Smith has recently described these studies focussing on relationships and forms within the middle class as ‘interactional

¹⁰ Morris, *Class, Sect and Party*; Philip Hills, ‘Division and Cohesion in the Nineteenth-century Middle Class: the Case of Ipswich’, *Urban History Yearbook* (1987); Alan P. White, ‘Formation and Development of Middle-Class Urban Culture and Politics’, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Leeds (1990); Dennis Smith, *Conflict and Compromise: Class Formation in English Society 1830-1914: a Comparative Study of Birmingham and Sheffield* (1982).

¹¹ Cf. Martin Hewitt, *The Emergence of Stability in the Industrial City: Manchester, 1832-67* (Aldershot, 1996).

¹² John Garrard, *Leadership and Power in Victorian Industrial Towns, 1830-80* (Manchester, 1983); Richard H. Trainor, ‘Urban Elites in Victorian Britain’, *Urban History Yearbook* (1985); idem, *Black Country Élites: the Experience of Authority in an Industrial Area 1830-1900* (Oxford, 1993); John Smith, ‘Urban Elite c. 1830-1930 and Urban History’, *Urban History* 27 (2000).

¹³ Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850* (1987); John Tosh, *A Man’s Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven, 1999).

¹⁴ John Seed, ‘Unitarianism, Political Economy and the Antinomies of Liberal Culture in Manchester, 1830-50’, *Social History*, 7 (1982); Michael J. Turner, *Reform and Respectability: the Making of a Middle-Class Liberalism in Early 19th- Century Manchester* (Manchester, 1995); Howard M. Wach, ‘Civil Society, Moral Identity and the Liberal Public Sphere: Manchester and Boston, 1810-40’, *Social History*, 21 (1996).

studies'.¹⁶

The 'interactional approach' is invaluable for this research to help understand the middle class in a specific local community, Halifax. It takes a holistic approach towards the middle class in a specific local community by using multiple contemporary sources. The middle class in nineteenth century towns should no longer be explored by the approach that the making of that class emerged from rigid or unified class relationships or a struggle for the production system or from fixed class ideology. 'Interactional studies' had derived methodology of careful clarification for the widely divergent situations of social relationships and economic, political and social activities of the middle class in provincial towns in the nineteenth century.

However, this analytical strategy intensifies the danger of fostering the 'tyranny of the discrete',¹⁷ limiting its research object to a narrow specific topic. Indeed, those 'interactional studies' have concentrated upon specific topics such as relationships between the formation of public culture for the middle class and voluntary societies,¹⁸ the construction of social authorities and their institutions,¹⁹ the interplay between specific ideologies and the middle class,²⁰ and the economic and business activities of specific groups within the middle classes in provincial towns.²¹ Moreover, this analytical strategy has tended to fall into simplifying the interpretation for interactional relationships between the actions, relationships

¹⁵ Seed, 'Unitarianism', p. 2.

¹⁶ Smith, 'Urban Elite'.

¹⁷ J.D. Marshall, *The Tyranny of the Discrete: a Discussion of the Problems of Local History in England* (Aldershot, 1997).

¹⁸ Morris, *Class, Sect and Party*.

¹⁹ Trainor, *Black Country*.

²⁰ Seed, 'Unitarianism'; Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*.

²¹ Howe, *Cotton Masters*.

and identities of the middle class and the institutional matrix of provincial towns, where identity, power and ideology were constructed.

So, what is necessary is a new approach, seeking a multidimensional account of 'the middle-class world' in nineteenth-century towns through carefully synthesising dynamic actions, social relationships and identities of the middle classes, and the institutional matrix in specific local community. It is also necessary that the complex mixture of specific economic, political and social institutions in specific communities in this time is analysed by focusing on the 'multiplicity of factors which, acting either independently or in combination, exerted significant influence on the ways' in which the middle classes influenced local society.²²

This study tries to utilise a new approach to the analysis of 'the middle-class world' in a local community in the nineteenth century by focussing on a specific local community, Halifax, from 1780 to 1850.

2. The Middle-Class World in Halifax, 1780-1850: a Direction

By using an aggregative approach for the middle class in this local community, this study aims to develop an understanding of the middle-class world in nineteenth century provincial towns. It is the object of this study to create a framework for understanding how the middle class, whose activities often diverged in the economic, political and social spheres, were articulated in the local politics and local public institutions.

The framework of the middle class in Halifax will be constructed by investigating the

economic and social state of the middle classes, their political life and their activities in public institutions in Halifax. In particular this study tackles two features of the middle class in Halifax. First, it compares the middle-class world in the local community in the period 1780 - 1850 with that before 1780. Second, it clarifies the middle-class world in Halifax through the analysis of the distinct features of its economy, politics and society in Halifax.

One challenge to regional studies of the middle class in the nineteenth century has recently emerged. It arises in studies of early modern Britain,²³ especially, in the eighteenth century, which emphasise that the middle class in specific local communities emerged before the critical social changes of the later eighteenth century such as industrialisation, on which it had long been predicated. The work of John Smail, for example, makes a critical contribution to the understanding of the formation of middle-class culture in the public life of a specific local community before industrialisation, c. 1780.²⁴ Smail's framework provides an organic

²² Smith, 'Urban Elite', p. 274.

²³ For example, see Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks (eds.), *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550-1800* (Basingstoke, 1994); Anne Borsay, 'A Middle Class in the Making: the Negotiation of Power and Status at Bath's Early Georgian General Infirmary. c. 1739-65', *Social History*, 24 (1999); Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town 1660-1770* (Oxford, 1989); Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800: the Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford, 2000); Lee Davison, Tim Hitchcock, Tim Keirn and Robert B. Shoemaker (eds.), *Stilling the Grumbling Hive: the Response to Social and Economic Problems in England, 1689-1750* (Stroud, 1992); Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London 1660-1730* (1989); Margaret R. Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender and the Family in England, 1680-1780* (Berkeley, 1996); Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England, 1727-1783* (Oxford, 1989); Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: the Commercialization of Eighteenth-century England* (1982); David Rollison, *The Local Origins of Modern Society: Gloucestershire, 1500-1800* (1992); Dror Wahrman, 'National Society, Communal Culture: an Argument about the Recent Historiography of Eighteenth-century Britain', *Social History*, 17 (1992).

²⁴ Smail, *Origins*. His other works of this topic were made under his same perspective. John Smail, 'The Stansfields of Halifax: A Case Study of the Making of the Middle Class', *Albion*, 24 (1992); idem, 'Local Disputes and the Making of Halifax's Middle Class, 1748-76',

explanation relating economic and social transformation in the local community with the crystallisation of class culture in the public and private spheres of this community. During economic and social transformation, wealthy merchants and manufacturers emerged, who, together with a small number of professionals, cultivated new economic relationships such as credit networks, and displayed distinct economic behaviour in consumption, life-style, and management of their employee.²⁵ Then, through associational life, local political disputes and consciousness of their 'separate sphere', this new economic and social elite formed both a public culture and a distinct domestic world in Halifax in the third quarter of the eighteenth century.²⁶ In this study I shall adapt Smail's comprehensive approach to the pre-1780 middle-class world in a specific local community, to the period 1780-1850.

In this way this study will make an important contribution to the understanding of the middle class in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Smail identified 'voluntary associations, domestic ideology, and entrepreneurial drive' as major features of the middle class in the nineteenth century, as well as in the period before 1780.²⁷ However, it was not only those

THAS, New Ser., 2 (1994).

²⁵ Smail, *Origins*, Part I. Smail develops this argument after his *the Origins of the Middle-Class Culture*. John Smail, *Merchants, Markets and Manufacture: the English Wool Textile Industry in the Eighteenth Century* (Basingstoke, 1999); idem, 'Demand has Shape: Exports, Entrepreneurs, and the Eighteenth Century Economy', *Business and Economic History*, 26 (1997); idem, 'The Sources of Innovation in the Woollen and Worsted Industry of Eighteenth-century Yorkshire', *Business History*, 41 (1999).

²⁶ Smail, *Origins*, Part II. Smail's framework depends on Jürgen Habermas's concept, 'Bourgeois Public Sphere'. See Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. by T. Burber and F. Lawrence (Cambridge, Mass, 1989). For the matter of 'public sphere', see Craig Calhoun (ed.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), esp. chap. 12; Simon Gunn, 'The Public Sphere, Modernity and Consumption: New Perspectives on the History of the English Middle Class', in A. Kidd and D. Nicholls (eds.), *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism* (Manchester, 1999); Wach, 'Civil Society'.

²⁷ Smail, *Origins*, p. 229. Smail refers works for R.J. Morris, Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, Theodore Koditschek and John Seed in order to summarise features of the middle class in the nineteenth century.

three factors that were important for the middle class in the nineteenth century. Rather, the middle-class world in Halifax from 1780 to 1850 was formed through the interplay of public institutions such as voluntary societies and local administrative bodies, economic and political activities such as business activities, voting in local elections, and political movements, and ideologies such as liberalism and the separate sphere. Thus, although the objective of this study is to assess whether or not the middle-class culture in Halifax that emerged before 1780 survived in public life from 1780 to 1850, it does not merely follow John Smail's framework, and apply it to historical materials after 1780. Rather, this project presents a comprehensive view of the middle-class world in Halifax from 1780 to 1850, by explaining interrelationships between economic, political and social institutional practices and identities of the middle classes.

There are three ways in which this project attempts to evaluate the complex but dynamic middle classes in Halifax from 1780 to 1850. First, the economic and social state of the middle classes in Halifax after 1780 is considered. It has been suggested that the first half of the nineteenth century witnessed the intensification of the distinction²⁸ between the lower middle²⁹ and the upper middle groups in British towns. This study will present evidence of occupational differences within the middle classes in Halifax in the first half of the nineteenth century, by exploring leading industry sectors in Halifax, such as textiles, and development of

²⁸ R.J. Morris, *Class and Class Consciousness in the Industrial Revolution, 1780-1850* (Basingstoke, 1979), pp. 33-35; idem, *Class, Set and Party*, p. 11. Cf. Neale, *Class and Ideology*, chap. 1.

²⁹ Geoffrey Crossick, 'The Petite Bourgeoisie in Nineteenth-century Britain: the Urban and Liberal Case', in Geoffrey Crossick and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt (eds.), *Shopkeepers and Master Artisans in Nineteenth-century Europe* (1984); Geoffrey Crossick and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, *The Petite Bourgeoisie in Europe 1780-1914: Enterprise, Family and Independence* (1995); R.J. Morris, 'Samuel Smiles and the Genesis of *Self-Help*; the Retreat to a Petit Bourgeois

other sectors after 1780. Distinctions within the Halifax middle classes during that period are also explored through the organisation and social relationships in the public sphere. It will be shown that there was greater heterogeneity than the economic and social state described by John Smail.

Secondly, the political activities of the Halifax middle classes will be re-evaluated. Although the middle classes in Halifax had a shared local political interest in the third quarter of the eighteenth century, they faced serious political conflicts after the 1790s as a result of radicalism and industrial conflicts between merchants and manufacturers and clothiers and artisans. Such disputes within the middle classes were not always reconciled within their interests in that local political sphere in Halifax. Moreover, from the 1820s, antagonisms between classes developed, along with specifically middle class political parties and sects. Political life in British towns in the first half of the nineteenth century fostered political awareness of 'sect and party', which became more formalised after the Parliamentary Reform Act in 1832.³⁰ The middle classes in Halifax in the first half of the nineteenth century faced serious challenges from other classes through popular political movements – the Factory Movement, Anti-Poor Law agitation, and Chartism. The construction of public awareness within the middle classes in Halifax from 1780 to 1850 did not take place without serious political conflicts. It is necessary to examine how the political activities of the middle classes in Halifax, which were often in conflict, were articulated through political, economic and social institutions.

Utopia', *Historical Journal*, 24 (1981).

³⁰ Dror Wahrman, *Imaging the Middle Class: The Political Representation of Class in Britain, c.1780-1840* (Cambridge, 1995).

The final component of this study is an investigation of middle class engagement in public institutions in Halifax from 1780 to 1850. Public institutions are here defined as systems existing in specific intellectual or physical space to regulate cultural, economic, political and social resources. As recent studies of British urban history in the nineteenth century point out, the governance of public institutions and the connections between them provides the basis from which to examine the dynamic natures of actors, their complex relationships, and their ideologies.³¹ The local public institutions in the nineteenth century included not only local administrative organisations but also miscellaneous voluntary societies. In Halifax from 1780 to 1850,³² public institutions consisted of local administrative bodies such as the vestry of the Parish, the Town Trustees established by the Improvement Act, and the Municipal Borough Corporation; economic organisations such as the Cloth Hall, the Market, the Turnpike Trustees, the shareholders of Canals and Railways, and so on; and miscellaneous voluntary societies such as the cultural, learned and educational societies; social policy societies, religious societies; and other clubs, lodges and societies. Middle class public life in the eighteenth and nineteenth century depended on activities in these public institutions. Thus, to examine governance of public institutions in Halifax is to find multi-dimensional set of the middle class practices and relationships.

During the period from 1780 to 1850, the number of organisations, included in the public institutions, increased rapidly, and the functions of these institutions became more intensified.

³¹ R.J. Morris and R.H. Trainor (eds.), *Urban Governance: Britain and Beyond since 1750* (Aldershot, 2000); Smith, 'Urban Elite', p. 275.

³² See section 2 in chapter 2.

Leadership in urban administrative bodies, such as the vestry, the improvement commission and the municipal borough corporation, were institutionalised on the basis of the middle classes' economic resources, political power and ideologies from the 1820s,³³ though conflicts in urban administrative bodies between the middle classes themselves remained a critical problem for urban governance.³⁴ During the same period, the number of miscellaneous voluntary societies also increased. The network of voluntary societies was a strong web maintaining social order and regulating social resources of inhabitants. These societies consolidated social relationships within the middle classes, and strengthened the distinct identity of themselves and public culture.³⁵

Collective awareness within the middle classes was enhanced by their social relationships, activities and identities in public institutions and was a significant factor in maintaining social authority. The formation of an urban elite, based on the leadership of these public institutions, was in turn a crucial factor for their governance in the first half of the nineteenth century. The governance of public institutions was a central concern of the middle classes in local communities like Halifax and other provincial towns. It was not sustained by single factor such as a united middle class power but by a mixture of their economic, political and social resources such as capital, relationships and ideology. In order to clarify the power of the middle classes in Halifax, this study will examine the organisational structure of public

³³ Garrard, *Leadership*; R.J. Morris, 'The State, the Élite and the Market: the "Visible Hand" in the British Industrial City System', in Herman Diederiks, Paul Hohenberg and Michael Wagenaar (eds.), *Economic Policy in Europe since the Late Middle Ages: the Visible Hand and the Fortune of Cities* (Leicester, 1992); Trainor, *Black Country*.

³⁴ Derek Fraser, *Urban Politics in Victorian England: the Structure of Politics in Victorian Cities* (Leicester, 1976); E.P. Hennock, *Fit and Proper Persons: Ideal and Reality in Nineteenth-century Urban Government* (1973); Smith, *Conflict and Compromise*.

³⁵ R.J. Morris, 'Voluntary Societies and British Urban Elites 1780-1850: an Analysis',

institutions, the functions of these institutions and the relationships between these institutions, while the economic and political status of these institutions will also be assessed. Strategies and ideologies in these public institutions will be explored through the practices of the middle classes and through their social relationships.

The three key aspects of the middle-class world in Halifax from 1780 to 1850, the economic and social situation, political movements and governance of public institutions, will be analysed from chapter 2 to chapter 5. These three aspects are not examined in isolation. Rather, each phase of the middle classes in Halifax cross-refers to others. The middle classes in Halifax were formed through a mixture of their capital, practices and identities. For instance, middle class voting decisions in the Halifax Borough elections after 1832 were reflected not only in party and sect identities but also by economic status such as amount of capital and industrial interests. Similarly, the economic power of the middle classes through subscriptions and donations to voluntary societies sustained public institutions in Halifax. They also tried to negotiate divided political and religious interests of the members of the local administrative bodies and voluntary societies as well as differential economic status within the voluntary societies. Furthermore, collective actions in economic, political and social institutions in Halifax consolidated middle class relationships and ideologies.

This study aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the middle-class world in Halifax from 1780 to 1850, aggregating multiple strands of evidence from three aspects of

middle class existences. Chapter 1 displays the way in which the evidence for this study has been interrogated and analysed through a database. This chapter argues that this method is one of the best ways to pursue the regional studies of the middle class in the nineteenth century, and that, in order to succeed in understanding the dynamic middle-class world in Halifax, systematic cross-reference between the database and other documents is necessary. The close interrelationship between these materials will be emphasised.

Chapter 2 examines the economic and social state of the middle classes in Halifax between 1780 and 1850 by investigating the nature and functions of public institutions in Halifax. Demographic and economic expansion in Halifax, and the development of economic institutions were key factors influencing the activities of the middle classes. Through this chapter, it will be shown that from 1780 to 1850 their occupational structure became more diversified and that the economic power of the middle classes in Halifax became more uneven during that period.

The main focus of chapter 3 is to test whether ‘the middle-class culture’ in Halifax that, according to John Smail, crystallised in the public sphere in the third quarter of the eighteenth century, was incorporated within the public sphere in Halifax between 1780 and 1820. The chapter will analyse the social composition of public institutions in Halifax and governance of these institutions, and will assess the extent to which political public life in Halifax represented a united consciousness of the middle classes. This chapter will show that public institutions in Halifax were still managed by the collective actions of the middle classes between 1780 and 1820. However, the middle classes faced keenly political conflicts in the industrial disputes between clothiers and artisans, and manufacturers and merchants, and in the

emergence of radicalism in Halifax.

Chapter 4 and 5, which investigate practice of the middle classes in the public life and institutional matrix of public life in Halifax in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, form the core of this study. Chapter 4 assesses the political public life of the middle classes and the interrelation between the middle classes and popular political movements in Halifax by focussing on the Halifax Borough elections after the Parliamentary Reform Act in 1832. Middle classes political activities in the second quarter of the nineteenth century demonstrated class relationships such as the conflict between the middle and lower classes, and influenced political divisions within the middle classes. Chapter 5 investigates the middle classes in public institutions. This chapter, first, will investigate the governance of public institutions in Halifax by examining their structure and agency. Secondly, it will examine the 'political issues' of those institutions. Finally, it will explore ideologies in public life from the later 1840s to the early 1850s. The conclusion confronts the complexity and heterogeneity of the middle-class world in Halifax from 1780 to 1850. It will argue that there were both similarities and differences between the middle-class world in Halifax from 1780 to 1850 and that before 1780 and after 1850.

Chapter 1 The Halifax Database

1. Introduction of the Halifax Database

This research project, which investigates multi-dimensional activities and relationships, uses multiple sources such as nominal lists, statistical materials, and descriptive documents. These multiple sources are assessed by cross-referencing and interconnecting, and the nominal lists are sorted, merged, and counted. For systematic management of these multiple sources for the middle-class world in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, historical databases, using recent computer database software such as Microsoft Access, have recently become a significant tool.¹ They can sort, count, and merge data in the database together with systematic economic and social markers like industrial or occupational codes.² Moreover, recent historical databases deal with record linkage between various surviving records of the local community.³ Furthermore, they can preserve greater amounts of data, sorted and merged in the database, than those of the early 1990s. The creation of an original computer database to manage multiple sources in Halifax between 1780 and 1850 (hereafter 'the Halifax database') is one of the major aspects of this study.

¹ For development of the historical database, see Pat Hudson, 'A New History from Below: Computers and the Maturing of Local and Regional History', *Local Historian*, 25 (1995); R.J. Morris, 'Computers and the Subversion of British History', *Journal of British Studies*, 34 (1995); Charles Harvey and Jon Press, *Databases in Historical Research: Theory, Methods and Applications* (Basingstoke, 1996).

² R.J. Morris, 'Occupational Coding: Principles and Examples', *Historical Social Research*, 15, 3-29 (1990); idem, (1993). 'Fuller Values, Questions and Contexts: Occupational Coding and the Historian', in Kevin Schürer and Herman Diederiks (eds.), *The Uses of Occupations in Historical Analysis* (Göttingen, 1993); Graeme Morton, *Unionist Nationalism: Governing Urban Scotland, 1830-1860* (East Lothian, 1999).

³ Harvey and Press, *Databases*, chap. 8; Steve King, 'Power, Representation and the Historical Individual: Problems with Sources for Record Linkage in Two Yorkshire Township, 1650-1820', *Local Historian*, 27, 1997.

Recent studies using historical database clearly demonstrate their analytical advantages. The Westminster Historical database constructed by Charles Harvey, Edmund Green, and Penelope Corfield is one of the best examples of the historical database for the middle classes.⁴ This database, composed of one CDROM and one book, succeeds in demonstrating social structure⁵ as well as political activities in eighteenth century London.⁶ The Westminster database is the principal tool for sorting and counting enormous amounts of data for voters and rate-payers in London with precision.

Graeme Morton's study of mid-nineteenth century Edinburgh also demonstrates the advantage of the historical database in analysing public life of the middle class.⁷ His database consisted mainly of Edinburgh poll books and various nominal lists of public institutions. By using two economic markers such as industrial and occupational categories in his database, Morton demonstrated the relationships between voters and occupational or industrial interests. Moreover, by sorting and counting the data of nominal lists of the public institutions in Edinburgh, Morton showed the hierarchical structure of the 'subscriber class' in the public institutions. Furthermore, by record linkage between poll books and nominal list of the public institutions, his database precisely showed the political preference of 'subscriber class' in the public life of Edinburgh.

⁴ Charles Harvey, Edmund Green and Penelope J. Corfield, *The Westminster Historical Database* (Bristol, 1998).

⁵ Charles Harvey, Edmund Green and Penelope J. Corfield, 'Continuity, Change, and Specialization within Metropolitan London: the Economy of Westminster, 1750-1820', *Economic History Review*, 52 (1999).

⁶ Penelope J. Corfield, Edmund M. Green and Charles Harvey, 'Westminster Man: Charles James Fox and his Electorate, 1780-1806', *Parliamentary History*, 20 (2001).

⁷ Morton, *Unionist*.

In short, the Westminster Historical database showed the nature of middle-class political and social activities, and their social relationships by sorting, counting, and merging data or record linkage, using nominal lists including enormous numbers of people from poll books and rate books. On the other hand, Morton's study demonstrated that the middle-class world in public life could be constructed through record linkage for various nominal lists in public life in the nineteenth century towns, and two types of economic markers such as industrial and occupational code.⁸ In summary, the historical database is a valuable tool in managing multiple sources for the middle-class world in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century towns, including such nominal lists as poll books, commercial directories, and membership lists or subscriptions and donation lists of public institutions.

The Halifax database consists of multiple sources including huge nominal lists such as poll books, commercial directories, and membership or subscription, and donation lists for public institutions, which it is able to manage systematically. For example, the economic status of the middle classes and industrial structure of Halifax will be presented through the systematic sorting of evidence based on nominal lists, mainly the commercial directories. Moreover, the membership and organisation of public institutions will be exemplified through the systematic sorting of the data from the nominal lists of these institutions. Furthermore,

⁸ Morton's study further developed R.J. Morris's seminal study of the middle class in Leeds from 1820 to 1850. In his work, Morris analyses two Parliamentary Borough elections in Leeds in the 1830s by his original database including his original economic social markers as well as by record linkage between the poll book in 1832 and 1835 and the commercial directory in 1834. See R.J. Morris, *Class, Sect and Party. The Making of the British Middle Class: Leeds, 1820-1850* (Manchester, 1990).

multi-dimensional analysis of voting patterns in the Halifax Borough elections from 1832 to 1852, such as the industrial interests, economic status, party loyalty, and social relationships of voters, will be carried out through the organised sorting of the data set and record linkage between nominal lists in the Halifax database. The Halifax database will open up our understanding of the middle-class world in the nineteenth-century provincial town through the well-organised management of multiple sources in this database.

Through the Halifax database it is possible to reconstitute the economic, political, and social situation of the middle classes in Halifax from the later eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century. Poll books in the Halifax Borough elections were nominal lists of people participating in the political life of a specific local community. In other words, as Bob Morris⁹ argues, poll books represented power relationships in a specific local community. Printed nominal lists such as poll books were used by contemporaries in order to recognise their activities and relationships. For example, at the meeting to support the Radical-Chartist candidates at the Halifax Borough election in 1847, campaigners asserted that they would harass voters who had not voted for the Radical candidate, Edward Miall, and the Chartist candidate, Ernest Jones, after the poll book for the Halifax Borough election in 1847 was published.¹⁰ Additionally, Benjamin Wilson, who had been a Chartist in Halifax, checked who voted the Chartist candidate or other candidates such as Charles Wood (Whig/Liberal) and Henry Edwards (Troy) at the 1852 Halifax Borough election.¹¹

⁹ Morris, *Class, Sect and Party*, pp. 131-133.

¹⁰ *HG* 10 July 1847.

¹¹ Benjamin Wilson, *The Struggles of an Old Chartist* (Halifax, 1889), p. 21. Wilson also checked who voted Wood and Edwards at the bye-election of the Halifax Borough in 1853.

Some works have already analysed voting patterns in the Halifax Borough elections from 1832 to 1847 by using the poll books,¹² but it is still necessary to clarify the evidence available for the Halifax Borough elections after 1832. Jowitt's study, for example, confuses industrial category and occupational category of voters in the Borough elections.¹³ For example, it includes not only the occupational groups of 'craft' and 'shopkeeper', which were the majority of voters in Halifax Borough in the 1830s and 1840s, but also an industrial group for 'textile'. It is difficult for us to understand the precise relationship either between voting and occupational state or voting and industrial interest, when this mixed category is used.

In order to overcome that difficulty for the Halifax Borough elections from 1832 to 1852, the Halifax database can provide alternative findings about voters in Halifax Borough elections from 1832 to 1852. First, record linkage between these poll books and other nominal lists expressing occupational state should be helpful to recognise how middle-class voters were influenced by their economic situations. The information about trade in all poll books in Halifax is occupational classification rather than industrial classification, as poll books were nominal lists representing voting right by property qualification in a specific local community. In contrast, commercial directories are nominal lists representing economic activities of inhabitants, and their economic status in a specific local community.¹⁴ The commercial directories from the 1830s to the 1850s contained more extensive information about

¹² J.A. Jowitt, 'Parliamentary Politics in Halifax, 1832-1847', *Northern History*, 12 (1976); Eric Webster, 'Parliamentary Elections in the Parish of Halifax 1806-1837', *THAS*, New Ser., 1 (1993).

¹³ Jowitt, 'Parliamentary Politics', pp. 173-175. It seems that Jowitt refers categories of J.R. Vincent, *Pollbooks: How Victorian's Voted* (Cambridge, 1968). In his seminar work, Vincent uses 'Drink', 'Upper crust and dependants', 'Textiles, all classes', 'Business, except textiles', 'Crafts', 'Shopkeepers' and 'Unclassified' in order to analyse the Halifax Borough election in 1847.

occupations than the Halifax poll books of 1835, 1837, and 1847. The data of the commercial directories in the Halifax database are adapted to two systematic economic markers, and industrial and occupational codes. Therefore, it is useful to link poll books with commercial directories not only to estimate the industrial or occupational structure of voters in the Halifax Borough elections in 1832, 1841, and 1852,¹⁵ but also to provide a more elaborate analysis of relationships between voting and occupational state or industrial interests.

Additionally, by relating one poll book of the Halifax Borough election to another, continuity and change in the local political condition of Halifax can be assessed. Whether they kept their Party loyalties or shifted their support from one Party to another is a valuable indicator of whether the political awareness of middle-class voters was homogeneous or a heterogeneous. Record linkage between one poll book and membership list of political organisation such as the Halifax Anti-Corn Law Association is also a significant method for understanding the political situation of the middle-class voters in Halifax. Moreover, record linkages between one poll book and various nominal lists of public institutions in Halifax are worked in identifying political preference in these institutions in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

In short, record linkage between poll book and various nominal lists in the Halifax database enables a reconstituting of diversified middle-class activities in the local political sphere. Yet,

¹⁴ See section 1 in chapter 2.

¹⁵ There is no information or very small number of information about trade in these poll books in 1832, 1841 and 1852. Although Jowitt estimated the percentage and number of occupational structure of voters in the 1832 and 1841 Halifax Borough elections, his work does not show the reference for his estimation. Jowitt, 'Parliamentary Politics', p. 174 *passim*.

the record linkages in the database are not confined to analysis of the Halifax political sphere. Record linkages between various data on public institutions and other nominal lists such as commercial directories and other membership lists of public institutions will be used to identify the status of the people as well as social relationships in these institutions. Therefore, as Stana Nenadic points out,¹⁶ record linkage between one nominal list and other lists is one of the most important methods for clarifying their historical context in order to assess complex economic, political, and social situation of the middle classes in local communities. Record linkage is necessary to test the reliability of a single data set in a specific local community. A historical database like the Halifax database is an essential tool for managing multiple contemporary sources.

The quantitative approach of the Halifax database is not incompatible with the analysis of qualitative local sources such as newspapers, associational documents, private papers, and other printed materials. The quantitative method and the qualitative interact with each other. Examinations of economic structure, political activities, the social relationships and organisational nature of public institutions in the database will be clarified by surviving original and secondary sources such as associational documents, administrative documents and local newspapers. For instance, the voting patterns of the Halifax Borough elections identified through the Halifax database can be clarified by articles in local newspapers. Furthermore, evidence from local newspapers shows the complex political context of voting in the Halifax elections. Membership patterns and political preferences in public institutions

¹⁶ Stana Nenadic, 'Record Linkage and the Exploration of Nineteenth Century Social Groups: a Methodological Perspective on the Glasgow Middle Class in 1861', *Urban History Yearbook* (1987), pp. 32-33.

can be determined from the Halifax database, while original materials in local newspapers provide some evidence for understanding organisational strategies and ideologies in these institutions. It is important for this research that findings from the Halifax database are cross-referenced against contemporary local newspapers, printed materials and original documents of public institutions such as minutes and reports. This study adopts a systematic approach to investigating the middle-class world in Halifax from 1780 to 1850. Without this database, the complex political and social patterns of the middle classes in Halifax from 1780 to 1850 would not have been so clearly exemplified. It provides a further step towards a new perspective on the middle-class world in the nineteenth-century towns.

2. Construction of the Halifax Database

The Halifax database was constructed by four distinct orders to sort data and link records. First, the key periods of the historical database were identified on the basis of existing documentary condition, and the regional and historical context of Halifax. Second, the data field was defined, and the style of data standardised.¹⁷ Thirdly, the economic markers were created to reconstitute both industrial structure and occupational state in Halifax. Lastly, the order for nominal record linkage in the Halifax database was established.

The Halifax database has three key periods containing the data sets for record linkage - 1807-1811, 1830-1832, and 1845-1852. The data sets in the two periods, 1830-1832 and 1845-1852, are core for this study dealing with nominal record linkage. These two periods

¹⁷ For creating fields in the database files, see Harvey, Green and Corfield, *Westminster*, chap. 3; Hudson, 'New History', pp. 217-220.

were selected not only because we have comprehensive data sets for record linkages of that period, but also because these were crucial periods in the establishment of public institutions.¹⁸

The organisational structure and membership of public institutions in these two periods, as presented in the Halifax database, will be compared in order to examine critical change in these institutions during the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

The greatest difficulty of the Halifax database is that it can not provide a complete data set for the analysis of the structure of public institutions for the whole period from 1780 to 1850. The quantity and quality of the data in Halifax before 1830 are fewer and weaker than those after 1830. It is not easy to get comprehensive data sets for public institutions before 1830. Nevertheless, we can use the poll book of the 1807 Yorkshire election, some subscriber lists for *The Halifax Journal*, some original and printed membership lists, national commercial directories and so on.¹⁹ Therefore, although the findings will be less convincing than those after 1830, the nature of public institutions from 1807 to 1811, presented by the Halifax database, can, nevertheless, be used to compare the structure of public institutions in the early nineteenth century with those in the third quarter of the eighteenth century.

It is critical when inputting data from the original documents to standardise the style of the data such as family name, forename, title, and address, in order to sort, count and conduct nominal record linkage between various materials effectively. Clear rules were established

¹⁸ See section 2 in chapter 2 and chapter 5 passim. For this matter, see Nenadic, 'Record Linkage', pp. 33-35.

¹⁹ See Appendix 1 and section 1 and 2 in chapter 3.

for the design of the data fields and for the standardisation of such data sets such as forename and address. For example, there are often two or more styles for one family name, for instance Ackroyd, Ackroyde, Akroyd, and Akroyde. How to input titles, like Rev., Mr. and Mrs., to the database is also a problem for historians using the database. Some historians have used Soundex coding to standardise family names.²⁰ However, as Graeme Morton points out,²¹ the style of name in the original documents is useful to distinguish individuals because the original document itself was used by contemporaries in this way. For instance, in Halifax, the Akroyds who were giant worsted manufacturers in the first half of the nineteenth century were denoted by Ackroyd in commercial directories and poll books. As a result, the Halifax database records the family names, as originally given in the documents.

Next, the distinction of family name by title, or junior or senior was considered. In some documents, the forename was abridged. This database has two separate fields for forename: the first field for the original data of forename in the documents; and the second field for the standardised forename. Clear rules determined the latter. First, a forename with another middle name, for example, Joseph Henry, is abbreviated to initials, so Joseph Henry is included as J.H. in the standardised forename database field. Secondly, when there was no middle name, the forename was preserved.

The inputting of data about addresses is also a problem for the historians when making a database, because some documents such as commercial directories include more than one

²⁰ For Soundex coding, see Harvey and Press, *Databases*, pp.228-233. For the case study using this code, see Harvey, Green and Corfield, *Westminster*, chap. 3.

²¹ Graeme Morton, 'Presenting the Self: Record Linkage and Referring to Ordinary Historical Persons', *History and Computing*, 6 (1993).

address for one person or one company. Furthermore, the form of address might vary for the same locations. For example, the street name might be used in one document, whereas in another the square name or shop or house name might be used. It is difficult to standardise all address names in Halifax in the first half of the nineteenth century because of lack of a comprehensive and exact lists for addresses, which are contained in later commercial directories. The Halifax database includes the first address contained in the original document, if this document has more than one address. When commercial directories distinguish home address from address of workshop or company address, this database includes home address data, if this can be distinguished from other data. The form of occupation might also vary for the same occupations. For example, in some commercial directories occupational name are abridged, for example, 'stuff mer' from 'stuff merchant', 'stuff man' from 'stuff manufacturer', 'wor man' from 'worsted manufacturer' and so on. Thus, in the Halifax database, major sixty terms for occupations in Halifax from 1780 to 1850 are standardised – for example, in the data field for occupation in the Halifax database, abridged 'man' from manufacturer, 'mer' from merchant. 'm&m' from merchant and manufacturer, 'wol' from woollen, 'wor' from worsted, 'innk' from innkeeper and so on.

Economic markers in the Halifax database are used to sort, merge, and analyse the information from the database. The database has used industrial and occupational categories as economic markers. It is necessary to avoid confusion of interest for a specific industry such as manufacturing of worsted industry and manufacturing of machine tool industry, and for management for business such as craft group and manufacturer. These two economic markers can explicitly display two economic dimensions of Halifax. The industrial

categories in the Halifax database can analyse the specific sector of the industry such as 'nature of the work', while the occupational categories can reveal economic organisation such as 'nature of the industry within which the work is being carried out'.²²

This study is based on the eleven industrial categories of Booth/Armstrong²³ revised by Charles Harvey, Edmund Green, and Penelope Corfield.²⁴ This categorisation has three advantages for the analysis of industrial structure in Halifax in the first half of the nineteenth century. First, it is comprehensive and can accommodate all trades in Halifax from 1780 to 1850. Second, the Booth/Armstrong classification is flexible and permits sub-categories for industries. For example, both dealing and industry have more sectors than others, and can be sorted effectively to examine the industrial structure in Halifax. Lastly, Harvey, Green, and Corfield add one new category, 'rentier', to the Booth/Armstrong classification. This modification is important as the rentier group had significant economic, political, and social roles in the British urban society both in the eighteenth and the nineteenth century. However, this study does not follow all the categories created by Harvey, Green, and Corfield. For instance, although they placed 'card maker' in the paper industry, in West Yorkshire in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, this term referred to a worker in the machine tool industry, making machines for the modern industry. Thus, industrial and occupational codes need to be historically and regionally specified. This study has therefore modified their categories

²² Morton, *Unionist*, p. 201.

²³ W.A. Armstrong, 'The Use of Information about Occupation, Part 1: a Basis for Social Stratification; Part 2: an Industrial Classification, 1841-91', in E.A. Wrigley (ed.), *Nineteenth-century Society: Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data* (Cambridge, 1972). L.D. Schwarz, *London in the Age of Industrialisation: Entrepreneurs, Labour Force and Living Conditions, 1700-1850* (Cambridge, 1992) is a good case study using this industrial category.

²⁴ Harvey, Green and Corfield, *Westminster*.

for individual occupations when distinctions of regional economic activity required it. The basic categories for this study are presented in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1 List of Abbreviations for Industrial Classification: Eleven Basic Categories

Code	Basic category
AG	Agriculture and Fishing
BU	Building
DE	Dealing
DS	Domestic service
IS	Industrial service
MF	Manufacturing
MI	Mining
PP	Public service or professional
TR	Transport
RE	Rentier
XX	No Occupational Title or Unidentified or Unknown

Two groups in the basic industrial classifications in this study, among manufacturing and dealing, comprised the majority of the middle classes in Halifax from 1780 to 1850.²⁵ In order to allow further analysis of the industrial structure of Halifax, the Halifax database uses a number of sub-categories within the manufacturing and dealing sectors. Sub-categories of manufacturing and dealing industries in the Halifax database adopt Robin Pearson's work on the industrial communities in the suburbs of Leeds in the nineteenth century.²⁶ Pearson's

²⁵ This result depends on the data from the commercial directories in the Halifax database.

²⁶ Robin Pearson, 'The Industrial Suburbs of Leeds in the Nineteenth Century: Community Consciousness among the Social Classes, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Leeds (1986), pp. 440-441. Some established works have standardised manufacturing sectors in the nineteenth century. Usually, these works refer the industrial classification in the Census in the twentieth century. See, Morris, 'Occupational Coding', pp. 25-26; idem, 'Fuller Values', pp. 20-21; Morton, *Unionist*, p. 201.

industrial classifications are useful in standardising principal manufacturing and dealing sectors in nineteenth century urban society. As pointed out already, the Booth/Armstrong categories revised by Harvey, Green, and Corfield permit flexibility in allowing sub-categories. By merging the sub-categories of Booth/Armstrong as revised by Harvey, Green, and Corfield, the manufacturing subcategories in the Halifax database have eleven groups and the dealing sub-categories have four. The resulting list of abbreviations for industrial classification is shown in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2 List of Abbreviation for Industrial Classification

Code	Category	Group of Booth/Armstrong Classification
AG01	Agriculture	all AG
BU01	Building	all BU
DE01	Dealing: Raw materials	DE 1-2
DE02	Dealing: Clothing, and dress	DE 3-4
DE03	Dealing: Food, tobacco, drinking and lodging	DE 5-8
DE04	Dealing: General and unspecified	DE 9-13
DS01	Domestic service	all DS
IS01	Industrial service	all IS
MF01	Manufacturing: Engineering/machinery, and metals	MF 1-5
MF02	Manufacturing: Precious metals	MF 6, 29
MF03	Manufacturing: Glass and Pottery	MF 7
MF04	Manufacturing: Fuel and chemical	MF 8-9
MF05	Manufacturing: Leather	MF 10-12
MF06	Manufacturing: Woodworking	MF 13-15
MF07	Manufacturing: Paper and printing	MF 16-17, 30
MF08	Manufacturing: Textiles	MF 18-22
MF09	Manufacturing: Dress	MF 23-24
MF10	Manufacturing: Food, drink and tobacco	MF 25-28
MF11	Manufacturing: Unspecified	MF 31
MI01	Mining	all MI
PP01	Public service and professional	all PP

TR01	Transport	all TR
RE01	Rentier	
XX01	No Occupational Title or Unidentified or Unknown	

The occupational categories used in this study represent the nature of work. Those in the Halifax database depend on R.J. Morris's work on the nineteenth-century Leeds.²⁷ Morris's occupational code has two big advantages for the analysis of occupational structure in Halifax from 1780 to 1850. First, it can adapt occupational codes from other regional studies²⁸ as well as studies of voting in eighteenth and nineteenth Parliamentary elections.²⁹ Secondly, and more importantly, Morris's occupational code can identify the economic status of the middle classes of the people; for example, whether they own capital in urban society in nineteenth century Britain. It is carefully constructed by examining patterns of division of labour and ownership, and management of capital in specific commercial and manufacturing regional towns such as Leeds in the first half of the nineteenth century.

However, this study is not an exact equivalent of Morris's categories due to 'the quantity of information available in each source and because of the greater perfection in the division of

²⁷ Morris, 'Fuller Values'; idem, 'Occupational Coding'.

²⁸ V.A.C. Gatrell, 'Incorporation and the Pursuit of Liberal Hegemony in Manchester 1790-1839', in D. Fraser (ed.), *Municipal Reform and the Industrial City* (Leicester, 1982), p. 53; John Garrard, *Leadership and Power in Victorian Industrial Towns, 1830-80* (Manchester, 1983), p. 20. By using some major occupational codes, Morris compares occupational structures of Leeds with of other provincial towns. See, Morris, *Class, Sect and Party*, p. 26.

²⁹ Vincent, *Pollbooks*, pp. 57-193; T.J. Nossiter, *Influence, Opinion and Political Idioms in Reformed England: Case Studies from the North East, 1832-74* (Brighton, 1975), pp. 211-212; John A Phillips, *Electoral Behavior in Unreformed England: Plumpers, Splitters, and Straights* (Princeton, 1982), pp. 321-322; Frank O'Gorman, *Voters, Patrons and Parties: the Unreformed Electorate of Hanoverian England, 1734-1832* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 394-401. Sarah Richardson clarifies industrial or occupational categories which are used in established studies about Borough and County elections in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Sarah Richardson, 'Independence and Deference: a Study of the West Riding Electorate, 1832-1841', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Leeds (1995), pp.259-261.

labour existing'³⁰ in the economic institutions in Halifax, from 1780 to 1850. First, for example, the 'agriculture' category includes Morris's 'agriculture' as well as 'gardener', as information both about agriculture and gardener in the Halifax database makes it difficult to distinguish these two groups. Secondly, the 'building' sector in this study is the same as Morris's 'construction' sector. Thirdly, 'mining' includes his 'quarries' and occupations engaged in the coal industry, though the 'owner' of coal mines and quarries are included in the 'rentier' sectors in this study. Fourthly, 'professional, legal', 'professional, medicine', 'professional, religion', and 'professional, others' are used in this study, in place of Morris's 'legal', 'medical', 'religion', and 'professions'. Moreover, in the table of this thesis, another category, PA: 'Professional all', is used in order to merge 'Professional, legal', 'Professional, medicine', 'Professional, region', and 'Professional, others'. Fifthly, 'government and defence' merges Morris's 'national government', 'local government', 'foreign government', and 'defence'. Lastly, 'rentier' in this study equals 'independent income' in Morris's studies. The occupational classification is presented in Table 1.3.

Table 1.3 List of Abbreviation for Occupational Classification

Code	Category
AG	Agriculture
AT	Agent and Traveller
BA	Banker
BU	Building
CB	Clerk and Bookkeeper
CO	Commerce
CR	Craft
DE	Dealer
DP	Distribution and Processing

³⁰ Morris, 'Fuller Values', p.17.

GD	Government and Defence
MC	Manufacturing and Commerce
MF	Manufacturing
MI	Mining
PL	Professional. Legal
PM	Professional, Medicine
PR	Professional, Religion
PO	Professional, others
PS	Miscellaneous Service
RE	Rentier
TR	Transport
XX	No Occupational Title or Unidentified or Unknown

As in other studies,³¹ nominal record linkage is one of the most valuable features of the Halifax database. There are four patterns for major record linkage in the Halifax database: connecting one poll book with another one, a poll book with a commercial directory, a poll book with another nominal subscription list of public institution, and a commercial directory with another nominal subscription list of a public institution.³² In order to acquire the best returns, the Halifax database has two rules for record linkage. Firstly, the first record linkage is the most reliable case: there is less error for record linkage; and there are data fields for linking records as many as possible. Second, the standard process of the record linkage in the Halifax database combines some algorithms of the record linkage. As some established studies point out,³³ these are planned in order from the most reliable case of record linkage to

³¹ See Harvey, Green and Corfield, *Westminster*, chap. 6; Morton, *Unionist*.

³² For this method, see Harvey, Green and Corfield, *Westminster*, chap. 6; Stephen W. Baskerville, ““Preferred Linkage” and the Analysis of Voter Behaviour in Eighteenth-century England”, *History and Computing* 1 (1989); R.J. Morris, ‘In Search of the Urban Middle Class: Record Linkage and Methodology: Leeds 1832’, *Urban History Yearbook* (1976).

³³ Kevin Schürer, Jim Oeppen and Roger Schofield, ‘Theory and Methodology: an Example

the least return.

Thus, the reliability of the algorithm of the record linkage should be checked by looking at the most ideal case in the Halifax database. The most suitable case is the connection of the poll books of the Halifax Borough election in 1835 and 1837, as both nominal lists have more information about name, address, and occupations, with both industrial and occupational codes. If we exclude the method of nominal record linkage separating family name and forename,³⁴ there are seven mechanisms for nominal record linkage (Table 1.4).³⁵

Table 1.4 List of the Record Linkage Keys to relate the Poll Book in 1835 to that in 1837

Name (Family name and Standardised forename) + address (Standardised) + occupation
Name+address+occupation
Name+address+two codes
Name+occupation
Name+address
Name+two codes
Name+industrial code
Name+occupational code
Name

from Historical Demography', in Peter Denley, Stefan Fogelvik and Charles Harvey (eds.), *History and Computing II* (Manchester, 1989), pp. 136-137, 140; Phillips, *Electoral Behavior*, pp. 314-320.

³⁴ Cf. Harvey, Green and Corfield, *Westminster*, pp. 145-159.

³⁵ As explained already, when dealing with record linkage in the Halifax database,

Table 1.5 Number of Data for the Poll book in 1835 related to that in 1837 and the Number of Total Error for this Record Linkage³⁶

	Matching up	No of item including error	Total no of double count
Name+add+occu	221		
Name+add+two codes	263		
Name+occu	323	6	12
Name+add	365	3	6
Name+two codes	389	10	20
Name+ind code	406	12	27
Name+occu code	410	16	33
Name	683	117	257

Table 1.6 Number of Data for the Poll book in 1847 related to the Directory in 1845, and Number of Total Error for this Record Linkage³⁷

	Matching up	No of item including error	Total no of double count
Name+add+occu	141		
Name+add+two codes	320		
Name+occu	215	5	10
Name+add	568	13	27
Name+two codes	466	19	40
Name+ind code	498	26	59
Name+occu code	537	48	108
Name	1368	271	825

The result of each nominal record linkage suggests that the nominal record linkage by using name, address, and occupations, or two codes provides the best results (Table 1.5). Another record linkage by name and address, by name and occupation, or by name and two codes provide better results than the two best linkages, though these three linkages produce less than 20 errors. Through this test, it is suggested that the most reliable case for record linkage in the Halifax data will be gained when there will be data fields for linking records as many as

standardised forename, address and occupation are used in every record linkage.

³⁶ Add : address; occu : occupational ; ind: industrial. Original data of the poll book on 1835 is 647 and of that on 1837 is 970.

³⁷ Original data of the poll book in 1847 is 1008 and of the commercial directory for Halifax is 2696 including Halifax, Northowram and Southowram townships.

possible. Another nominal record linkage between the poll book in Halifax Borough election in 1847 and the commercial directory in Halifax, and Northowram and Southowram supports this suggestion (Table 1.6). Furthermore, this test reveals the importance of which industrial and occupational codes are used. For example, record linkage by name, address, and occupation gets 141 with no errors, and linkage by name, address, and two codes can get 320 with no errors. Thus, two cases suggest that two patterns of record linkage – name-address-occupation and name-address-two codes – are the best ways to begin record linkage in the Halifax database.

Table 1.7 Standard Process of the Record Linkage in this Research

1st	Name+address+occupation
2nd	Name+address+two codes
3rd	Name+address
4th	Name+two codes
5th	Name

Table 1.8 Additional Number, Number of Error and Number of Double Count for the Record Linkage between the poll books in 1835 and 1837

	Additional no. of record linkage	No of item including error	No of double count
Name+add+occu	221		
Name+add+two codes	42		
Name+add	97	1	2
Name+two codes	109	1	2
Name	71	5	10
<i>Total</i>	540		

Table 1.9 Additional Number, Number of Error and Number of Double Count for the Record Linkage between the poll book in 1847 and the directory in 1845

	Additional no. of record linkage	No of item including error	No of double count
Name+add+occu	141		
Name+add+two codes	180		
Name+add	236	4	8
Name+two codes	116	2	4
Name	218	48	127
<i>Total</i>	891		

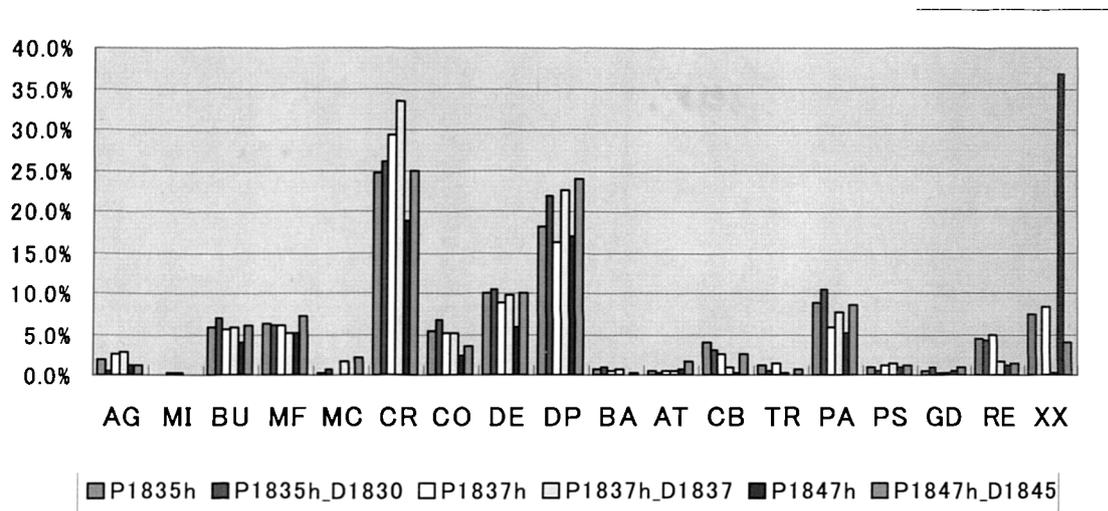
Table 1.7 shows the basic record linkage process of this study by using the database software. The first and second record linkages are the most reliable cases, which resulted from our tests. The algorithm – name-address-occupation – are selected as the first record linkage, as there is the possibility that two economic markers would not correctly reflect these information for occupations when some data about occupations have more than two pieces of information for occupation. The third and fourth record linkages are to link two data sets, such as ‘name and address’ or ‘name and two codes’, as these two patterns can link more items than one pattern – name-occupation, preventing less number of errors for record linkage than two patterns – name-industrial code, and name and occupational code. The fifth record linkage is to link one data set, ‘name’, as this process is the fundamental process when only one data set is linked. However, as two cases demonstrate (Tables 1.8 and 1.9), some patterns of record linkage such as name and address, name and two codes, include some errors. Therefore, it is necessary to check this record linkage process manually rather than by automatic means. Managing the Halifax database is, therefore, a semi-automatic process. The results achieved by this means of record linkage differ from the original data tables before the record linkage process.

The record linkage between one poll book and one commercial directory, links more than sixty per cent of the original data of the Halifax poll books.³⁸ The record linkage between the poll books in the 1830s and the commercial directories in 1830 or 1837 is less than 70 per cent of

³⁸ For successful linkage between the poll books and the directories, see Appendix 5 in chapter 4, which show that the occupational or industrial structures in the Halifax Borough Elections from 1832 to 1852, by comparing the data in the original poll books with the results of the record linkages.

total data of the poll book, while the linkage between poll book and the commercial directories in 1845 or 1850 is more than 70 per cent. R.J. Morris gets approximately seventy per cent of the total data of poll books by linking the 1832 Leeds poll book to the 1834 Leeds directory.³⁹ In this respect, it seems that the quantity of data obtained by record linkage in this study is adequate to compare the data of the original poll books and the results of the record linkage.

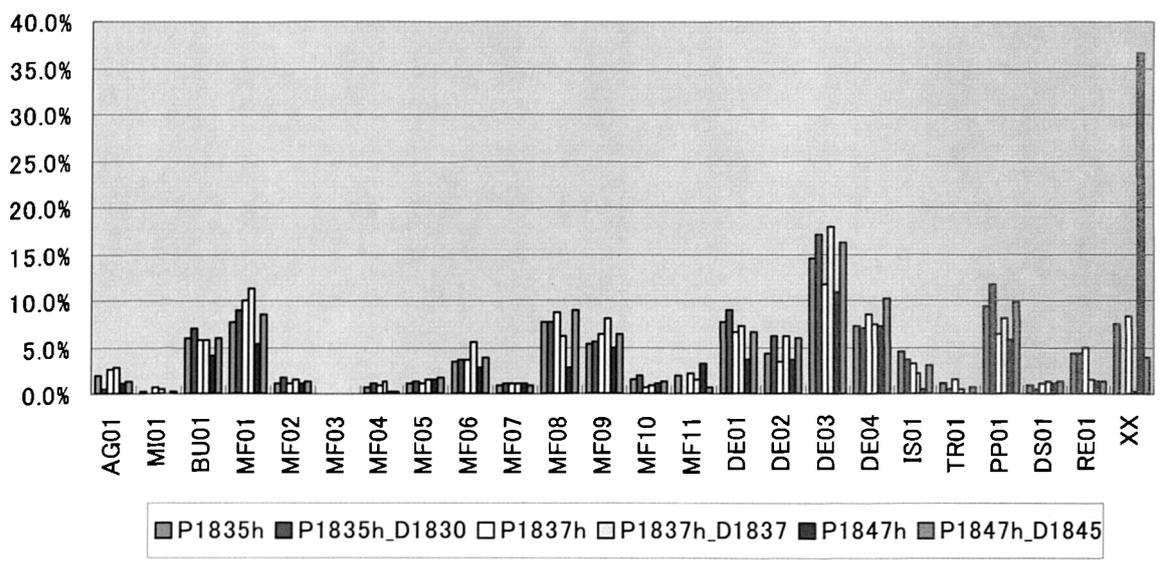
Figure 1.1 Occupational Structure of the Poll book and the Result of the Record Linkage for the Halifax Borough Elections, 1835, 1837 and 1847⁴⁰



³⁹ Morris, *Class, Sect and Party*, p. 134. Another systematic record linkage between the poll books for Westminster and the rate books from the eighteenth century to the nineteenth century gets seventy five to eighty per cent of the original data. See, Harvey, Green and Corfield, 'Continuity', p.491.

⁴⁰ See list of abbreviations of occupational classification, p. xv. This figure made from the Halifax database. P1835h: the poll book in 1835; P1835h_D1830: P1835h related to the directory in 1830; P1837h: the poll book in 1837; P1837h_D1837: P1837h related to the directory in 1837; P1847h: the poll book in 1847; P1847h_D1845: P1847h related to the directory in 1845.

Figure 1.2 Industrial Structure of the Poll book and the Result of the Record Linkage for the Halifax Borough Elections, 1835, 1837 and 1847⁴¹



In addition to improving the percentage linkage of the documents, the Halifax database adopts another test to check the data constructed by the record linkage. Figure 1.1 shows the occupational structure of voters from information both of trades in poll books, and of the poll books related to the commercial directories of 1835, 1837, and 1847. The occupational structure of the original poll books both in 1835 and 1837 are similar to the results of the record linkages of 1835. Distribution and processing, and craft in 1837 show some difference between the result of the poll book and the record linkage between the poll book and commercial directory in 1837. One reason is the extent of information in the 1837 commercial directory. The number of items in the alphabetical list of inhabitants is less than those in the alphabetical classification of the trades in the 1837 commercial directory. Thus, this study uses the latter list for the record linkage between the 1837 poll book and the 1837

⁴¹ This figure made from the Halifax database. For the abbreviations in this figure, see Figure 1.2. For abbreviations of industrial classification used in this study, see pp. xiii-xiv.

directory. While these small manufacturers categorised in ‘craft’, small dealers, and shopkeepers and innkeepers both categorised in ‘distribution and procession’, were included in the alphabetical classification of the trades in the commercial directory, those were often not included in the alphabetical list of the inhabitants in the directory. On the other hand, the alphabetical classification of the trades in the commercial directory did not include a ‘rentier group’. Therefore, it seems that the percentage of craft, and distribution and processing in the record linkage between the 1837 directory and the 1837 poll book is more than those of the 1837 poll book, and that the percentage of rentier in the record linkage between the 1837 directory and the 1837 poll book is less than those of the 1837 poll book.

Missing trade data (XX in Figure 1.1 and 1.2) was a distinction between the poll book and the result of the record linkage in 1847. Record linkage between the 1847 poll book and the 1845 directory suggests that the majority of voters, for whom there is no information on their trade in the 1847 poll book, came from the craft, dealing, distribution and processing, and professional groups.⁴² Figure 1.2 shows the industrial structure provided by the poll books in 1835, 1837, and 1847, and these poll books related to the commercial directories. The industrial structure shows the poll books and the results of the record linkages in 1835 and 1837 are similar. The majority of voters for whom there is no information about their trade in the poll book of 1847 were engaged in manufacturing-engineering/machinery and metal (MF01), manufacturing-textiles (MF08), dealing-food, tobacco, drinking and lodging (DE03),

⁴² Thus, Jowitt’s work would underestimate the proportion of voters for whom there is no information regarding ‘trade’ in the 1847 election when the work is using the information of the poll book in the Halifax Borough election of 1847. The poll book of Halifax Borough election in 1847 includes 388 voters or 38 per cent of voters in that year for whom there was no information about trade. Jowitt, ‘Parliamentary Politics’, p. 174 passim.

dealing-general and unspecified (DE04), and public service and professional (PP01). MF01 mainly consisted of the craft group, and MF08 consisted of the manufacturer, and the manufacturing and commerce group as well as the craft group. DE03 mainly consisted of dealing, and distribution and processing groups, and DE04 consisted of dealing, and distributions and processing groups as well as commerce group. PP01 consisted of professionals. Therefore, it seems that the data for voters having no information for trade in 1847 is compensated for by the data from the commercial directory in 1845.

According to the test comparing voting patterns in the poll books in 1835, 1837, and 1847 with those related to the directories, voting patterns in the poll books are quite similar to that resulting from the record linkages.⁴³ The results of these tests show that the data generated by the record linkage between the poll book and the commercial directory is a good indicator of the occupational or industrial structure of voters in the Halifax Borough elections from 1832 to 1852.

After establishing the method of record linkage between one poll book and other poll book, and between one poll book and one commercial directory, this project moves on to considering multiple record linkages between poll book or commercial directory, and nominal lists of public institutions in Halifax.⁴⁴ In general, the percentage of linked documents between poll

⁴³ This test depends by the Halifax database.

⁴⁴ All tables in Appendix 2 illustrate the results of the record linkage between the poll books for the 1807 Yorkshire election or for the Halifax Borough from 1832 to 1852, and some nominal lists for public institutions, or the commercial directories for Halifax and various nominal lists.

books or commercial directories and various nominal lists of public institutions is less than the linkage between one poll book and another one, or between poll book and commercial directory. But, the average of linked documents between the poll book or commercial directory and nominal lists of public institutions from 1830 to 1852 is more than fifty percent, which is better than that for the activities in Morton's study.⁴⁵ Moreover, some cases of record linkage between one nominal list of public institution and one poll book or commercial directory show better results than the record linkage between one poll book and another poll book or between one poll book and one commercial directory. The best is the case of the Halifax Literary and Philosophical Society. Three data fields of this society such as name, occupation, and address can connect the 1832 poll book or the 1830 commercial directory as this nominal list has rich information for member's occupation, address and other information such as political or religious preferences. Additionally, most members in 1830 were confined to the male middle classes in Halifax or suburbs of Halifax township. Similarly, the record linkage between the nominal list for aldermen and councillors of Halifax Corporation in 1848, including information of occupation, and the 1847 or 1852 poll book gets good results.

Other cases of record linkage are also better than the average. Nominal lists for subscribers of the British School in 1832, 1847, and 1852, of the Board of Health in Halifax in 1831-2, and of the Relief of the Unemployed operatives in 1847, match this pattern. There are three features of record linkages for those nominal lists. First, majority of these subscribers lived in Halifax Borough. Second, it seems that these subscribers were usually from relatively wealthy middle classes. It is most likely that these two features cause improved successful

⁴⁵ Morton, *Unionist*, p. 205.

record linkage for the subscription lists of the British School, of the Board of Health in Halifax, and of the Relief of the Unemployed operatives. However, thirdly, there is little information about occupation and address in the nominal lists of the subscribers of the British School, of the Board of Health in Halifax, and of the Relief of the Unemployed operatives. Thus, in the process of record linkage, some errors, which matched more than two persons of the same name, sometimes happen. This project excluded those errors from the results of the successful record linkage.

In contrast, the cases of lower than average record linkage are mainly due to three reasons. First, like the cases of the subscription of the British School, of the Board of Health in Halifax, and of the Relief of the Unemployed operatives, the nominal lists of public institutions in Halifax resulted in low successful record linkage, due to lack information about address and trade. Second, members or subscribers for some organisations, such as the Halifax Anti-Corn Law Association, the Second West York Yeomanry Cavalry and the Masonic lodge, lived outside Halifax Borough. Lastly, some societies such as the Halifax Mechanics' Institutes, Loyal Georgian Society, and the Masonic Lodge had more members or subscribers, who were from the labouring people, whom usually the commercial directories and the poll books did not include.

The results of the record linkage between the poll book of 1807 Yorkshire election and other nominal lists are less successful than that of the data sets in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. One reason for this is that the commercial directories and poll books in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, which are used in this research, include more people engaged in various public institutions. It seems that not all of such people lived in

Halifax Township, but owned or occupied some premises there for business or other purposes. For this reason the results of the record linkage between the 1807 poll book and nominal lists are less impressive. The subscription lists of the Halifax Volunteer and the Halifax General Dispensary show support from people in Halifax township but also from those in other townships in Halifax Parish.⁴⁶ Therefore, the results between the poll book of 1807 and these associations are better than those between the poll book in 1807 and other nominal lists, mainly composed of people in Halifax Township.

The results from the Halifax Database are presented and displayed in the following chapters. First, the industrial structure of Halifax and occupational structure, which represented the economic status of the middle classes in Halifax, are showed in Chapter 2. By using the industrial markers, the data of the commercial directories are sorted and counted in order to demonstrate the detailed industrial structure of Halifax from 1780 to 1850. The industrial structure in Halifax presents the pattern of middle classes' business activities. This pattern will be clarified with some evidence showing the organisational nature of industry. By using occupational markers, the diversified economic state within the middle classes in Halifax, and apparently the economic distinction between the lower middle classes and upper middle classes in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, will be showed.

Second, membership of public institutions and the structure both of subscriptions and donations in these institutions from the end of the eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth

⁴⁶ For this see section 1 and 2 in chapter 3.

century will be displayed in chapters 3 and 5. In chapter 3, the occupational structure of members in public institutions in Halifax from 1780 to 1820 is shown by sorting the data for the nominal list of public institutions and by record linkage between the nominal lists and the commercial directories or the poll book in 1807, when the nominal list does not include trades for members of public institutions. The fact that the lower as well as upper middle classes in Halifax cooperated in these public institutions from 1780 to 1820 will be described in this chapter. Chapter 3 will also present the structure both of subscribers and donors of public institutions in Halifax in the early nineteenth century. By comparing the data of subscribers or donors and record linkage between subscribers or donors and commercial directories or the poll book of 1807 Yorkshire election, the fact that the structure of the subscribers and donors in these public institutions consisted of two groups will be presented: the majority of subscribers in public institutions in Halifax in this time were those who paid relatively low subscriptions; and a small number of subscriber and donors, who were usually the upper middle classes in Halifax and local gentry around Halifax Parish, paid large amounts.

In chapter 5, the economic status of membership for public institutions in Halifax in the second quarter of the nineteenth century will be explored by linking nominal lists in these public institutions to the commercial directories in the Halifax database. The economic status of members in public institutions was closely related to the pattern and amount of subscription and donation for public institutions in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The political preference of the members in public institutions in Halifax in the second quarter of the nineteenth century will be presented by the record linkage between the nominal lists of these institutions and the poll books in the Halifax Borough elections. The analysis from the Halifax database will show that social relationships within public institutions in Halifax did

not always foster cooperative actions. For instance, some social relationships within public institutions were more hierarchical through economic status such as amount of subscription or donation, whereas others were diversified through party and religious consciousness. These organisational characters and social relationships in public institutions in Halifax were not interpreted by the simple factors like 'class interest' or 'class ideology'. Rather, by sorting and record linkage of the data, the Halifax database suggests that the 'institutional matrix' in Halifax from 1780 to 1850 had a multidimensional feature.

Lastly, political behaviour in Halifax in the first half of the nineteenth century will be examined in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 by using the poll books in the Halifax database. In chapter 3, by using the poll book of the 1807 Yorkshire election, voting patterns in Halifax township and Halifax parish will be outlined. Then, by using the occupational code in the Halifax database, the relationship between the voters' occupational state and the voting patterns in the 1807 Yorkshire election will be examined. The poll books of Halifax Borough from 1832 to 1852 provide one of the richest data sets in the Halifax database. In chapter 4, by using these data for voters in Halifax, the Borough's 'psephology' from 1832 to 1852 will be demonstrated. In addition to counting and sorting voting in each Halifax Borough election from 1832 to 1852, the political awareness of voters will be clarified by examining changes in voting behaviour between one election and the next election. Economic factors in the Halifax Borough elections such as industrial interest of voters and relationships between occupational state of voters and voting pattern, will also be evaluated. By using the Halifax database, the elections in the Halifax Borough from 1832 to 1852 will be interpreted not by one dominant factor, like economic interest and party loyalty, but by multiple factors such as political awareness of party, pressures from popular political movements and other political

interest groups, industrial interests, occupational state, and social relationships in specific local community. In conclusion, the database can systematically process enormous quantities of evidence from multiple sources in Halifax such as poll books, commercial directories and various nominal lists for local administrative bodies and voluntary associations, and presents multiple analytical results. The database can allow a more detailed analysis of the aims, interests, and ideologies of the middle classes discovered from qualitative and descriptive sources. Thus, the scope of 'institutional matrix' in Halifax from 1780 to 1850 can become more elaborate.

Appendix 1 Selected List of Sources for the Halifax Database⁴⁷

Politics

Poll book for Yorkshire County election⁴⁸ in 1807

Poll books for Halifax Borough elections in 1832, 1835, 1837, 1841, 1847, and 1852

Application to Parliament for the Right of Sending Members to Parliament in 1831⁴⁹

List of Overseers and Churchwardens, 1759-1859⁵⁰

List of Town Trustees, 1823-1847⁵¹

List of the first Councillors, Aldermen and Mayor of Halifax in 1848⁵²

List of Councillors and Aldermen of Halifax Corporation from 1848 to 1870⁵³

⁴⁷ All database is in Microsoft Access 2000 on Windows 2000 in Japanese.

⁴⁸ The Halifax database includes the data for Halifax Parish in Morley Wapentake only.

⁴⁹ *P.P., Applications made to His Majesty's Government, that any City, Town or District should be continued in, or admitted to, the Right of sending Members to Parliament* (1831), XVI.

⁵⁰ CDA, Halifax Township, Vestry Minutes, 1780-1816, OR: 100; Halifax Township, Overseers of the Poor Account, 1759-1802, 1803-1811, 1811-1845, HAS: 164, HAS: 173, and HXT: 206; List of Churchwardens and Overseers, 1759-1807, OR: 89; WAH, Halifax St. John the Baptist Parish Church, Vestry Minutes, 1816-1887, D53/6/1.

⁵¹ CDA, Minutes, Halifax Meetings of Trustees, 1823-1834, 1834-1842, 1843-1849, HXM: 38, 39, and 40; and A List of Trustees, MISC:110/10/2/9; G.R. Dalby, 'The Work of the Halifax Town Trustees from the Passing of the Improvement Act of 1823 to the Incorporation of the Borough in 1848', unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Leeds (1953).

⁵² CDA, Council Minutes of Halifax Municipal Borough, 1848, HXM: 2.

⁵³ Anon., 'Ex-Mayors of Halifax', in *The Halifax Guardian Historical Almanack, 1895*, (Halifax, 1895); anon., 'Ex-Members of the Halifax Town Council', in *The Halifax Guardian Historical Almanack, 1895* (Halifax, 1895).

Occupation

National Commercial Directories for Halifax in 1781,⁵⁴ 1784,⁵⁵ 1790,⁵⁶ 1805⁵⁷ and 1814⁵⁸
Yorkshire Commercial Directories for Halifax, Northowram and Southowram Townships in
1822,⁵⁹ 1830,⁶⁰ 1837,⁶¹ and 1853⁶²
Halifax Commercial Directories for Halifax, Northowram and Southowram Townships in
1845⁶³ or Halifax Borough in 1850⁶⁴
Poor Apprentice Register, 1780-1820⁶⁵

Commercial Organisation

List of Shareholders of Halifax Joint Stock Banking Company in 1829 and in 1843⁶⁶
List of Shareholders of Halifax & Huddersfield Union Banking Co. in 1836⁶⁷
Halifax Joint Stock Banking Company, Halifax Commercial Banking Company, and Halifax
& Huddersfield Union Banking Company: Persons of whom the company or partnership
consists in 1846⁶⁸

Association

Ancient Noble Order of Oddfellows (Bolton Unity), Halifax District⁶⁹: Membership Lists in
1833, 1835, 1848 and 1852
Ancient Order of Foresters (Court Three Marys, Halifax District)⁷⁰: Membership Lists in 1834,

⁵⁴ William Bailey, *Bailey's Northern Directory* (Warrington, 1781).

⁵⁵ William Bailey, *Bailey's British Directory* (London, 1784).

⁵⁶ Peter Barfoot and John Wilkes, *Universal British Directory* (London, 1795).

⁵⁷ *Holden's Triennial Directory for 1805, 1806, 1807* (London, 1805).

⁵⁸ James Pigot and Isaac Slater, *The Commercial Directory for 1814-15* (Manchester, 1814).

⁵⁹ Edward Baines, *History, Directory and Gazetteer of the Country of York* (Leeds, 1822).

⁶⁰ W. Parson and W. White, *Directory of the Borough of Leeds, the City of York, and the Clothing District of Yorkshire* (Leeds, 1830).

⁶¹ W. White, *History Gazetteer and Directory of the West Riding of Yorkshire, with... York and Hull* (Sheffield, 1837).

⁶² W. White, *Directory and Gazetteer of Leeds, Bradford, Halifax, Huddersfield, Wakefield and the Whole of the Clothing Districts, of the West Riding of Yorkshire* (Sheffield, 1853).

⁶³ *Walker's Directory of the Parish of Halifax* (Halifax, 1845).

⁶⁴ *Directory of Halifax, Huddersfield, Holmfirth and Adjacent Villages* (Bradford, 1850).

⁶⁵ CDA, Poor Apprentice Register, 1715-1839, HXT: 192.

⁶⁶ Lloyds Bank Archives, Halifax Joint Stock Banking Company, Original Deed of Settlement, 1829; Supplementary Deed of Settlement, 1843.

⁶⁷ Lloyds Bank Archives, Halifax & Huddersfield Union Banking Co., Original Deed of Settlement, 1836.

⁶⁸ *HG* 7 Feb. 1846.

⁶⁹ CDA, Ancient Noble Order of Oddfellows (Bolton Unity), Halifax District, TU: 9.

⁷⁰ CDA, Ancient Order of Foresters (Court Three Marys, Halifax District), TU: 97.

1835, 1848, 1852 and 1861

Board of Health in Halifax⁷¹: Subscription List, 1831-2

Cross Pipes Friendly Society⁷²: List of Member in 1798, 1807, 1823, 1832, 1848 and 1852

Halifax Anti-Corn Law Association⁷³: Subscription Lists in 1839-1840(including subscription in 1839) and 1846

Halifax Benevolent Society⁷⁴: Subscription Lists in 1820 and 1822

Halifax British School⁷⁵ : Subscription Lists in 1811, 1823, 1832, 1848 and 1852
: Donation List, 1813-1860

Halifax Chess Club⁷⁶: List of Member in 1847

Halifax Circulating Library⁷⁷: Subscription List in 1768

Halifax General Dispensary⁷⁸: Subscription List in 1807

Halifax Literary and Philosophical Society: List of Members in 1830⁷⁹ and 1835-6⁸⁰
: Additional member, 1830-1839⁸¹

Halifax Mechanics Institutes: Membership Lists in 1825, 1850 and 1851⁸²
: Subscription List for New Building in 1857⁸³

Halifax Prosecution Society⁸⁴: Lists of Member in 1804, 1809, 1821 and 1824

Halifax Volunteer: Subscription List in 1803⁸⁵

Loyal Georgian Society⁸⁶: Membership Book, 1794-1860 and lists of Member in 1779, 1797, 1807, 1823, 1832, 1848 and 1852

⁷¹ *HHE*, 17 and 24 Dec. 1831 and 7 and 28 Jan. 1832.

⁷² CDA, Cross Pipes Friendly Society/ Old Cock Friendly Society/ Old Smoke Club, SOC: 17/4.

⁷³ CDA, Halifax Anti-Corn Law Association, HAS/B: 11/1.

⁷⁴ CDA, Halifax Benevolent Society, MISC: 2/29.

⁷⁵ CDA, Halifax British Schools, MISC: 83.

⁷⁶ CDA, Halifax Chess Club, MISC: 6/109/1.

⁷⁷ CDA, Halifax Circulating Library, MISC: 49/1-4.

⁷⁸ *HJ*, Nov. 14 1807.

⁷⁹ CDA, Halifax Literary and Philosophical Society, MISC: 49/7 and MISC: 49/14; anon, *Halifax Literary and Philosophical Society, 1830-1930* (Halifax, 1930).

⁸⁰ Barclays Group Archives, Halifax Commercial Banking Co. Ltd., Halifax Literary and Philosophical Society, List of Members for 1835 & 1836.

⁸¹ CDA, Halifax Literary and Philosophical Society, MISC: 49/7 and MISC: 49/14.

⁸² CDA, Halifax Mechanics' Institutes, HMI: 1, HMI: 2 and HMI: 3.

⁸³ CDA, Halifax Mechanics' Institutes, HMI: 3; *HC*, 17 24 and 30 Jan., 7 and 14 Feb. 1857.

⁸⁴ CDA, Halifax Prosecution Society, HAS/B: 11/10/6-7, HAS: 624/1-2, MAC: 8, STN: 278, 282, and SU: 383. The list in 1804 is a full membership and other three lists show principal members only.

⁸⁵ *HJ*, 3 Dec. 1803 and 28 Jan. 1804.

⁸⁶ CDA, Halifax Loyal Georgian Society, LG: 8, 9-12, 103, 106, 107.

Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds (Ashton Unity), Halifax District⁸⁷: Membership Lists in 1836, 1848 and 1852

Masonic Lodge in Halifax⁸⁸: List of Membership, 1762-1870

National Independent Order of Oddfellows, Halifax District, Star of Temperance Lodge No. 149⁸⁹: Membership List, 1839-1860

New Market, Halifax: Subscription Lists⁹⁰ in 1788, 1789, 1795 and 1810

The Relief of the Unemployed operatives in 1847⁹¹: Subscription List

Royal Jubilee in Halifax in 1809⁹²: Subscription List

Second West York Yeomanry Cavalry⁹³: List in 1845

Worsted Committee: Lists of Member in 1777⁹⁴, and 1786-1815⁹⁵

*Public Meeting*⁹⁶

Halifax Borough elections, 1832-1852 and selected principal public meetings for popular movements, political parties and associations, 1825-1853

People in Halifax

People engaged in public institutions in Halifax in 1830⁹⁷

People engaged in public institutions in Halifax in 1850⁹⁸

⁸⁷ CDA, Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds (Ashton Unity), Halifax District, TU: 12 and TU: 97.

⁸⁸ T.W. Hanson, *The Lodge of Probity No. 61, 1738-1938* (Halifax, 1939).

⁸⁹ CDA, National Independent Order of Oddfellows, Halifax District, Star of Temperance Lodge No. 149, TU: 61.

⁹⁰ CDA, Halifax New Market, HXM: 425 and MISC: 111/11; 50 George III, c.30. An Act for regulating the New Market Place in the Town of Halifax, in the West Riding of the Country of York (1810).

⁹¹ *HG* 4 December 1847.

⁹² *HJ* 4 Nov. 1809.

⁹³ *Walker's Directory of the Parish of Halifax* (Halifax, 1845).

⁹⁴ J. James, *History of the Worsted Manufacture in England from the Earliest Times* (1857).

⁹⁵ BDA, Worsted Committee Records, Minute Books, 1777-1786, 1786-1805, 1805-1837, 56D1/1-3.

⁹⁶ The data set of this category consisted of main speakers, main attendance or petitioners. All data for public meetings are from *HHE*, *HG*, *HR* and *HC*, though the data for the employers' meeting against the strike in 1825 is from John James, *History of the Worsted Manufacture in England* (1857), p. 405.

⁹⁷ W. Parson and W. White, *Directory of the Borough of Leeds, the City of York, and the Clothing District of Yorkshire* (Leeds, 1830).

Religion

Parish Church, Anglican

Pew rent⁹⁹ in 1847

Tithe Dispute¹⁰⁰ in 1827

Unitarian¹⁰¹

Pew rent in 1807, 1823, 1832, 1848 and 1852

Congregational

Square Church, Membership, 1763-1810¹⁰² and 1843-1853¹⁰³

Harrison Road Congregational Church¹⁰⁴, Member Attendance from 1847 to 1849
and from 1851 to 1853

Quaker¹⁰⁵

Subscription List in 1823, 1832, 1835, 1848 and 1852

⁹⁸ *Directory of Halifax, Huddersfield, Holmfirth and Adjacent Villages* (Bradford, 1850).

⁹⁹ WAH, Halifax St. John the Baptist Records, D53/8/77.

¹⁰⁰ WAH, Halifax St. John the Baptist Records, D53/16/1-4.

¹⁰¹ CDA, North Gate End Church, Unitarian, NEC.

¹⁰² CDA, Square Church, Congregational, SC: 3.

¹⁰³ CDA, Square Church, Congregational, SC: 4. This data is composed of the members in 1843 and the new members from 1844 to 1853.

¹⁰⁴ CDA, Harrison Road Church, Congregational, CUR: 1.

¹⁰⁵ Brotherton Library, University of Leeds, Halifax Preparing Meeting, EE.

Appendix 2 Selected List of Successful Record Linkage by the Halifax Database

Table A2.1 Successful Record Linkage between Nominal Lists and the Directory in 1830¹⁰⁶

Nominal List	Linked No.	List No.	Linked %
HMI1825	42	90	46.7%
BS1832	76	100	76.0%
BHH1831-2	168	261	64.4%
Trustee1823-1847	212	394	53.8%

Table A2.2 Successful Record Linkage between Nominal Lists and the Poll Book in 1832¹⁰⁷

Nominal list	Linked No.	List No.	Linked %
HMI1825	24	90	26.7%
HLPS1830	55	55	100.0%
BS1832	65	100	65.0%
BHH1831-2	153	261	58.6%
LG1832	66	213	31.0%
ML1782-1832	38	96	39.6%
Trustee1823-1832	108	180	60.0%

¹⁰⁶ Average linked % is 60.2 %. Trustee1823-1847: List of the people under Improvement Act in 1823 from 1823 to 1847.

¹⁰⁷ Average of linked % is 54.4 %. HMI1825: List of subscribers and donors of the Halifax Mechanics' Institute in 1825; HLPS1830: Membership list of the Halifax Literary and Philosophical Society in 1830; BS1832: Subscription list of the British School in Halifax in 1832; BHH1831-2: Subscription list of the Board of Health in Halifax in 1831-2; LG1832: Membership list of Loyal Georgian Society in 1832; ML1782-1832: List of membership of Masonic Lodge from 1782 to 1832; Trustee1823-1832: List of the people under Improvement Act in 1823 from 1823 to 1832.

Table A2.3 Successful Record Linkage between Nominal Lists and the Directory in 1845¹⁰⁸

Nominal List	Linked No.	List No.	Linked %
BS1848	79	107	73.8%
RUEP1847	43	63	68.3%
HACLA1840	42	86	48.8%
HACLA1846	88	175	50.3%
Trustee1823-1847	234	394	59.4%

Table A2.4 Successful Record Linkage between Nominal Lists and the Poll Book in 1847¹⁰⁹

Nominal List	Linked No.	List No.	Linked %
HMI1851	143	353	40.5%
BS1848	76	107	71.0%
RUEP1847	50	63	79.4%
LG1848	100	200	50.0%
ML1797-1847	48	199	24.1%
HACLA1840	42	86	48.8%
HACLA1846	85	175	48.6%
Trustee1823-1847	212	394	53.8%
Corporation1848	39	41	95.1%
SWYYC1845	51	228	22.4%

¹⁰⁸ Average linked % is 60.1 %. HACLA1840: Subscription list of the Halifax Anti-Corn Law Association in 1840.

¹⁰⁹ Average of linked % is 53.9 %. HMI1851: Membership list of the Halifax Mechanics' Institute in 1851; BS1848: Subscription list of the British School in Halifax in 1848; RUEP1847: Subscription list of the Relief of the Unemployed operatives in 1847; LG1848: Membership list of Loyal Georgian Society in 1848; ML1797-1847: List of membership of Masonic Lodge from 1797 to 1847; HACLA1846: Subscription list of the Halifax Anti-Corn Law Association in 1846; Trustee1823-1847: List of the people under Improvement Act in 1823 from 1823 to 1847; Corporation1848: List of councillors and aldermen of the Halifax Municipal Borough Corporation in 1848; SWYYC1845: List of Second West York Yeomanry

Table A2.5 Successful Record Linkage between Nominal Lists and the Directory in 1850¹¹⁰

Nominal List	Linked No.	List No.	Linked %
HMI1851	173	353	49.0%
BS1852	79	114	69.3%

Table A2.6 Successful Record Linkage between Nominal Lists and the Poll Book in 1852¹¹¹

Nominal List	Linked No.	List No.	Linked %
HMI1851	165	353	46.7%
BS1852	80	114	70.2%
LG1852	101	210	48.1%
ML1802-1852	55	203	27.1%
Corporation1848	35	41	85.4%
Corporation1848-1870	106	180	58.9%

Table A2.7 Successful Record Linkage between Nominal Lists and the Poll Book in 1807¹¹²

Nominal List	Linked No.	List No.	Linked %
BS1811	45	304	14.8%
HGD1807	70	170	41.2%
LG1807	54	158	34.2%
ML1762-1807	16	191	8.4%
HV1803	248	773	32.1%
RJ1809	51	177	28.8%
Lascelles supporter	74	205	36.1%

Cavalry in 1845.

¹¹⁰ Average linked % is 59.2 %.

¹¹¹ Average of linked % is 55.5 %. HMI1851: Membership list of the Halifax Mechanics' Institute in 1851; BS1852: Subscription list of the British School in Halifax in 1852; LG1852: Membership list of Loyal Georgian Society in 1852; ML1802-1852: List of membership of Masonic Lodge from 1802 to 1852; Corporation1848: List of councillors and aldermen of the Halifax Municipal Borough Corporation in 1848; Corporation1848-1870: List of councillors, aldermen and mayor of the Halifax Municipal Borough Corporation from 1848 to 1870.

¹¹² Average of linked % is 30.7%. The database includes the data for Halifax Parish only. BS1811: Subscription list of the British School in Halifax in 1811; HGD1807: Subscription list of the Halifax General Dispensary in 1807; LG1807: Membership list of Loyal Georgian Society in 1807; ML1762-1807: List of membership of Masonic Lodge from 1762 to 1807; HV1803: Subscription list of the Halifax Volunteer in 1803; RJ1809: Subscription list of Royal Jubilee (for George III) in Halifax in 1809; Lascelles supporter: List of supporters for Henry Lascelles in Halifax on the Yorkshire election in 1807.

Chapter 2 Institutions and Local Community: Halifax, 1780-1850

From the sixteenth century Halifax Parish was one of the principal industrial and commercial districts in West Yorkshire, together with Leeds, Bradford, and Huddersfield. It was one of the biggest parishes in England, and was based on more than twenty-two townships (Map 2.1). Halifax parish extended about twenty miles from Hipperholme in the east, to Heptonstall in the west of the township, and about sixteen miles from the northern township, Wadsworth, to the southern township, Rishworth. Halifax Parish was dominated by 'moorland tops (most of them too barren to cultivate), steep hillsides, and the small valley bottoms of the river Calder and its many tributaries'.¹ Daniel Defoe clearly described this topography:

We came to Halifax, we found the houses, thicker, and the villages greater in every bottom; and not only so, but the sides of the hills, which were very steep every way, were spread with houses, and that very thick; for the land being divided into small enclosures, that is to say, from two acres to six or seven each, seldom more ...²

Halifax township, 'a town of ancient note for the woollen manufacture',³ was the regional centre for trade and service within the large parish. The township connected Ovenden to the north of that township, Warley to the west, Skircoat to the west and south, Southowram to the east, and Northowram to the east and north-east. The eastern boundary of Halifax township was marked by the Hebble Brook near a steep hillside called Beacon hill (Plate 2.1). Hebble Brook ran from the north to the south of Halifax township (Map 2.2). The western boundary ran near High Road Well for Warley and King Cross for Skircoat. When the Halifax Parliamentary Borough was established

¹ John Smail, *The Origins of Middle Class Culture: Halifax, Yorkshire, 1660-1780* (Ithaca, 1994), p. 19.

² Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Through England and Wales*, [1724-1726], Everyman's Library ed. (1928), p. 193.

³ J. Aikin, *A Description of the Country from Thirty to Forty Miles around Manchester* (1795), p. 559.

in 1832, it was inevitable that this Borough included all Halifax township and parts of Northowram and Southowram near Hebble Brook. Small and large mills and workshops were gathered around Hebble Brooke, thus the economic and social network between the inhabitants in the area was very strong in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.⁴

The links between Halifax and the region to the west, towns in Lancashire and Manchester, or to the east, Bradford, Leeds, and Wakefield, had been fostered since the early modern period.⁵ However, the geographical terrain of Halifax affected communication between townships in Halifax Parish and between Halifax and other towns in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The hills, especially Beacon Hill, around Halifax township from north-east to south-east formed an 'impenetrable shield'.⁶ This shield formed a serious obstacle to the cloth trade and the supply of coal in the eighteenth century. Improvements in road, canal, and railway communications emerged from the eighteenth century.⁷ First, a web of turnpike roads between Halifax township and others developed. The route to Keighley opened in 1753, to Burnley and Littleborough in 1760, to Huddersfield in 1777, to Oldham and Ripponden in 1795, and to Leeds and Hebden Bridge in 1814. But, in the 1830s, the turnpike road across the steep hills around Halifax township had not yet opened. The construction of the Aire and Calder Navigation started in 1699, but the construction of the Calder and Hebble Navigation to extend the Halifax Parish from the Aire and Calder Navigation only began in 1758. Construction of the Rochdale Canal, which connected the Calder and Hebble Navigation, began in 1794. The most important component of the canal network for

⁴ *Reports from Commissioners on Proposed Division of Counties and Boundaries of Boroughs*, vol. III, Part II (1831-1), XL.

⁵ The good perspective of this matter is Stephen Caunce, 'Urban Systems, Identity and Development in Lancashire and Yorkshire: a Complex Question', in Neville Kirk (ed.), *Northern Identities: Historical Interpretations of 'The North' and 'Northernness'* (Aldershot, 2000).

⁶ John A. Hargreaves, *Halifax* (Edinburgh, 1999), p. 2.

⁷ This paragraph depends on Hargreaves, *Halifax*, pp. 73-77, 130; Joseph Priestley, *Historical Account of the Navigable Rivers, Canals and Railways of Britain* (1831), pp. 5-18, 120-125, 542-547; Charles Clegg, 'Our Local Canals', *THAS* (1922); idem, 'Our Local Railways', *THAS* (1932).

Halifax township, the route connecting Halifax township to Calder and Hebble Navigation, opened in 1828. The development of the canal network in Halifax helped to supply cheaper coal and other materials to industries and inhabitants in Halifax. The construction of the railway to Halifax township was relatively late compared with the construction of some critical railways in Leeds, Bradford, and Huddersfield. Until 1844 Halifax was not connected to Manchester by railway. Nevertheless the railway connection greatly benefited trade and communication in Halifax. Even by the end of the nineteenth century the terrain of Halifax township made local internal communication by road and tramway difficult. In short, the improvement of transportation between Halifax and other places from the eighteenth century benefited the cloth trade, the supply of coal, and communication for commerce and manufacturing in the West Riding, Yorkshire.⁸ This improvement stimulated further urbanisation, economic expansion, and growth of industries in Halifax during the eighteenth and the nineteenth century.

Facing its terrain problem, Halifax township experienced substantial economic and social changes between 1780 and 1850. Such changes were the significant growth of population, the development of industries in the township, the polarisation within the middle classes, and the expansion of public institutions. Those were not unique in provincial towns during that period, but fundamental backgrounds for the characteristic 'middle-class world' in Halifax. At the meeting for a charter of incorporation in Halifax in 1847, Edward Akroyd, a giant worsted manufacturer, declared:⁹

When they considered the increase of population around them, it seemed as if Halifax had become something like a growing lad, thrusting his arms beyond his sleeves and his legs out at trowser bottoms, and putting out an arm at Haley Hill and a foot at a Caddy field.

It was therefore of paramount importance that they should have a Charter of Incorporation

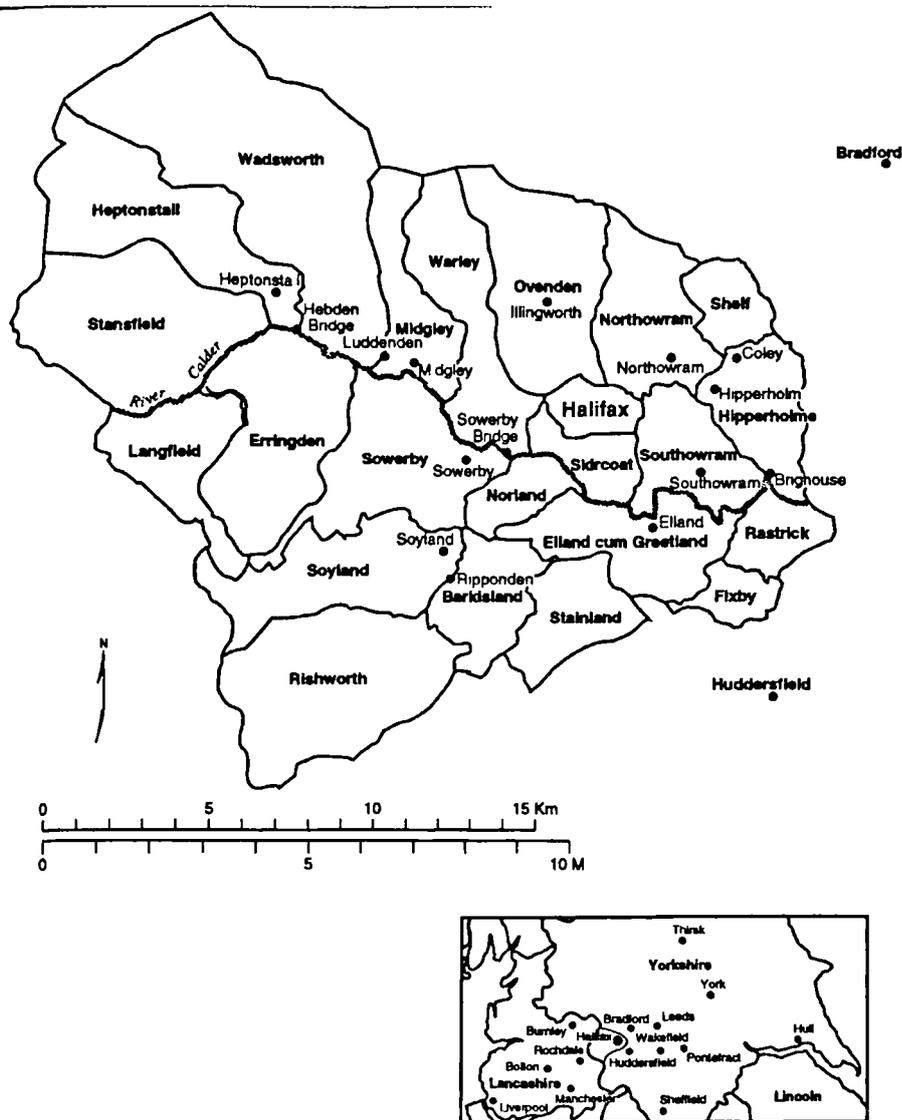
...

⁸ R.G. Wilson, 'Transport Dues as Indices of Economic Growth, 1775-1820', *Economic History Review*, 2nd Ser., 19 (1966).

⁹ *HG* 8 May 1847. See also Map 2.2 and section 1 in chapter 5.

This chapter will firstly assess the extent of population growth. Secondly, it will investigate the nature of industrial expansion and polarised economic status within the middle classes in Halifax. Then, it explores industrial activities among the middle classes in Halifax. Lastly, it will outline the development of public institutions in this period, and investigate the organisation and functions of these institutions in Halifax.

Map 2.1 Map of Halifax Parish¹⁰



¹⁰ This map was reproduced digitally from Smail, *Origins*, p. 21.

Plate 2.1 Halifax from Beacon Hill in the mid-nineteenth century¹²



¹² This plate was reproduced digitally from John James, *History of the Worsted Manufacture in England from the Earliest Times* (1857), p. 613.

1. Economic Expansion in Halifax: Population, Industry and Occupation

For 100 years after 1750 Halifax experienced extensive demographic and economic expansion. Although the population of Halifax is not known with confidence before the census of 1801, it is possible to construct estimates using the estimates of the population in Halifax from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth century using the Protestation Returns of 1642, the Compton census of 1676, Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns in 1743,¹³ the 1764 estimation,¹⁴ and other local sources.¹⁵ By comparing the estimates of population before 1801 with the population after 1801, as presented in Table 2.1, we can identify three significant facts.

Table 2.1 Population in Halifax between the Sixteenth and Nineteenth Centuries¹⁶

	Halifax Township (Halifax Borough)	Halifax Parish
1548		8500
1566	2600	
1641-2	4400	16872
1676		21000
1743	5000	31000
1764	6360	41220
1801	8886	63434
1811	9159	73415
1821	12628	93050
1831	15382	109899
1841	19881	130743
1851	25077 (33582)	149257

¹³ Anne Whiteman, *The Compton Census of 1676: a Critical Edition* (Oxford, 1986), p.579; Martha Ellis François, 'The Social and Economic Development of Halifax, 1558-1640', *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society (Literary and Historical Sections)*, 11 (1966), p.226.

¹⁴ CDA, Estimate of Population of Elland, Halifax and Heptonstall Parochial Chapelries 1700-1790 and of the 23 townships of the parish of Halifax, 1764, MISC: 8/116/21.

¹⁵ For other evidence, see Hargreaves, *Halifax*, pp.25, 69; Alan Betteridge, 'Halifax before the Industrial Revolution: a Study of Local Administrative Records 1585-1762, Part One', *THAS* (1978); idem, 'Halifax before the Industrial Revolution: a Study of Local Administrative Records 1585-1762, Part Two', *THAS* (1979).

¹⁶ For sources see text.

First from the mid sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth century the population of Halifax parish increased about eight-fold, while the population of Halifax township rose about four times. Secondly, during the fifty years between 1801 and 1851 the population of Halifax township increased another four times, while the population of the parish more than doubled. Population growth during the thirty years between 1821 and 1851 was higher than that during the twenty years between 1801 and 1820. Thirdly, it seems that Halifax township had a larger population than other townships in this parish from the seventeenth century. In 1642, this township had about 4400 people, in 1764 had 6360, and in 1801 contained 8886 people, while the population of Halifax parish was 16872 in 1642, 41220 in 1764, and 63434 in 1801. After 1801, Halifax township contained more than fifteen per cent of the population of Halifax parish. After the establishment of Halifax Municipal Borough Corporation in 1848, this borough consisted of Halifax township and parts of Northowram and Southowram townships. The population of the Halifax Borough was 33582 in 1851, which was about 22 per cent of the total population of Halifax Parish. During the three hundred years between c. 1550 and 1851, Halifax township and later Halifax Borough always had a substantial share of the population in the overwhelmingly large parish.

Population growth in Halifax township between 1801 and 1851 was relatively modest compared with that of Bradford, the second largest town in West Yorkshire in the mid-nineteenth century and the dominant location of the worsted industry in nineteenth century Britain.¹⁷ Nevertheless, the growth of the population in Halifax township and Halifax Borough from 1780 to 1850 was a critical factor in distinguishing its economic and social structure from that of other townships¹⁸ in Halifax

¹⁷ Valerie Humphreys, 'An Examination of the Halifax Textile Industry in a Period of Intense Technological Change, 1700-1850', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Open University (1989), pp. 216-258; E.M. Sigsworth, *Black Dyke Mills: a History* (Liverpool, 1958), pp. 62-68. The Population of Bradford Parish is 29794 (6393) in 1801, 36538 (7767) in 1811, 52954 (13064) in 1821, 76967 (23233) in 1831, 105257 (34560) in 1841 and 149543 (52493). Round bracket is the population of Bradford township.

¹⁸ For general view of out-townships, see Bernard Jennings (ed.), *Pennine Valley: a History of*

parish. First, Halifax township or Halifax Borough needed to create more employment because of population growth. The economic expansion of the textile industries and diversification of industries provided the bulk of employment in Halifax in the first half of the nineteenth century.¹⁹ Although the growth of the textile industries emerged in other townships in Halifax parish such as Sowerby and Warley at the same time,²⁰ the amount of possible employment in the Halifax, Northowram and Southowram townships, was far more than that of the other townships. Secondly, Halifax township was not only the centre of parish administration - dealing with social problems of the Poor, and unemployment from 1780 to 1850,²¹ but also owned the Town Trustees as a result of sanitation by the Improvement Act. Furthermore, Halifax, like other provincial towns,²² contained some important charitable organisations and voluntary benevolent societies such as the Halifax General Dispensary. Moreover, the number of mutual benefit organisations such as friendly societies was greater in Halifax than in other townships. Therefore, thirdly, the structure of public institutions in Halifax was distinct from other townships in Halifax parish.²³ Those institutions in order to maintain social order in Halifax from 1780 to 1850 became more complex under the pressure of population growth than those in other townships. In short, the growth of textile

Upper Calderdale (Otley, 1992); R.C.N. Thorne, *West Yorkshire: a Noble Scene of Industry: the Development of the Country 1500 to 1830* (Wakefield, 1987). Excellent case studies of the textile township, Sowerby, in Halifax Parish were produced by Pat Hudson and Stephen King. See Pat Hudson, 'Landholding and the Organization of Textile Manufacture in Yorkshire Rural Township c.1660-1810', in M. Berg (ed.), *Markets and Manufacture in Early Industrial Europe* (1991); idem, 'Rural Industrialising Townships and Urban Links in Eighteenth Century Yorkshire', in P. Clark and P. Corfield (eds.), *Industry and Urbanisation in Eighteenth Century England* (Leicester, 1994); idem, 'A Sense of Place: Industrializing Townships in Eighteenth Century Yorkshire', in R. Leboutte (ed.), *New Perspectives and Research in Proto-industrialisation: Essays in Honour of Franklin Mendels* (Geneva, 1996); idem, 'Two Textile Townships, 1660-1820: a Comparative Demographic Analysis', *Economic History Review*, 53 (2000).

¹⁹ See below in this section.

²⁰ M.T. Wild, 'The Yorkshire Wool Textile Industry', in J.G. Jenkins (ed.), *The Wool Textile Industry in Great Britain* (1972); Pat Hudson, 'Proto-industrialisation: the Case of the West Riding Wool Textile Industry in the 18th and early 19th centuries', *History Workshop Journal*, 12 (1981); idem, 'From Manor to Mill: the West Riding in Transition', in M. Berg et al. (eds.), *Manufacture in Town and Country before the Factory* (Cambridge, 1983).

²¹ For this see Section 3 in this chapter.

²² See Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800: the Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford, 2000), chap. 5.

industries and industrial diversification were linked to population growth in Halifax from 1780 to 1850, while the structure of public institutions in Halifax became more complicated in order to maintain social order and to manage social resources.

The bulk of the population in Halifax township between the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries had been employed in manufacturing or dealing. Textiles were central in manufacturing and dealing industries in Halifax township during the period, 1650-1760.²⁴ The poor apprentice register in Halifax township between 1780 and 1800 includes 163 masters engaging in manufacturing and 123 engaging in dealing out of a total of 450 masters.²⁵ In the first half of the nineteenth century Halifax was clearly a manufacturing and commercial town, employing the majority of the population in these trades. Despite some problems defining trades, the census from 1811 to 1831²⁶ shows that fifty per cent of the total families in Halifax township were engaged in trade, manufacture, and handicraft, and only a small proportion of the population were engaged in agriculture. Agriculture was more important in Hipperholme and Northowram. The census of 1851²⁷ provides more precise data of employment in Halifax. The population engaged in manufacturing in Halifax Borough in 1851 was 11928 out of a total population of 33582, while the population engaged in dealing was 1715. Manufacturing occupied thirty six per cent of the total. The number of adult males engaged in manufacturing was 5129 and adult females were 2536, while the number of males under twenty years old engaged in manufacturing was 2152 and females 2111.

²³ See Hudson and King, 'A Sense'; Smail, *Origins*, pp. 127-134.

²⁴ Alan Betteridge, 'A Study of Halifax Administration Records', unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Leeds (1979), pp. 65-68; John Styles, 'Our Traitorous Money Makers: the Yorkshire Coiners and the Law, 1760-83', in John Brewer and John Styles (eds.), *An Ungovernable People: the English and their Law in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (1980), p. 309.

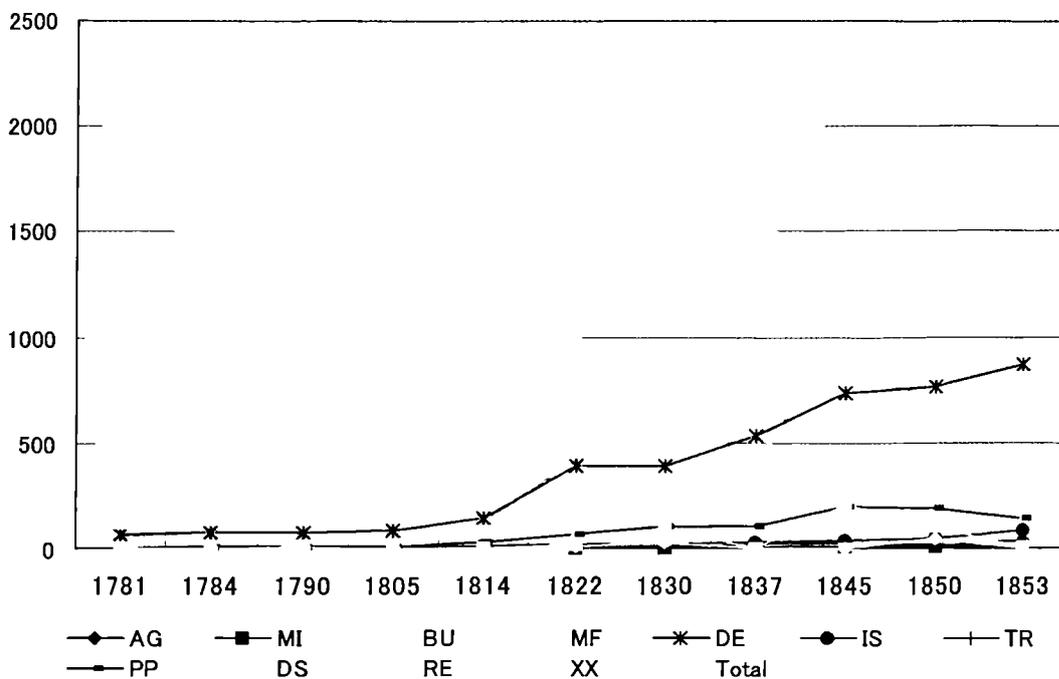
²⁵ CDA, Poor Apprentice Register, 1715-1839, HXT: 192.

²⁶ *P.P.*, Accounts and Papers, Abstract of the Answers and Returns (1812), XI; Accounts and Papers, Abstract of the Answers and Returns (1822), XV; Accounts and Papers, Abstract of the Answers and Returns (1833), XXXVII.

²⁷ *P.P.*, Accounts and Papers: Population (1852-3), LXXXVI; Accounts and Papers: Population (1852-3), LXXXVIII Part II.

The textile sector retained the majority of manufacturing in Halifax in 1851. The total number of people employed in textile manufacturing was 7794, or twenty three per cent of the total population and sixty five per cent of the total of these engaged in manufacturing. The number of adult males employed in textile manufacturing was 2828, females under twenty years old 1848, adult females (1563) and lastly males under twenty years was 1555.

Figure 2.1 Number of the Individuals in Halifax in the Commercial Directories by Industrial Category, 1781-1853²⁸



Although textiles dominated manufacturing in Halifax, it is clear that the industrial structure of Halifax township was more complex than the picture presented by the census between 1801 and 1851. Commercial directories can give a snapshot of industrial structure in Halifax. The directories between 1781 and 1853 did not include the majority of labouring people in Halifax, but included independent entrepreneurs, masters, and rentier groups. The national commercial

²⁸ For abbreviations of the industrial classification used in this study, see pp. xiii-xiv. The data of this table from the Halifax database.

directories of 1781, 1784, 1790, 1805 and 1814²⁹ before the directory for Yorkshire by Edward Baines in 1822³⁰ are problematic. First, as figure 2.1 shows, the amount of data from these national directories was less than the data from the directories for Yorkshire³¹ or Halifax.³² For example, the directory in 1805 includes 155 people, which is only 1.7 per cent of the total population. There is little information about females in these national directories. In contrast to the national directories, the directories for Yorkshire and Halifax contained data for six to eight per cent of total population. Like other provincial towns,³³ the number of males in these directories is about eleven per cent to fifteen per cent of total male population, while the number of females in these directories is about from one per cent to two per cent out of total female population. Furthermore, national directories between 1781 and 1814 also concentrated on wealthy occupational groups such as merchant, manufacturer, and professionals. Therefore, it seems that the industrial structure described by the data from the national directories was heavily weighted towards the industrial sector, which included merchant, manufacturer, and professional.

²⁹ William Bailey, *Bailey's Northern Directory* (Warrington, 1781); William Bailey, *Bailey's British Directory* (1784); Peter Barfoot and John Wilkes, *Universal British Directory* (1790); *Holden's Triennial Directory for 1805, 1806, 1807* (1805); James Pigot and Isaac Slater, *The Commercial Directory for 1814-15* (Manchester, 1814).

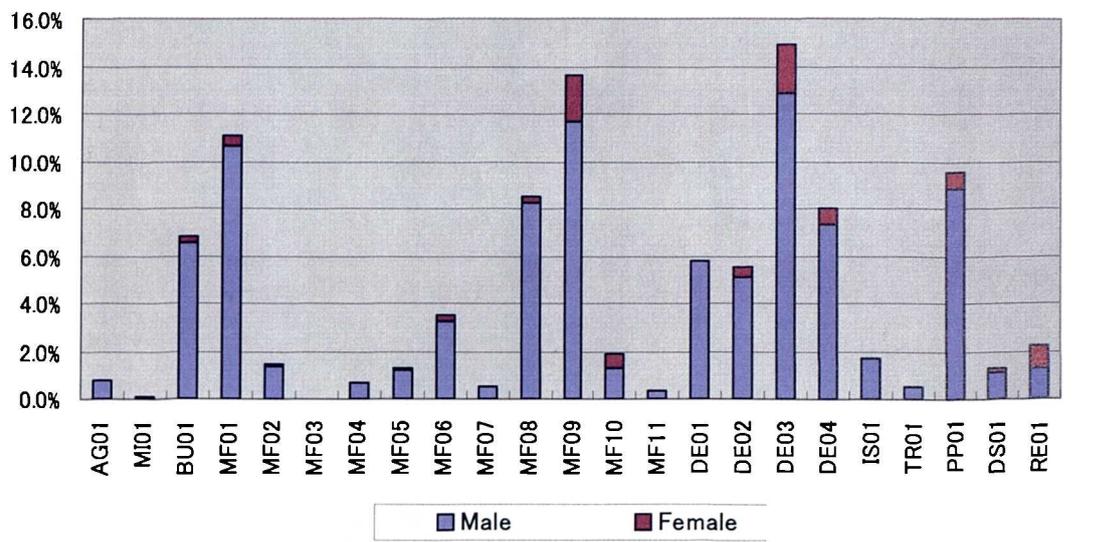
³⁰ Edward Baines, *History, Directory and Gazetteer of the Country of York* (Leeds, 1822).

³¹ W. Parson and W. White, *Directory of the Borough of Leeds, the City of York, and the Clothing District of Yorkshire* (Leeds, 1830); W. White, *History Gazetteer and Directory of the West Riding of Yorkshire, with... York and Hull* (Sheffield, 1837); W. White, *Directory and Gazetteer of Leeds, Bradford, Halifax, Huddersfield, Wakefield and the Whole of the Clothing Districts, of the West Riding of Yorkshire* (Sheffield, 1853).

³² *Walker's Directory of the Parish of Halifax* (Halifax, 1845); *Directory of Halifax, Huddersfield, Holmfirth and Adjacent Villages* (Bradford, 1850).

³³ R.J. Morris, *Class, Sect and Party. The Making of the British Middle Class: Leeds, 1820-1850* (Manchester, 1990), chap. 2.

Figure 2.2 Industrial Structure in Halifax in 1830³⁴



Despite these problems, the commercial directories between 1781 and 1853 provide a more complex picture of the industrial structure in Halifax. The most significant fact is that the majority of masters and entrepreneurs in commercial directories between 1781 and 1853 were not involved in manufacturing industries only. Instead of the bias of national directories before 1814, the number of masters and entrepreneurs engaged in dealing was very similar to those engaged in manufacturing. Furthermore, both within manufacturing and within dealing, there were various sectors. As shown in Figure 2.2, the commercial directory of 1830 portrayed a snapshot of a diversified industrial structure in Halifax in the first half of the nineteenth century. The industrial structure presented by the commercial directories in 1822, 1837, 1845, 1850, and 1853 is very similar to that of the directory in 1830. The amount of data in the commercial directories was growing between 1822 and 1845, and then slightly decreased in 1850 and 1853 (See figure 2.1). The total number of entries in 1830 was 1235, which is seven per cent of the total population.³⁵ The total number of males in this data set is 1071 or fifteen per cent of the total male population, while the number of

³⁴ Number of the data represents number of individuals. For abbreviations of industrial classification, see pp. xiii-xiv. Figure omits the data of the people having no trade in the directory in 1830. Total number of these people is 91.

³⁵ The data from the directory in 1830 is only for Halifax township. The estimation of total

females in the directory of 1830 is 164, only one per cent of the total female population. Dealing in food and drink (DE03) is the largest category in the commercial directory in 1830. This category is composed of innkeeper, grocer, dealer and butcher as well as wealthy merchant trading in wine and other drinks. Some women could engage in business as innkeepers in this sector. Manufacturing clothing (MF09) was the second largest category in the 1830 directory. Tailor, shoemaker, and hatter were the principal trades in this industrial category. These were usually small businesses depending on the skills of the master and a small number of workers. Some female masters established their business in Halifax, as milliners and dressmakers. Manufacturing metal and machine tool, and engineering machine (MF01) was the third largest category. Since the last quarter of the eighteenth century Halifax township was a centre of machine tool manufacture. Like clothing manufacturing, male masters managed their operations within small capital and a small number of employees. By the mid-nineteenth century, machine engineering became more important in Halifax.

Professionals in Halifax consisted of clergy, lawyers, and doctors as well as schoolmasters or teachers. Women were generally excluded from the former group, but some could work as teachers in the first half of the nineteenth century. Together with the industrial service sector (IS01), which consisted of bankers as well as agents of insurance and clerks, the professional sector sustained the service industry in Halifax in the first half of the nineteenth century. The textile manufacturing sector (MF08) was composed of wealthy entrepreneurs such as manufacturers or merchant-manufacturers as well as masters for finishing cloth such as dyers and cloth dressers. Textile manufacturing in Halifax in the second quarter of the nineteenth century also consisted of worsted, woollen, cotton, and carpet sectors. Worsted manufacturers formed the majority of textile manufacturers in Halifax, followed by woollen, cotton, and carpet manufacturers were a minority of textile manufacturers. Dealing in miscellaneous goods (DE04) in the 1830 directory was

population in 1830 is 15106 in this study.

composed of pawnbrokers, ironmongers and dealers of books, and stationery as well as unidentified merchants and shopkeepers. It seems likely that many 'merchants' in the directory were related to the cloth trade, and shopkeepers in the directory were related to food dealing. Furthermore, wool-staplers were the majority of those dealing in raw material (DE01) such as coal, corn and flour, and wool. Dealing was composed of two occupational groups in the first half of the nineteenth century. First was the rich merchants who usually engaged in foreign trade; the second was the small dealers, factors, and drapers. Dealers, factors, and drapers accounted for majority of sector of dealing cloth, but merchants had more substantial capital. It seems that gender division for masters and entrepreneurs of Halifax in 1830 was intensified by female exclusion from specific industries and trades. The industrial service sector was generally dominated by men. Furthermore, although female masters and entrepreneurs were active in businesses producing and dealing in clothing, businesses producing food and drink, and as innkeepers and school teachers, manufacturing metal and machine tools, machine engineering, textile manufacturing, textile dealing, and the professional were dominated by male masters and entrepreneurs. In short, there was a clear diversification of industry in Halifax in the early nineteenth century. Entrepreneurs and masters in Halifax did not always concentrate their capital and skills on the textile industry from 1780 to 1850.

During the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Halifax was replaced as the centre for the worsted industry in West Yorkshire by Bradford, known as 'worstedopolis'. Although constructions of cotton, woollen, and worsted mills had begun in Halifax since the 1770s, after the 1800s Bradford had more worsted mills than Halifax. Furthermore, as John James pointed out, worsted production in Bradford exceeded that of Halifax from the 1810s.³⁶ The population growth in Bradford was also faster than in Halifax. Both Bradford and Halifax parishes had similar natural resources like coal as well as a transport system and local administrations. Halifax was connected by the Calder

³⁶ James, *History*, pp. 376, 388, 409, 430, 489, 498, 513.

and Hebble Navigation, and the Aire and Calder Navigation, though Halifax township was located one and a quarter miles from these canals navigations until 1828. In 1774 Bradford township already had the direct route to the Leeds and Liverpool Navigation, and a canal route between Bradford and Leeds opened in 1777.³⁷ Both townships were religious and local market centres. However, Halifax had more opportunity to use waterpower through 'the fast flowing River Hebble' than Bradford. As a result, the entrepreneurs in this parish delayed introducing steam power in the first half of the nineteenth century.³⁸ Additionally, Bradford concentrated on the worsted industry, while, as John James pointed out,³⁹ the Halifax textile industry was dispersed between three sectors, worsted, woollen, and cotton. The carpet industry became an increasingly important sector in the Halifax textile industry during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Worsteds merchants and manufactures in Bradford tried very actively to protect their own economic interests.⁴⁰ On the other hand, the interests of the entrepreneurs of worsted, woollen, cotton, and carpet sectors in Halifax became diversified in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.⁴¹

Undoubtedly, the textile industry was the engine of economic expansion in Halifax between 1780 and 1850. However, expansion in Halifax was relatively more complex and modest than in Bradford where the worsted industry became concentrated during that period. Economic expansion in Bradford was achieved through the concentration of capital and human resources in one dominant industry in the first half of the nineteenth century.⁴² An urban industrial system in Halifax, like Leeds,⁴³ which distributed capital and human resources to some key industries, and

³⁷ Gary Firth, *Bradford and the Industrial Revolution: an Economic History 1760-1840* (Halifax, 1990), pp. 78-94.

³⁸ Sigsworth, *Mills*, pp.21-25.

³⁹ James, *History*, p.593.

⁴⁰ Sigsworth, *Mills*, pp.26-29.

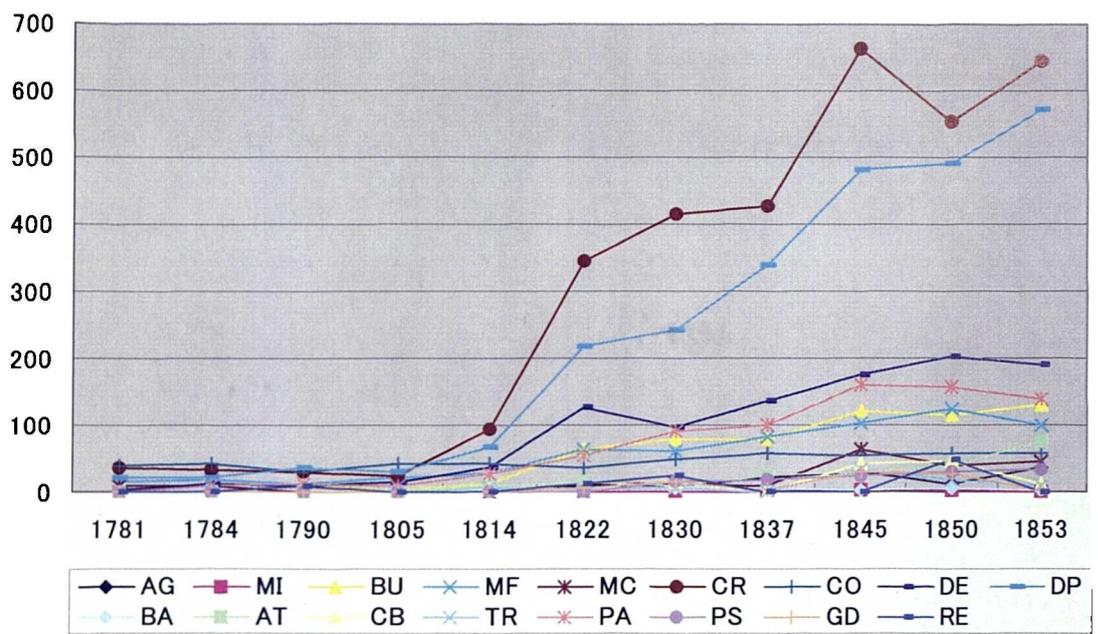
⁴¹ R.M. Hartwell, 'The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries 1800-1850', unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford (1955), p.258.

⁴² Theodore Koditschek, *Class Formation and Urban Industrial Society: Bradford, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, 1990), chap. 3-4.

⁴³ Morris, *Class, Sect and Party*, pp. 20-36.

which reduced the high risk involved in one monopolised industry gradually emerged in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Figure 2.3 Number of Individuals in Halifax in the Commercial Directories by Occupational Category, 1781-1853⁴⁴



Thus, Halifax in the first half of the nineteenth century was one of the leading manufacturing and commercial towns in West Yorkshire. By 1780 the middle classes in Halifax distinguished themselves from the labouring people and the poor through such economic factors as business activities, capital owners and distinct pattern of consumption, and ratepayers and subscribers for voluntary societies.⁴⁵ Many local gentry around Halifax township moved out of the parish from the later eighteenth century. Wealthy merchants and bankers in Halifax moved to the suburbs of Halifax township after 1780 and, like the local gentry, enjoyed life in their suburban mansions.⁴⁶ On the other hand, during that period, occupational difference within the middle classes in Halifax became more conspicuous. This suggests the view of R.J. Morris that occupation represented one

⁴⁴ See list of abbreviations of occupational classification, p. xv.

⁴⁵ Smail, *Origins*, pp. 101-113.

of the principal indicators of economic status and independence in the first half of the nineteenth century.⁴⁷

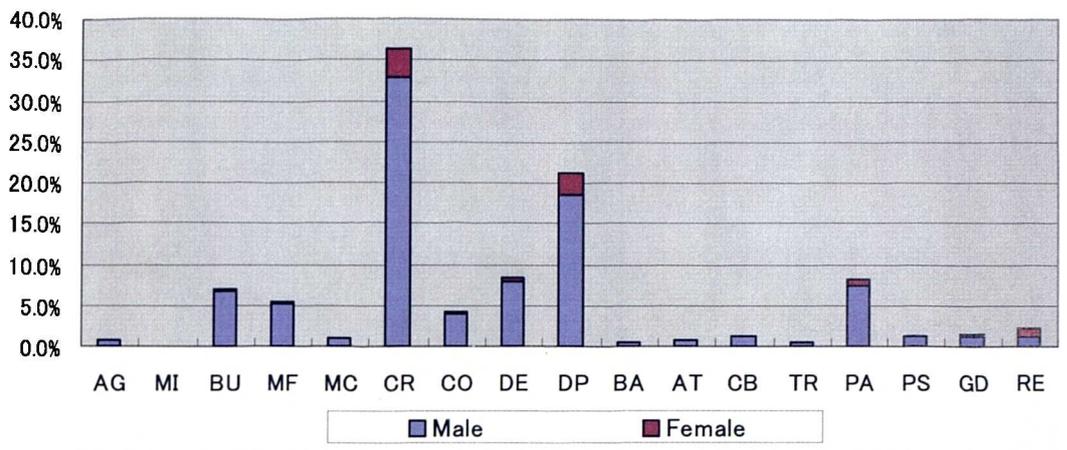
The national and local commercial directories between 1781 and 1853 provide a rich data set for the occupational state for Halifax.⁴⁸ Before Baines's directory for Yorkshire in 1822, the national directories between 1781 and 1814 illustrate the occupational position among the upper middling groups in Halifax mainly as merchant, manufacturer, and professional, though the directories in 1805 and 1814 include plentiful information for the textile craft group and innkeepers (Figure 2.3). In contrast to these national directories, the local directories for Halifax between 1822 and 1853 illustrate not only the upper middling group and the rentier group (RE), but also the lower middling groups. The upper middling group in Halifax, which was capital rich, was mainly composed of commerce (CO), merchant manufacturer (MC), manufacturer (MF), banker (BA), and professional (PA). The lower middling group, which had less capital than the upper middling group, was composed of craft (CR), dealing (DE), distribution and precession (DP), building (BU), agent (AT), and clerk (CB) groups. Comparing the commercial directories for Halifax between 1822 and 1853 with the poll books for Halifax Borough in 1835, 1837, and 1847, which include information on the occupation of voters, it can be seen that the former is more comprehensive than the latter. As already shown section one of this chapter, the local directories for Halifax between 1822 and 1853 include between eleven and fifteen per cent of the total male population. The poll books in 1835, 1837, and 1847 include only between eight and ten per cent of the total male population, as a part of the lower middling group was excluded by the £10 franchise of the Reform Act in 1832. The data in the local directories provides the best information of the occupational state of the middle classes in Halifax in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

⁴⁶ Hargreaves, *Halifax*, pp. 77-84.

⁴⁷ Morris, *Class, Sect and Party*, pp. 20-36, 132-145.

⁴⁸ For reference see Bibliography.

Figure 2.4 Occupational Structure in Halifax in 1830⁴⁹



The occupational structure of the directory in 1830 (Figure 2.4) gives a clear snapshot of the distinction between the upper middling groups and the rentier group, and the lower middling groups. The occupational structure in 1830 is very similar to that shown by the data of 1822, 1837, 1845, 1850, and 1853, though the amount of data increased between 1822 and 1845, and then slightly decreased from 1850 to 1853 (See figure 2.3). The majority of independent masters and entrepreneurs in Halifax in 1830 consisted of the lower middle classes such as craft, and distribution and processing groups. These two groups, together with building, dealing, agent, and clerk groups, occupied about seventy per cent of total entries in the directory for that year. The upper middle classes such as manufacturers, merchant-manufacturers, merchants, bankers, and professionals, and the rentier group together comprised about nineteen per cent of the total. The majority of female masters in the directory of 1830 were in such middle class occupational groups as building, craft, and distribution and processing. As this section showed, female masters had a specific role as innkeepers, dressmakers or dress dealers, and schoolteachers or masters in the economy of Halifax in the first half of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, there were some women in the upper middle classes in Halifax in 1830. As one study demonstrates,⁵⁰ this small female group depended

⁴⁹ Number of the data represents number of individuals. Figure omits the data of the people having no trade in the directory in 1830. Total number of these people is 91.

⁵⁰ Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle*

on revenue from their land and shares in banks, public buildings, and canals and turnpikes.

In short, by the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the middle classes in Halifax were generally identified as two groups: the upper middle class such as merchants, bankers, manufacturers, and professionals; and the lower middle class such as the craft, dealer, and distribution and processing groups who had less capital. Critical questions on industrial structure and occupational structure in Halifax from 1780 to 1850 emerged. First, if it is clear that the textile industry employed a larger work force than other industries in Halifax, how did the middle classes in Halifax develop the textile industry between 1780 and 1850? While the textile industry employed the bulk of the population, how did the industrial structure of Halifax diversify without the decline of non-textile industry? How did the middle classes sustain this diversified industrial structure in Halifax? How the did industrial structure in Halifax relate to occupational state? The remaining pages of this section will investigate these questions.

During the hundred years after 1750, changes in organisational patterns, commercial links, credit relationships, the sorts of cloth produced, and production techniques were embodied with the growth of the woollen and worsted industry in Halifax.⁵¹ Organisational change in the woollen and worsted industry, where the process of centralisation and mechanisation was most concentrated, had the most direct impact on employment in Halifax during that time. For woollen, worsted, and cotton manufacturers in Halifax, factory construction was the main strategy for centralisation. Since the mid-eighteenth century, the larger worsted manufacturers in Halifax organised their business through the putting-out system.⁵² This entrepreneur was the organiser of production

Class 1780-1850 (1987), chap. 6.

⁵¹ Pat Hudson, *The Industrial Revolution* (1992), p. 116.

⁵² Smail, *Origins*, pp. 53-81; idem, *Merchants, Markets and Manufacture: the English Wool Textile Industry in the Eighteenth Century* (Basingstoke, 1999), chap. 3. Cf. Stephen Counce, 'Not Sprung from Princes: Middling Society in Eighteenth-century West Yorkshire', in A. Kidd and D. Nicholls

rather than a master engaged in the actual production system. By the 1770s worsted manufacturers in Halifax faced serious difficulties in the putting-out system such as embezzlement by worsted spinners. In order to maintain their business, the Worsted Committee was founded in 1777 by the Worsted Acts followed by the campaigns of the worsted merchants and manufacturers. This committee was a powerful body aiming to restrict the embezzlement of yarn and to appoint an inspector to curtail this embezzlement.⁵³ In the 1800s the larger worsted manufacturer still employed a large amount of domestic labour in Halifax through the putting-out system. By the mid-1820s the worsted manufacturers in Halifax increased machine-based production in response to increasing costs of the putting-out system and demand.⁵⁴ In the woollen industry, the domestic system organised by clothiers was central to the production of woollen cloth in the eighteenth century. Clothiers traded their cloth at the Cloth Hall (called 'Piece Hall' in Halifax which was completed in 1779⁵⁵) with merchants. After buying cloth at the hall, the merchant gave the cloths to cloth finishers.⁵⁶ Halifax township became a market for cloth and a cloth finishing centre by the mid-eighteenth century, while almost all clothiers in Halifax township moved to out-townships in Halifax Parish.⁵⁷ By the 1800s the large master clothiers in Halifax Parish attempted to install 'the new preparatory and finishing machinery available in his mill and workshops' and 'increasingly marketing his cloths directly, thereby by-passing the cloth halls and the merchants'.⁵⁸ However,

(eds.), *The Making of the British Middle Class?* (Stroud, 1998).

⁵³ Herbert Heaton, *The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries from Earliest Times up to the Industrial Revolution*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1965), pp.418-437; Firth, *Bradford*, pp.144-152; Kiyoshi Sakamaki, 'The Dead Line of the Putting-out System in the Yorkshire Worsted Industry in the Eighteenth Century', *Tohoku Management and Accounting Research Group(TM & ARG)*, Discussion Paper, 23 (1991).

⁵⁴ Pat Hudson, *The Genesis of Industrial Capital: a Study of the West Riding Wool Textile Industry, c.1750-1850* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 37-41.

⁵⁵ H. Ling Roth, *The Yorkshire Coiners 1767-1783 and Notes on Old and Prehistoric Halifax* (Halifax, 1906), chap. 4; M.W. Garside, 'The Halifax Piece Hall', *THAS* (1921), pp. 169-208; Philip Smithies, *The Architecture of the Halifax Piece Hall, 1775-1779* (Halifax, 1988).

⁵⁶ Heaton, *Yorkshire*, chap. 9 and 10; Adrian Randall, *Before the Luddites: Custom, Community and Machinery in the English Woollen Industry, 1776-1809* (Cambridge, 1991), chap. 1.

⁵⁷ Hargreaves, *Halifax*, pp. 29-30, 36-37, 69-72; Betteridge, 'Study', pp. 65-68.

⁵⁸ Randall, *Luddites*, pp. 208, 215; R.G. Wilson, *Gentlemen Merchants: the Merchant Community in Leeds 1700-1830* (Manchester, 1971), pp. 93-97; Hudson, *Genesis*, pp. 70-84.

the Cloth Hall system gradually declined by the advent of the power loom in the 1840s. Only then was the woollen manufacturer in Halifax able to overcome the domestic system around Halifax township.

Thus, the pace of construction of woollen or worsted factories in Halifax township was slower between 1780 and 1820 than between 1821 and 1835. According to D.T. Jenkins,⁵⁹ three worsted factories were constructed in Halifax township from 1780 to 1800, one woollen and one worsted from 1801 to 1820, two woollen and 11 worsted from 1821 to 1835, while 70 woollen and worsted factories were constructed in out-townships in Halifax Parish from 1780 to 1835. Cotton mills mainly spread in some western townships of Halifax Parish between 1780 and 1835. According to George Ingham,⁶⁰ one cotton factory was built in Halifax township from 1780 to 1800, another one from 1801 to 1820, and another one from 1820 to 1835, while 133 cotton mills were constructed in out-townships of Halifax Parish between 1780 and 1835. According to the Factory Returns in 1835,⁶¹ there were fourteen worsted mills, four woollen mills, two cotton mills, and two silk mills in Halifax, Northowram, and Southowram, while there were twenty nine worsted mills, thirty four woollen mills, fifty three cotton mills, and five silk mills in the other townships of Halifax Parishes. It seems that the worsted manufacturer in Halifax preferred females to employ to males, and young workers under 20 to adult workers, when they started to operate under the factory system from the later 1820s to the 1830s.⁶² In 1835, four woollen mills in Halifax employed 86 males and 74 females, while fourteen worsted mills in Halifax employed 305 males and 464 females. In these worsted factories 402 females under 20 and 224 males under 20 were employed. It seems likely that adult males engaged in the worsted industry worked as hand weavers or wool combers rather

⁵⁹ D.T. Jenkins, *The West Riding Wool Textile Industry 1770-1835: a Study of Fixed Capital Formation* (Edington, 1975), pp. 208-239.

⁶⁰ George Ingle, *Yorkshire Cotton: the Yorkshire Cotton Industry, 1780-1835* (Preston, 1997), pp. 131-160; D.T. Jenkins, 'The Cotton Industry in Yorkshire 1780-1900', *Textile History*, 10 (1979).

⁶¹ P.P., *Return of the Number of Persons Employed in Cotton, Woollen, Worsted, Flax and Silk Factories of the United Kingdom* (1836), XLV.

⁶² Hudson, *Genesis*, pp. 81-84; idem, *Revolution*, pp. 118-119.

than as factory workers at this time.

Factory-based mechanisation in the woollen and worsted industry was slower than cotton spinning and weaving in Halifax Parish after 1780.⁶³ In the cotton industry, the spinning machine was introduced from the 1780s, and power loom weaving spread from the 1820s. In the woollen industry, first scribbling was mechanised by 1800, then spinning by the early 1830s, and finally power loom by the 1830s, although the power loom had not become dominant in the woollen industry until 1860. Woollen manufacturers also tried to introduce the finishing machine, the gig mill, in their factories from the 1800s, though the gig mill was still not yet popular in Halifax in the 1840s. In the worsted industry, first spinning was mechanised, then weaving after the 1820s, and lastly wool combing after the early 1850s. In addition to cotton, woollen and worsted, and carpet weaving was mechanised within the factory after the later 1840s.

Centralisation and factory-based mechanisation in the Halifax textile industries started in the 1780s, but only accelerated after the later 1820s.⁶⁴ In general, the manufacturers in Halifax together with Huddersfield were quicker to introduce centralisation and mechanisation from the 1780s than those in Leeds.⁶⁵ Except for wool combing in the worsted industry and finishing work in the woollen industry, the factory system in the worsted, woollen, cotton, and carpet industries became consolidated in Halifax by the 1850s. The textile industries in Halifax expanded through gradual centralisation, and factory-based mechanisation, and were able to maintain a competitive power in the domestic and overseas markets from 1780 to 1850. Employment of the expanding local population was achieved by growth in the textile industry in Halifax, while factory-based

⁶³ This paragraph below depends on Hudson, *Genesis*, pp. 41-46; Hargreaves, *Halifax*, p. 71.

⁶⁴ For institutional factors of centralisation and factory-based mechanisation in the textile industry in Yorkshire West Riding, see S.A. Caunce, 'Complexity, Community Structure and Competitive Advantage within the Yorkshire Woollen Industry, c.1700-1850', *Business History*, 39 (1997); Smail, *Merchants*, chap. 7-8.

⁶⁵ Randall, *Luddites*, pp. 208, 261; Smail, *Origins*, chap. 8; Wilson, *Merchants*, pp. 93-97. Cf. Caunce, 'Not Sprung'.

mechanisation transformed the relationship between manufacturers and workers. One witness from the weaver community described his hostility against manufacturers on the Select Committee on Handloom Weavers' in 1835.

In Halifax there are two extensive manufacturers, two brothers [James and Jonathan Akroyd]; the one weaves by power looms and the other by hand looms ... They have to sell their goods against each other, therefore they must bring their wages as near a point of comparison as possible in order to obtain a profit.⁶⁶

Two giant manufacturers, the Akroyds for the worsted industry and the Crossley brothers for the carpet industry, employed more than 1000 workers at their factories in Halifax in the 1850s,⁶⁷ while the majority of textile factories in Halifax employed fewer than one hundred workers at this time. Nevertheless, it was undeniable that the manufacturers' presence in the Halifax economy had become definitive during the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

While the expansion of the textile industry in Halifax continued from 1780 to 1850, other industrial, dealing, and service sectors became established in the town. Industrial diversification in Halifax in the first half of the nineteenth century depended on the character of business partnerships and organisations. The textile industry in Halifax interacted with other manufacturing industries and service industries. Textile manufacturers and merchants for cloth sometimes employed agents, commercial travellers, clerks, and bookkeepers in order to negotiate domestic and foreign markets. The machine tool and engineering industries were closely connected to the textile trades. In the later eighteenth century Halifax was already the centre for the machine tool industry. During the

⁶⁶ P.P., *Report from Select Committee on Hand-Loom Weavers' Petitions*, 1835, XIII, pp. 60-61. James and Jonathan Akroyd were the giant worsted manufacturers in Halifax in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. See anon., *History of the Firm of Jas. Akroyd & Son, Limited, Halifax* (Leeds, 1874).

⁶⁷ Alan Dingsdale, 'Yorkshire Mill Town: a Study of the Spatial Patterns and Processes of Urban Industrial Growth and the Evolution of Spatial Structure in Halifax, 1801-1901', unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Leeds (1974), pp. 32-34.

first half of the nineteenth century textile manufacturers sometimes employed machine tool makers in their factory. Furthermore, despite innovation by machine engineers,⁶⁸ some manufacturers, like the Crossleys, the giant carpet manufacturer, asked machine makers to build their new textile machines in the 1850s.⁶⁹

The machine tool industry in Halifax between 1780 and 1850 was relatively small in scale. It had links with the leather and metal industries. The division of manufacturing processes for machine tool production created specialised masters, such as card makers, card engine makers, wire drawers, wool comb makers, iron founders, curriers and so on, in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. It appears that, as in the metal industry in Birmingham and Sheffield,⁷⁰ machine tool masters in Halifax developed business partnerships between themselves during the first half of the nineteenth century. Machine tool makers in Halifax had not lost all their workers to the textile industry during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. As Gill Cookson points out, machine tool makers such as card makers could employ unskilled workers, especially children and females, from their neighbourhood.⁷¹ In short, business co-operation within the textile industry fostered industrial services and professionals such as agents, commercial travellers, bookkeepers, clerks, bankers and attorneys, and those in other manufacturing industries especially in machine tool and engineering. Although the business organisation of these non-textile industries was relatively smaller than the organisation of textile manufacturing, they were not passive organisations. Through specialised masters, business co-operation and the supply of unskilled workers from the neighbourhood, these non-textile industries thrived together with the textile industry in the first half of the nineteenth

⁶⁸ Gillian Cookson, 'Innovation, Diffusion, and Mechanical Engineers in Britain, 1780-1850', *Economic History Review*, 47 (1994); Christine Macleod, 'Strategies for Innovation: the Diffusion of New Technology in Nineteenth-century British Industry', *Economic History Review*, 45 (1992).

⁶⁹ Macleod, 'Strategies', pp. 295-298.

⁷⁰ Maxine Berg, 'Small Producer Capitalism in Eighteenth-century England', *Business History*, 35 (1993).

⁷¹ Gillian Cookson, 'The Mechanization of Yorkshire Card-Making', *Textile History*, 29 (1996), pp. 54-55.

century.⁷²

Textile merchants and manufacturers also depended on commercial credit after the mid-eighteenth century. Attorneys played an important role in creating and maintaining the commercial credit network,⁷³ and the financial relationship between attorney, and merchant and manufacturer was very close.⁷⁴ Furthermore, during the first half of the nineteenth century the financial relationship between local bankers, and textile manufacturers and cloth merchants in Halifax intensified. The most important providers of commercial credit in Halifax in the first half of the nineteenth century were the Halifax Joint Stock Banking Company (HJBC) established in 1829, the Halifax and Huddersfield Union Banking Company (HHUBC) in 1836, and the Halifax Commercial Banking Company(HCBC) in 1836.⁷⁵ Through this local banking system, credit between manufacturers and merchants, and bankers in Halifax became more formalised and more efficient in the 1830s and 1840s. This credit matrix supported the manufacturer's fixed capital investment and the merchant's foreign trade.⁷⁶ Thus, as Katrina Honeyman points out, getting and managing capital was a critical operation for the middle classes in their business and economic activities in Halifax during that period.⁷⁷ The financial relationship between the middle classes in a specific local community was one of their principal economic relationships.

After the establishment of three local banks in Halifax between 1829 and 1836 the financial relationship between the middle classes intensified. Indeed, the local banks, HJBC, HHUBC, and

⁷² Eric Webster, *Textiles and Tools: 19th Century Industries in Calderdale* (Halifax, [1990]).

⁷³ M. Miles, 'The Money Market in the Early Industrial Revolution: the Evidence from West Riding Attorneys', *Business History*, 23 (1981); idem, 'Eminent Practitioners: the New Visage of Country Attorneys c.1750-1800', in G.R. Rubin and D. Sugarman (eds.), *Law, Economy and Society, 1750-1914: Essays in the History of English Law* (Abington, 1984).

⁷⁴ Hudson, *Genesis*, pp. 211-218.

⁷⁵ H. Ling Roth, *The Genesis of Banking in Halifax with Side Lights on Country Banking*, (Halifax, 1914); W.C.E. Hartley, *Banking in Yorkshire* (Clapham, 1975), pp. 46-53, 120-122.

⁷⁶ Hudson, *Genesis*, pp. 262-267.

⁷⁷ Katrina Honeyman, *Origins of Enterprise: Business Leadership in the Industrial Revolution* (Manchester, 1982), esp. chap. 9 points out importance of amount of capital on business.

HCBC, had not only made business contracts with the upper middle classes such as textile merchants and manufacturers. For instance, more than one hundred people from the lower middle classes from the craft, dealing, and distribution and processing groups had contracts with these three local banks in Halifax in 1846. According to one report in *the Halifax Guardian* in 1846,⁷⁸ HJBC had contracts with 182 people, HHUBC with 317, and HCBC with 136. In this time HJBC contracted 26 people from the craft group, 17 people from the dealing group, and 12 people from the distribution and processing group, while this bank contracted with 47 manufacturers, 29 people from rentier group and 18 merchants. 30 per cent of total contractors at this time came from the first three occupational groups. The HHUBC and HCBC had more customers from the upper middle classes than those from the lower middle classes. Manufacturers, merchants, and the rentier group occupied about fifty per cent out of total customers of the HHUBC, while the craft, dealing, and distribution and processing groups were 18 per cent out of total. Manufacturers, merchants and rentiers occupied about 50 per cent out of total customers of the HCBC, while the craft, dealing, and distribution and processing groups was 27 per cent out of total. It was common behaviour for the lower and upper middle classes in Halifax to construct financial relationships through credit from the local banks after the 1830s.

⁷⁸ *HG* 7 Feb. 1846.

Figure 2.5 Occupational Structure of Shareholders for HHUBC in 1836⁷⁹

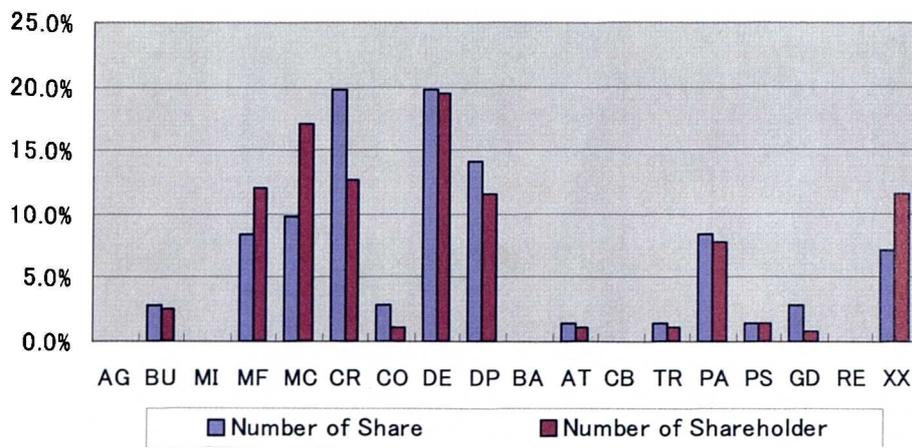
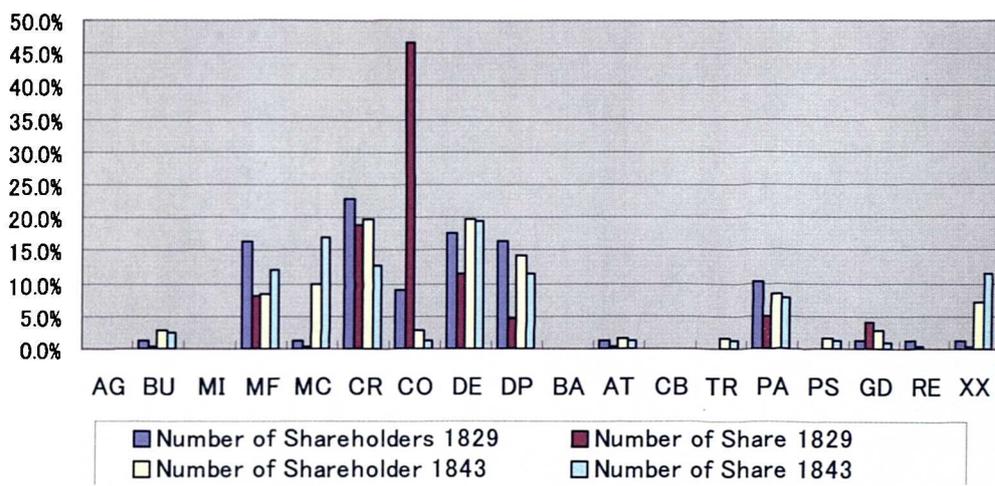


Figure 2.6 Occupational Structure of Shareholders in Halifax for HJBC in 1829 and 1843⁸⁰



⁷⁹ For reference see text. Total number of shareholders is 404. The number of shareholders from Halifax, Northowram and Southowram is 188 that is 47 per cent out of total shareholders.

⁸⁰ For reference see text. Note: This figure is constructed from the document in 1829 related to the directory for 1830 (for Halifax, Northowram and Southowram) and from the document in 1843 related to the directory for 1845 (for Halifax, Northowram and Southowram). Total number of shareholders is 231 in 1829 and 163 in 1843. The document in 1829 includes 179 shareholders from Halifax, Northowram and Southowram, which is 78 per cent out of total shareholders. The document in 1843 includes 125 shareholders from Halifax, Northowram and Southowram, which is 77 per cent out of total shareholders. Record linkage between the document in 1829 and the directory for 1830 links 79, which is 44 per cent out of the data in 1829 for Halifax, Northowram and Southowram. Record linkage between the document in 1843 and the directory for 1845 links 71 data, which is 57 per cent out of the data in 1843 from Halifax, Northowram and Southowram.

Both the upper and lower middle classes also had the opportunity to invest in these local banks in Halifax in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. According to the surviving original deed of settlement for HJBC in 1829 and for HHUBC in 1836, and the supplementary deed of settlement for HJBC in 1843,⁸¹ the lower middle classes had never been excluded from the opportunities to invest in these banks in the second quarter of the nineteenth century (Figure 2.5 and 2.6). The shareholders of HHUBC from the lower middle classes such as the craft, dealing, and distribution and processing groups is 107, or 27 per cent out of total shareholders, while the shareholders of the HJBC in 1829 from the lower middle classes orders is 45, or 48 per cent of total subjects by record linkage between the deed and the directory. The shareholders of the HJBC in 1843 from the lower middle classes is 38 or 54 per cent out of total data by record linkage between the deed and the directory. The shareholders of the HHUBC from the upper middle classes such as manufacturers, merchants, and professionals is 163 which is 50 per cent of total shareholders, while corresponding figures for HJBC in 1829 was 29 or 36.8 per cent, and for HJBC in 1843 from the same group is 21 or 21 per cent of total out of total data by record linkage. In the 1830s and 1840s the upper middle classes as well as the lower middle classes in Halifax were active investors in economic organisations such as the local banks.

However, there were occupational differences in the scale of shareholding in the HJBC and HHUBC. The shareholders of HHUBC from the upper middle classes had 61 per cent of the total number of shares, while the shareholders of the HHUBC from the lower middle classes had only 18 per cent. In 1829 the upper middle classes held 60 per cent of the total number of shares in HJBC, while 35 percent of the shareholders of the HJBC were from the lower middle classes. In contrast to these two examples, the upper middle classes held 30 per cent of total number of shares in HJBC in 1843,

⁸¹ Lloyds Bank Archives, Halifax Joint Stock Banking Company, Original Deed of Settlement, 1829, A/54/ a/1; Supplementary Deed of Settlement of Halifax Joint Stock Banking Company, 1843, A/ 54/a/2; Halifax and Huddersfield Union Banking Company, Original Deed of Settlement, 1836, A/54/1/a/2. For these documents, see Hudson, *Genesis*, p. 306.

while 54 percent of the shareholders was from the lower middle classes. Since the overlapped data has been omitted, it seems that the number of shares of HJBC in 1843, held by the upper middle classes such as commerce group, is underestimated. The upper middle classes invested in HJBC and HHUBC in the 1830s and the 1840s more than the lower middle classes did, and were therefore more important in the management of the banks. The management of the HJBC, HHUBC, and HCBC was controlled by less than eight directors, who came from the banker, merchant, manufacturer, professional, and rentier group.⁸²

After 1850, other commercial and financial institutions such as the Penny Savings Bank, the Halifax Permanent Building Society, other temporary building societies, and industrial co-operation were established in Halifax. Although those were familiar to the labouring people, the giant investors in the building societies and the saving bank were the key managers in these organisations. For instance, from 1845, the giant manufacturers, the Crossleys and the Akroyds, were the critical investors for the building societies and the saving bank.⁸³

The second crucial factor in the industrial diversification of Halifax township was its emergence as a market centre not only for cloth but also for food and other basic goods from the 1750s. The opening of the Piece Hall was crucial to this. It helped Halifax to become the dominant market place in the parish. Furthermore, clothiers, dealers, factors, and merchants visiting the Piece Hall stimulated demand for lodging, drink, and the food industry in Halifax. The Halifax New Market,

⁸² Ling Roth, *Genesis*, pp. 18-37.

⁸³ S.J. Daniels, 'Moral Order and the Industrial Environment in the Woollen Textile District of West Yorkshire, 1780-1880', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London (1980), chap. 7 and 8; J.A. Jowitt, 'Copley, Ackroyd and West Hill Park: Moral Reform and Social Improvement in Halifax', in J.A. Jowitt (ed.), *Model Industrial Communities in Mid-Nineteenth Century Yorkshire* (Bradford, 1986); M.H. Yeadell, 'Building Societies in the West Riding of Yorkshire and their Contribution to Housing Provision in the Nineteenth Century', in Martin Doughty (ed.), *Building the Industrial City* (Leicester, 1986).

which was important for the food trade, especially meat, opened in 1788. Halifax also became an important location of social and cultural facilities after the 1800s.⁸⁴ Some societies concerned with social issues such as the benevolent society and prosecution society were established before the 1790s. The Halifax General Dispensary was established in 1807. This dispensary was supported by the middle classes in the Halifax township and out-townships as well as local gentry around Halifax township. Cultural events such as music concerts and public science lectures were initiated at this time. In addition to the Halifax Circulating Library established in 1769, buildings for recreation, such as spas and provincial theatres, opened by the 1800s. Moreover, Halifax had an active trade in publishing in the later eighteenth century, and between 1801 and 1810 a local newspaper *the Halifax Journal* was published.

During the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the development of social and cultural facilities accelerated. As we have shown, services for industry like local banks and insurance services, became more prominent. In 1850 the number of professionals was about three times that in 1822. There were many cultural and educational voluntary societies during the second quarter of the nineteenth century.⁸⁵ At that time Halifax had the short-lived *Halifax Commercial Chronicle* (1829-1830), *the Halifax and Huddersfield Express* (1831-1841), *the Halifax Reformer* (1847-1850), and *the Halifax Guardian* from 1832, while 'Halifax was particularly well supplied with printers such as John Nicholson, Henry Martin, and H. Pohlman', and William Milner was 'a remarkable pioneer in the cheap book trade in the late [eighteen] thirties and forties'.⁸⁶ While Halifax established its dominance as a market for cloth from the 1770s to the 1800s, it also succeeded in cultivating social and cultural facilities to stimulate food, trade, and service industries. The pace of

⁸⁴ Hargreaves, *Halifax*, pp. 85-86; Humphreys, 'Examination', p. 220. See also *Halifax Journal*, 1801-1810.

⁸⁵ See section 2 in this chapter.

⁸⁶ J.F.C. Harrison, *Learning and Living, 1790-1960: a Study in the History of the English Adult Education Movement* (1961), pp. 34-35, 36. For Milner, see H.E. Wroot, 'William Milner of Halifax - A Pioneer in Cheap Literature', *The Bookman* (March 1897); D. Bridge, 'William Milner: Printer and Bookseller', *THAS* (1969).

development in the service, food and dealing industries was faster in the second quarter of the nineteenth century than in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

Demographic growth and industrial expansion such as growth of the textile industry and diversification of industry in Halifax had critical effects on the middle classes from 1780 to 1850. First, the very wealthy bankers, merchants, and manufacturers in Halifax emerged in the first half of the nineteenth century. For example, the giant manufacturers such as the Akroyds and the Crossleys emerged in the first half of the nineteenth century during the growth of the textile industry, especially the worsted and carpet sectors. Local bankers such as the Rawson and the Briggs played an important role sustaining financial relationships in Halifax in the first half of the nineteenth-century. By establishing two local banks in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, they intensified financial organisations in Halifax. Secondly, besides the textile giant manufacturers, other manufacturers were also actively engaged in their business in Halifax in the first half of the nineteenth century. For example, there were about one hundred textile manufacturers in the commercial directories in 1830. Furthermore, other manufacturing industries such as manufacturing of machine tool, and engineering of machines developed in Halifax since the later eighteenth century, as they cooperated with textile industrialists in Halifax. Thirdly, due to the diversification of industry in Halifax in the first half of the nineteenth century, professionals, publishers, small dealers, and the distribution and processing group such as shopkeepers and innkeepers grew in Halifax in the first half of the nineteenth century. In short, from 1780 to 1850, the middle classes investors played a significant role in business and economic life in Halifax. Obviously, financial relationships and business cooperation between manufacturers such as between textile manufacturers and manufacturers of machine tools became more intensified by the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Thus, the industrial system in Halifax from 1780 to 1850 diversified quantity and quality of capital and nature of work within the middle classes, and as a

result, their demands and interests became more heterogeneous.

2. Public Institutions in Halifax: an Outline, 1780-1850

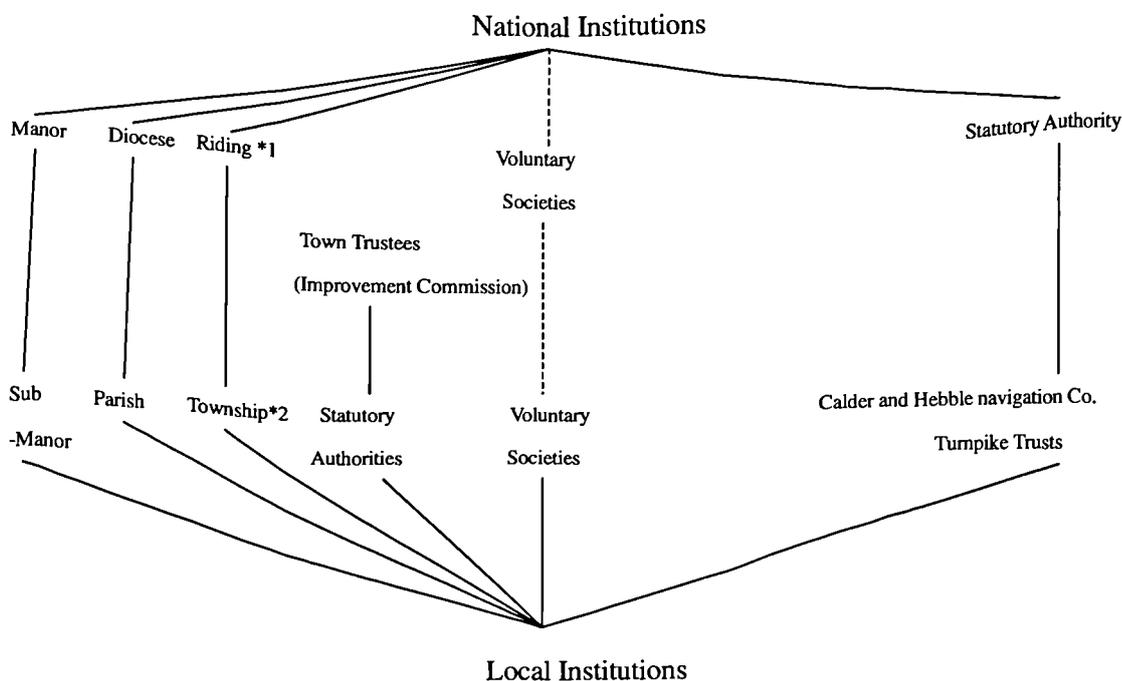
Public institutions in Halifax between 1780 and 1850 provided social services to inhabitants, and maintained social order in this local community. These institutions regulated and distributed various cultural, economic, and social resources for individuals in Halifax. In the eighteenth century, as the work of David Eastwood indicates, there were more public associations in urban areas than in rural areas.⁸⁷

In this section, the structure and agency of public institutions in Halifax from 1780 to 1850 is examined. First, voluntary societies are distinguished from other public institutions. The voluntary society is defined not as a permanent organisations but as a social group established and managed by the people who had gathered in order to solve or achieve an object without the support of the government, Parliament or Law.⁸⁸ Thus, parish administration, statutory authority such as Improvement Commission by Parliamentary acts, Turnpike trusts and Canal Navigations, and the Anglican church and Dissenter chapels are distinguished from voluntary society. It is not clear whether some charitable trusts and public buildings, which were authorised by Parliament Acts, were voluntary societies or not. This study takes the view that these organisations were voluntary societies, as they did not get constant support from the government, yet some voluntary societies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries aimed to be authorised by Parliamentary Act in order to intensify their organisation.

⁸⁷ David Eastwood, *Government and Community in the English Provinces, 1700-1870* (Basingstoke, 1997), p.41; Clark, *British Clubs*, chap. 4.

⁸⁸ R.J. Morris, 'Clubs, Societies and Associations', in F.M.L. Thompson (ed.), *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950, vol. 3: Social Agencies and Institutions* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 395.

Diagram 2.1 Principal Public Institutions in Halifax c.1780-1830⁸⁹



*1 includes JPs.

*2 includes constables, overseers of the poor, churchwardens.

Local administrative bodies in Halifax between 1780 and 1850 were organisations both to maintain social order and mitigate social problems such as poverty. Diagram 2.1 illustrates the structure of political power in public institutions. The vestry, which was one of the important agencies of local administration, linked the Justices of the Peace (JPs) of the West Riding.⁹⁰ Through the West Riding Quarter Sessions JPs appointed township officers as the overseers of the poor and the surveyors of highways. In the eighteenth century JPs in the West Riding came from gentry or landed gentlemen in the eighteenth century. A large part of the parish government of Halifax was based on manorial tenants and the manorial court. The parish comprised two big manors, the honour of Pontefract, and the manor of Wakefield.⁹¹ The manorial court in the eighteenth century

⁸⁹ This diagram is based on Betteridge, 'Study', p. 166, though the author modifies some parts.

⁹⁰ This paragraph depends on Betteridge, 'Halifax before the Industrial Revolution, Part One'; idem, 'Halifax before the Industrial Revolution, Part Two'; Hargreaves, *Halifax*, pp. 107-111.

⁹¹ Martha J. Ellis, 'A Study in the Manorial History of Halifax Parish in the Sixteenth and

was exclusively made up of gentry. The control of the manorial lord was exerted by his steward or understeward, and other officers. Constables, were important officers in Halifax township as well as of other townships and after the 1750s were frequently attorneys, sworn at the court leet by the stewards. Town Trustees (or Improvement Commissioners) were established by the Improvement Act of 1762. Trustees controlled water supply to inhabitants, levied the water rate, and were responsible for social order in the streets in Halifax. The act was revised in 1768 and 1823.⁹² Some commercial institutions were established by Parliamentary Acts. The committee of the Halifax New Market, established in 1788, was authorised by Parliamentary Act in 1810, and the Halifax Gas Company was established by Parliamentary Act in 1822.⁹³ Turnpike Trusts and the Canal Navigation were established after the mid-eighteenth century.⁹⁴

From 1830 to 1848 the structure of local power in administrative bodies in Halifax was transformed. Diagram 2.2 illustrates the critical changes. Firstly, Halifax township and part of Northowram and Southowram became a Parliamentary Borough, electing two M.Ps. from 1832. Secondly, the Board of Guardians of Halifax Poor Law Union was formed in 1837 by the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. The new union workhouse building was opened in 1841. Lastly, Halifax township, and parts of Northowram and Southowram, was incorporated in 1848. The resulting Municipal Borough Corporation of Halifax was composed of one mayor, ten aldermen, and 30 councillors.

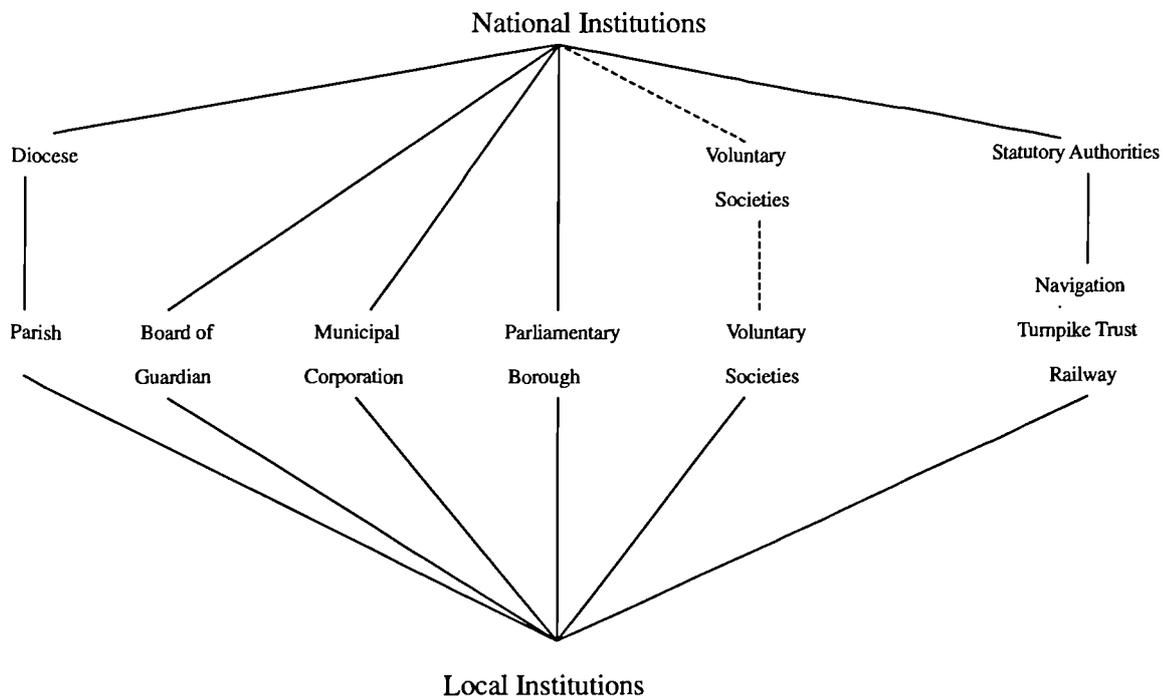
Seventeenth centuries Part I and II', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 40 (1959-1962).

⁹² 2 George III, c.40. An Act for Supplying the Town of Halifax with Water (1762); 8 George III, c.44. An Act to amend and render more effectual an Act made in the Second Year of the Reign of His present Majesty for supplying the Town of Halifax with Water (1768); 4 George IV, c.90. An Act for paving, lighting, cleaning, watching and improving the Township of Halifax, and for supplying the same with water (1823).

⁹³ 50 George III, c.30. An Act for regulating the New Market Place in the Town of Halifax, in the West Riding of the Country of York (1810); 3 George IV, c.30. An Act for Lighting with Gas the Town and Township of Halifax, and the Neighbourhood thereof, within the Parish of Halifax, in the West Riding of the Country of York(1822).

⁹⁴ See this chapter pp. 55-57.

Diagram 2.2 Principal Public Institutions in Halifax in 1848



This institutional transformation affected power relationships in local administrative bodies. First, new administrative bodies took over the authority of the existing local administrative bodies. The overseers of the poor lost their authority over the poor and the workhouse to the Board of Guardians. The Municipal Borough Corporation took over the work of the Town Trustees established by the Improvement Act in 1823, and then gained authority for collecting the local rates from the vestry.⁹⁵ Secondly, there were conflicts between the various administrative bodies. Although there were no serious conflicts between the Town Trustees and the Municipal Borough, the vestry protested the Corporation strongly when the Borough Corporation tried to take over the authority for local rates.⁹⁶ Thirdly, political conflicts in the new institutions became more serious. The process of establishing the Board of Guardians generated severe conflict between the new officers of this

⁹⁵ G.R. Dalby, 'The Work of the Halifax Town Trustees from the Passing of the Improvement Act of 1823 to the Incorporation of the Borough in 1848', unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Leeds (1953).

⁹⁶ WAH, Halifax St John the Baptist Parish Church, Vestry Minute Book, 1816-1899, D53/6/1, esp. see 1848-1851.

Board and the people supporting the Anti-Poor Law movement. The political conflict in Halifax between the Tories and Whigs/Liberals after 1832 was another case. Moreover, the Radical groups often challenged these two political groups in the 1830s and 1840s. Lastly, and the most importantly, all these institutions formalised political qualifications in Halifax. Although the Sturges Bourne Act⁹⁷ and the Improvement Act clarified the qualification of administrative officers and the right to vote in these organisations, the Parliamentary Reform Act in 1832 and the incorporation in 1848 were the most important events establishing the public political position of male property owners and distinguishing them both from the non-propertied classes and all females in Halifax.

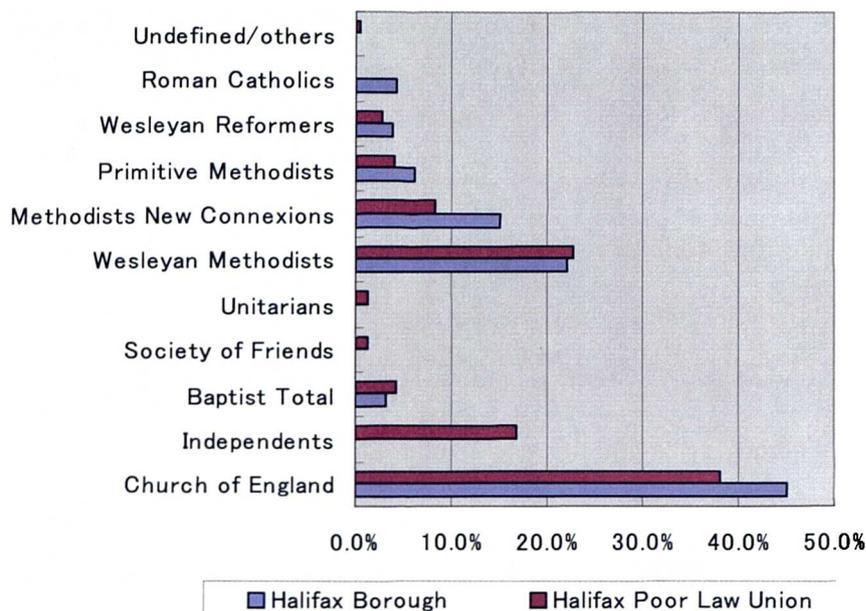
The church and chapel were also essential components of public life in Halifax between 1780 and 1850. As Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall suggest,⁹⁸ ‘if religious belief offered individuals a sense of identity and a community [in public life], it also offered personal comfort and security in an unstable and unsafe world’. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the ecclesiastical business of the Anglican church was united under the vicar of the Halifax Parish, which fell into three units: Halifax parish, Heptonstall Chapelry, and Elland Chapelry. By the end of the eighteenth century, there were chapels or meeting places in Halifax township for the principal denominations of Nonconformists: Unitarian, Congregationalist, Particular and General Baptist, Wesleyan and Methodist New Connexion, and Quaker.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *English Local Government from the Revolution to the Municipal Corporations Act, vol. 1, the Parish and the County* (1906), pp. 146-172.

⁹⁸ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 77.

⁹⁹ John Andrew Hargreaves, ‘Religion and Society in the Parish of Halifax c. 1740-1914’, unpublished thesis, the Council for National Academic Awards (Huddersfield Polytechnic) (1991),

Figure 2.7 Religious Structure of Halifax, 1851¹⁰⁰



According to the census of 1851, it seems that the Anglican church in Halifax succeeded in getting more support from local inhabitants than in other towns in West Yorkshire. However, as John Hargreaves points out,¹⁰¹ there is less data for Congregationalist and Unitarians in Halifax township in 1851. In contrast to the 1851 census data, Edward Baines estimated 4376 sittings for Anglican Churches in Halifax township in 1843, which was 31 per cent of total number of sittings and 9679 sittings for All Nonconformists, which was 69 per cent of total.¹⁰² If we assume Baines's estimation of the religious preference in Halifax to be reasonably accurate, then support for the Anglicans at Halifax at this time was relatively low.

The religious voluntary societies in Halifax were supported by the Churches and Chapels. There were at least eight religious voluntary societies, such as the Auxiliary Religious Tract Society and

chap. 3.

¹⁰⁰ *P.P.*, Accounts and Papers: Population: Religious Worship (England and Wales) (1852-53), LXXXIX. This figure was made from number of sittings for religious denominations.

¹⁰¹ Hargreaves, 'Religion', pp. 85-92.

¹⁰² Edward Baines, jun., *On the Social, Educational and Religious State of the Manufacturing*

Auxiliary Bible Society in Halifax in 1830. The churches and chapels were also closely related to cultural and educational activities in the town.¹⁰³ Sunday schools, day schools, and mutual improvement societies were opened by the Churches and chapels. The British School and the National School opened in Halifax in the 1810s. The former was supported by both Nonconformists and Anglicans, and the latter by Anglicans only. The churches and chapels also cultivated a musical tradition. For example, the organ of the Parish Church was sometimes used for concerts. At these concerts, subscriptions for the philanthropic societies such as the Halifax General Dispensary were collected.¹⁰⁴

Between 1780 and 1850 Nonconformists in Halifax township were not excluded from local administrative bodies. Wealthy nonconformists in Halifax joined the Town Trustees, the Canal Navigation, and the Turnpike Trusts, and sometimes became overseers or churchwardens. Although there was strong anti-Anglicanism by militant dissenters in Halifax Parish, and these dissenters had sometimes had a close relation with radical political movements in the first half of the nineteenth century,¹⁰⁵ it was usual for both Anglican, and Nonconformists to co-operate in Town Trustees, Canal Navigations, and Turnpike Trusts in Halifax in the first half of the nineteenth century,

Voluntary societies increased in Halifax between 1780 and 1850. The function of these societies became more divergent in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Therefore, it is necessary to define voluntary societies, local administrative bodies, and churches and chapels by their

Districts (1843).

¹⁰³ Hargreaves, *Halifax*, pp. 99-100.

¹⁰⁴ J.W. Houseman, 'History of the Halifax Parish Church Organs', *THAS* (1928).

¹⁰⁵ John A. Hargreaves, "'Evangelical Piety and Gallic Flippancy': Religion and Popular Protest in Halifax Parish in the Age of Revolution", in Keith Dockaray and Keith Laybourn (eds.), *The Representation and Reality of War: the British Experience. Essays in Honour of David Wright* (Stroud, 1999); Kate Tiller, 'Late Chartism: Halifax 1847-58', in James Epstein and Dorothy Thompson (eds.), *The Chartist Experience: Studies in Working-Class Radicalism and Culture, 1830-60* (1982).

functions in order to clarify the nature of public institutions between 1780 and 1850. The contemporary printed material such as commercial directories provides us with useful information to define local public institutions.¹⁰⁶ For example, all the directories for Yorkshire in 1822, 1830, 1837, and 1853 mentioned the public institutions of Halifax, while the directories of Halifax in 1845 and 1850 provided their names and addresses. Although there is no standard definition of public institutions in these directories, this study creates seven main categories and sub-categories showing their functional nature, based on the directories of 1830 and 1850 (Table 2.2), which provide a more comprehensive list of public institutions in Halifax than the others.¹⁰⁷

Table 2.2 Functional Categories of Public Institutions in this Study

<u>Main Category</u>	<u>Sub category</u>
National Politics	
Municipal institution	
Religious institution	Church/ Chapel/ Religious voluntary society
Cultural and educational institution	School/ Learned and cultural society/ Newspaper
Social policy institution	Benevolent/ Prosecution/ Mutual Benefit
Commercial institution	Bank/ Coop/ Market/ Service/ Transport
Other	Lodge/ Politics

The first category, ‘national politics’, includes two M.Ps. from the Halifax Borough after 1832. The second category, ‘municipal institutions’, includes local or parish administrative organisations. The third category, ‘religious institution’, includes Anglican churches and nonconformist chapels as well as religious voluntary societies. The fourth category, ‘cultural and educational institution’,

¹⁰⁶ Graeme Morton, *Unionist Nationalism: Governing Urban Scotland, 1830-1860* (East Lothian, 1999), chap. 4.

¹⁰⁷ For full list of public institutions in Halifax in 1830 and 1850, see Appendix 3.

includes schools, learned societies, and societies for leisure. The fifth category, 'social policy institution', includes benefit organisations such as friendly societies, philanthropic or voluntary relief, and prosecution societies. The sixth category, 'commercial institution', consisted of those related to business and property. This category includes the Turnpike trust, the Canal navigation, the savings bank, and the trusteeship of public buildings. The last category, 'other', includes societies that it is difficult to categorise by specific function. A typical case is the local Masonic Lodge. The list of public institutions in the directories between 1822 and 1853 omitted two important categories of societies. First, except for the Anti-Slavery Society in 1830, there was no information about political clubs or societies in Halifax. Second, there was not any information about mutual benefit organisations such as friendly societies. The first club or society was allocated to 'other' group, and the second to 'social policy institutions'.

Voluntary societies in Halifax in the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century had two distinctive modes to cope with social order and to regulate social resources.¹⁰⁸ First, the organisation of voluntary societies was more flexible for making policy than local administrative bodies. For example, it was relatively easy for these societies to change strategies from one to another by modifying their rules and memberships. Additionally, voluntary societies could concentrate on specific purposes, and these societies proliferated in order to resolve various social matters such as poverty and unemployment as well as to response specific cultural and educational demands. Thus, these societies usually formed strong bonds between members, and shaped strong distinct identity for members. Secondly, voluntary societies depended on subscriptions and donations from members. The accounts and strategies of the society were open to a public meeting, after which the minutes and the accounts were published in order to get support from subscribers. All subscribers could vote for officers at a public meeting. On the other hand,

¹⁰⁸ R.J. Morris, 'Voluntary Societies and British Urban Elites 1780-1850: an Analysis', *Historical Journal*, 26 (1983), esp. pp. 96-97, 101-103, 106-107, 109-116.

this subscription system constructed unequal status between a normal subscriber and a special subscriber or donor, who supported a special fund. While this 'limited democracy for subscribers' was useful to distinguish the subscriber from the non-subscriber, it regulated collective activities for the members in societies.

Those voluntary societies were ideal organisations for the middle classes between 1780 and 1850.¹⁰⁹ First, they were important in distinguishing the middle classes either from the upper classes or the labouring people. Cultural and social identity, which were shaped in voluntary societies, created a confidence for the middle classes vis-à-vis others. Second, subscriptions were also significant in distinguishing the middle classes from non-subscribers such as the labouring people. Furthermore, voluntary societies were organisations for the middle classes to educate the lower classes and to reduce social tension between these two groups. Third, the amount of subscriptions paid constructed a hierarchy in the voluntary societies. While the economic difference between the upper middling groups and the lower middling groups became more visible, the societies distinguished normal subscribers with special subscribers and special donors. By the rules of societies, these gave the latter leadership privileges. Lastly, specialised voluntary societies could need to create a network between societies. A specific society did not need to control and distribute social resources in public sector of a local community. As Bob Morris and Graeme Morton both suggest,¹¹⁰ the middle classes as subscribers did not only confine themselves to the public life joining one or two societies in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Collective practices of the middle classes were fostered through the activities of voluntary societies in Halifax, but each society did not operate in isolation. Rather, networks between voluntary societies in

¹⁰⁹ Morris, 'Voluntary Societies', pp. 109-116; 'Morton, *Unionist*, pp. 64-65; Koditschek, *Class Formation*, pp. 248-251.

¹¹⁰ R.J. Morris, 'Petitions, Meetings and Class Formation amongst the Urban Middle Classes in Britain in the 1830s', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 103 (1990); Morton, *Unionist*, pp. 99-100. According to the Halifax database, it seems that the pattern of social relationship for the middle classes in public institutions in Halifax is similar with the picture by Morris and Morton.

Halifax articulated collective practices of the middle classes in voluntary societies, and intensified their social relationships and cooperative awareness.

Cultural and educational voluntary societies, and social policy societies were quite important for the middle classes in Halifax from 1780 to 1850, not only by enhancing their self-identity and relationships but also by educating the labouring people. The learned societies formed the cultural identity of the middle classes. The Halifax Circulating Library, established in 1768, was important in enhancing the culture of Halifax by cultivating a climate where opinions about books and periodicals were exchanged.¹¹¹ The short-lived Convivial Society in the 1820s aimed to improve knowledge of manners, commerce, religion, and nation through discussions.¹¹² The most ambitious project was the Halifax Literary and Philosophical Society, established in 1830, whose purpose was to create a cultural place for the middle classes. Additionally, in contrast to these learned societies, educational societies such as the National School and the British School from the 1810s were organisations to educate the lower classes of the people. The Halifax Mechanics' Institutes established in 1825 was designed to spread 'useful knowledge' to the lower middle classes and the skilled workers.

Social policy societies were organisations to maintain social order in Halifax. The Halifax Prosecution Society was one of the ways in which the middle classes protected their property.¹¹³ Philanthropic and relief societies aimed to regulate the poor in Halifax. There had been the charitable trusts like the Waterhouse, and Hopkinson and Crowther's almshouse and School in

¹¹¹ E.P. Rouse, 'Old Halifax Circulating Library, 1768-1866', *THAS* (1911).

¹¹² CDA, Halifax Convivial Society, Minutes Book, 1824-1827, MISC: 125.

¹¹³ CDA, Articles of Agreement to Provide Funds for the Prosecutions of Felons in Halifax, 1804, HAS: 624/1; CDA, Deed of Constitution to Extend the Halifax Society for the Prosecution of Felons, 1821, HAS: 624/2; CDA, Halifax Society for Prosecuting Felons, 1809-1821, STN: 278, 280 and 282. There were also several prosecution societies in other townships in 1780s. See Douglas Hay and Francis Snyder (eds.), *Policing and Prosecution in Britain 1750-1850* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 159-166.

Halifax since the seventeenth century. These organisations were managed by small groups in order to give relief to the poor.¹¹⁴ In contrast to 'old' style charity,¹¹⁵ the Halifax Benevolent Society was sustained by the subscription of the middle classes. The most important philanthropic society in Halifax was the Halifax General Dispensary established in 1807.¹¹⁶ This Dispensary succeeded in attracting a large amount of subscriptions from the middle classes in Halifax as well as from the local gentry around Halifax.

Mutual benefit societies or friendly societies occupied a special position in the social policy societies in Halifax from 1780 to 1850. Membership of these organisations was open to the middle classes and the labouring people. The benefit society was the only society for the labouring people to join.¹¹⁷ Some benefit societies were confined to the middle classes. For example, the Halifax Loyal Georgian Society was established by the elite group in Halifax.¹¹⁸ This society had the qualification for membership that new subscribers should earn more than £40 per annum.¹¹⁹ The growth of friendly societies in Halifax accelerated after the 1800s when affiliated orders such as Oddfellows and Foresters arrived in Halifax. Almost all these affiliated orders were composed of labouring people. Mutual benefit societies consisting of the middle classes as well as the labouring people reduced social unrest.

The web of public institutions in Halifax became wider and more complex from 1780 to 1850. By the establishment of new administrative bodies such as the Board of Guardians and the Municipal

¹¹⁴ John Clayton, 'A History of the Waterhouse Charities, Halifax', unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Leeds (1944); CDA, Jane Crowther and Ellen Hopkinsons Charity, Account Book, 1750-1815, HXT: 626.

¹¹⁵ Martin Gorsky, *Patterns of Philanthropy: Charity and Society in Nineteenth-century Bristol*, (Woodbridge, 1999).

¹¹⁶ J.G. Washington, 'The Origins and Development of the Royal Halifax Infirmary, 1807-1995', *THAS*, New Ser., 4 (1996).

¹¹⁷ Morris, 'Voluntary Societies', p. 96.

¹¹⁸ Ling Roth, *Coiners*, pp.211-212.

¹¹⁹ CDA, Rules and Regulations of the Loyal Georgian Society, 1793, LG: 22/1.

Borough Corporation, and the proliferation of voluntary societies, the opportunities for inhabitants in Halifax to join local public institutions increased from 1780 to 1850. The people of the middle classes in Halifax could benefit from this. Their self-confidence grew, and their leadership of public institutions to regulate social resources and maintain social order became more important from 1780 to 1850.

3. Summary

This chapter has examined the economic and social setting, the economic position of the middle classes, and the forms of public institutions in Halifax from 1780 to 1850. By the 1850s the demographic growth had supported the expansion of the textile industry and industrial diversification. Centralisation and factory-based mechanisation developed and accelerated this process, while the old 'domestic system' and textile hand workers gradually disappeared from 1780 to 1850. In terms of employment, the textile industry was more important, yet the economy of Halifax was not controlled by a single dominant industry. The textile industry in Halifax was composed of worsted, woollen, cotton, and carpet sectors in the 1850s, while the machine tool and engineering industries, industrial services, food dealers, and innkeeping became more important in Halifax. The distinction between the upper middling groups and the lower middling groups became more visible in Halifax in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The former, merchants, manufacturers, bankers, and professionals, owned considerable capital. The latter, involved in craft, dealing, distribution and processing, agent, and clerk groups, owned relatively less capital. All the middle classes in Halifax managed their capital. However, their economic positions were uneven by different economic interests such as both quality and quantity of capital.

On the other hand, through membership and subscription in public institutions, the middle classes were able to construct a distinct position in the public life in Halifax. From 1780 to 1850, as Bob

Morris points out,¹²⁰ public institutions were vehicles for the middle classes to articulate their interests, to foster their identity and relationships, and to maintain social order. It was crucial for the middle classes in Halifax to negotiate their collective but diversified practices, and identities in these institutions. Middle class engagement in public institutions in Halifax illuminates their dynamic dimension, and structure of public institutions shows institutional norm of the middle-class world. Furthermore, the governance of these public institutions represented relationships, power, and ideologies of the middle classes. The next chapter will analyse collective actions, relationships, and identities for the middle classes in Halifax from 1780 to 1820 by focussing on the public institutions and the political sphere.

¹²⁰ R.J. Morris, 'Structure, Culture and Society in British Towns', in Martin Daunton (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain: Volume III 1840-1950* (Cambridge), pp. 398-399; idem, 'The Middle Class and British Towns and Cities of the Industrial Revolution 1780-1870', in Derek Fraser and Anthony Sutcliffe (eds.), *The Pursuit of Urban History* (1983), esp. p. 304.

Appendix 3 List of Public Institutions in Halifax from the Commercial Directories in 1830 and 1850¹²¹

Table A 3.1 Public Institutions in 1830¹²²

Name	Main category	Sub category
Magistrates office	MI	
Police office	MI	
Lord of the manor	MI	
Commissioner of taxes	MI	
Court of requests	MI	
Court leet	MI	
Workhouse	MI	
Overseers' office	MI	
Vagrant office	MI	
Goal, for debtors in the manor of Wakefield	MI	
Goal, for debtors in the court of request	MI	
Surveyors of weights and measures	MI	
Water works	MI	
Post office	MI	
Excise office	MI	
Fire engines' situation	MI	
St. John's (Parish)	RI	Church
Holy Trinity	RI	Church
New Church	RI	Church
Christ Church	RI	Church
Independent, Zion	RI	Chapel
Independent, Square	RI	Chapel
Particular Baptist, Pellon lane	RI	Chapel
General Baptist, Haley Hill	RI	Chapel
Unitarian, Northgate End	RI	Chapel
Friends Meeting House, Wards' End	RI	Chapel
Catholic-Room, Woolshops	RI	Chapel
Wesleyan Methodists, South Parade and Broad Street	RI	Chapel
Methodist New Connection, North Parade	RI	Chapel
Primitive Methodists, Cabbage lane	RI	Chapel
Protestant Methodists, Woolshops	RI	Chapel
Auxiliary Religious Tract Society	RI	RS
Wesleyan Religious Tract Society	RI	RS
Church Missionary Society	RI	RS
Auxiliary Wesleyan Missionary Society	RI	RS
London Missionary Society	RI	RS
Ladies' Branch Bible Society	RI	RS

¹²¹ *Directory of the Borough of Leeds ... and the Clothing District* (1830); *Directory of Halifax* (1850).

¹²² MI: Municipal institution; RI: Religious institution; CE: Cultural and educational institution; SP: Social policy institution; CI: Commercial institution; RS: Religious society; LC: Learned and cultural society. For the categories in Tables A 3.1 and 3.2, see Table 2.2.

Auxiliary Bible Society	RI	RS
Anti-Slavery Society	RI	RS
Bethel Union Fund	RI	RS
Free School: Grammar, Heath	CE	School
Free School: National, Harrison lane	CE	School
Free School: Lancastrian, Great Albion street	CE	School
Free School: Blue Coat Hospital, Causeway	CE	School
Free School: Hopkinson's Charity, Upper Kirkgate	CE	School
Free School: Smith's Charity, King street	CE	School
Sunday School: Church, Hatter's Close	CE	School
Sunday School: Union	CE	School
Sunday School: Independent and Baptist included Union	CE	School
Sunday School: Wesleyan Methodists, South Parade	CE	School
Sunday School: Wesleyan Methodists, Broad street	CE	School
Sunday School: Unitarian, Northgate End	CE	School
Sunday School: Primitive Methodists	CE	School
Sunday School: Methodist New Connection	CE	School
Sunday School: Ladies', Upper Kirkgate	CE	School
News-rooms, Harrison lane	CE	LC
News-rooms, Northgate end	CE	LC
Subscription library, Harrison lane	CE	LC
Subscription library, Old Cock yard	CE	LC
The Mechanics' Institute Library	CE	LC
Mechanics' Institute	CE	LC
Theatre	CE	LC
Assembly Room	CE	LC
Baths	CE	LC
Archery Society, the Hardwick Foresters	CE	LC
Archery Society, the Halifax Archers	CE	LC
Cricket Club, the Old	CE	LC
Cricket Club, the New	CE	LC
Halifax Quarterly Choral Society	CE	LC
Glee Club	CE	LC
Billiard Room	CE	LC
Newspaper, Halifax Commercial Chronicle	CE	Newspaper
Halifax General Dispensary	SP	Benevolent
Lying in Charity	SP	Benevolent
Blue Coat Hospital (Waterhouse's), Causeway	SP	Benevolent
Alms Houses (Waterhouse's), Causeway	SP	Benevolent
Ellen Hopkinson and Jane Crowther's, Upper Kirkgate	SP	Benevolent
Society for the prosecutions of felons	SP	Prosecution
Halifax Joint Stock Banking Co.	CI	Bank
Savings' Bank	CI	Bank
New Market	CI	Market
Piece Hall	CI	Market
Gas co.	CI	Service
Calder and Hebble Navigation	CI	Transport
Freemason Lodge, Probity	Other	Lodge
Freemason Lodge, Harmony	Other	Lodge

Table A 3.2 Public Institutions in 1850¹²³

Name	Main category	Sub category
Halifax Borough members	NP	
Board of Guardian for Halifax Union	MI	
Borough police office	MI	
Cemetery, Lister lane	MI	
Excise office, Broad street	MI	
Gaol, Jail lane	MI	
Magistrates' office, Ward's end	MI	
Orderly room, Second West York Yeomanry	MI	
Post office	MI	
Rate office	MI	
Registrars	MI	
Union workhouse, Gibbet lane	MI	
The Municipal Borough Corporation	MI	
St. James Church, St James's road	RI	Church
St. John's (Parish) Church	RI	Church
St Paul's Church, King cross	RI	Church
Trinity Church, Blackwall	RI	Church
Baptist Chapel, Pellon lane	RI	Chapel
Ebenezer Chapel, Primitive Methodists, St James's road	RI	Chapel
Hanover Chapel, Methodist New Connection, King Cross lane	RI	Chapel
Harrison Road Chapel, Independents	RI	Chapel
Salem Chapel, Methodist New Connection, North parade	RI	Chapel
Sion Chapel, Independents, Square road	RI	Chapel
St. Mary's Chapel, Roman Catholic, Gibbet street	RI	Chapel
Wesley Chapel, Broad street	RI	Chapel
Unitarian Chapel, Northgate	RI	Chapel
Harrison Road School	CE	School
Heath Free Grammar School, Skircoat	CE	School
Lancasterian School, Albion street	CE	School
National School, Kings' cross	CE	School
National Schools, Harrison road	CE	School
Riding School	CE	School
Square Chapel Day School	CE	School
St. James's National School	CE	School
St. James's Infant School	CE	School
St John's National School, Church street	CE	School
Wesleyan School, Hopwood lane	CE	School
Trinity Church Schools	CE	School
Assembly Rooms, Harrison road	CE	LC
Conservative News' room	CE	LC
Library, Harrison road	CE	LC
Library, Old Cock yard	CE	LC

¹²³ NP: National politics. For other abbreviations in this table see Table A3.1.

Halifax Literary and Philosophical Society's Hall, Harrison road	CE	LC
Halifax Mechanics' Institute	CE	LC
Odd-fellows' Hall	CE	LC
Public Baths, Bath parade	CE	LC
Theatre, Southgate	CE	LC
Blue Coat Hospital	SP	Benevolent
Halifax Infirmary and Dispensary, Harrison road	SP	Benevolent
Waterhouse's Almshouse, Kirkgate	SP	Benevolent
Halifax Commercial Banking Company	CI	Bank
Halifax and Huddersfield Union Banking Company	CI	Bank
Halifax Joint Stock Banking Company	CI	Bank
Halifax Flour Society	CI	Coop
Piece Hall, Westgate	CI	Market
Halifax, Bradford and Keighley Fire Assurance Company	CI	Service
Railway station	CI	Transport

Chapter 3 Public Institutions and Politics in Halifax, 1780-1820

From the seventeenth-century the lower and upper middling sort of the people had shared the governance of public institutions in Halifax. However, by the mid-eighteenth century this egalitarianism of governance of public institutions was no longer accepted by the upper middling sort, composed of wealthy merchants, manufacturers, and professionals, and economic polarisation between the lower and the upper middling sort occurred. Then, in Halifax in the third quarter of the eighteenth century, 'the making of a public sphere through societies and disputes identified this group of merchants, manufacturers, and professionals vis-à-vis those below them in the social order by excluding them from power, and at the same time it provided the discourse that defined their identity vis-à-vis those above them in the social order'.¹ An earlier egalitarianism in the governance of public institutions in Halifax was replaced by this specific middle class culture by 1780.

Public institutions in Halifax in the eighteenth century were controlled not by one single local administrative body,² but by a variety, including the vestry, ad hoc institutions, the Town Trustees established by Improvement Act, and voluntary societies. Unlike many commercial and industrial towns at this time, such as Bristol, Norwich, and Colchester,³ Halifax did not have traditional urban institutions, such as Town Corporation and guild, to define a civic identity for its inhabitants. Nor did it have the right to elect its own M.P. to help authorise the political right of citizens and

¹ John Smail, *The Origins of Middle Class Culture: Halifax, Yorkshire, 1660-1780* (Ithaca, 1994), p. 124.

² See section 2 in chapter 2.

³ Jonathan Barry, 'Provincial Town Culture, 1640-1780: Urbane or Civic?', in J.H. Pittock and A. Wear (eds.), *Interpretation and Cultural History* (1991); Steve Poole, 'To be a Bristolian: Civic Identity and the Social Order, 1750-1850', in M. Dresser and P. Ollerenshaw (eds.), *The Making of Modern Bristol* (Tiverton, 1996); Shani D'Cruze, 'The Middling Sort in Eighteenth-century Colchester: Independence, Social Relations and the Community Broker', in J. Barry and C. Brooks (eds.), *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550-1800* (1994); Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England, 1715-1785* (Cambridge, 1995), esp. chap. 1, 6, 7 and 8.

independence of them. As recent studies point out,⁴ the creation of civic identity and the political right of citizens were the most important factors governing urban public institutions and stabilising social order in urban society from the eighteenth century to the nineteenth century. In Halifax the formation of middle-class culture through cultural, social, and political activities in the third quarter of the eighteenth century was significant in the control of local public institutions. Thus, middle-class culture came to represent their civic identity and the bones of public institutions in this community.

The four decades after 1780 witnessed significant growth of public institutions in British urban society. Like other provincial towns, the number of voluntary societies in Halifax increased, and the character of these societies became 'more open, more "transparent"'.⁵ For example, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Halifax had its cloth hall, the 'Piece Hall', the Halifax New Market, the Halifax Volunteers, the Halifax General Dispensary, and the National and British Schools. However, as recent studies suggest,⁶ public life based on local clubs and societies in the eighteenth century had not always fostered the formation of a particular class culture directly, nor did public institutions in specific local communities always shape the civic identity of the middle classes. Rather these institutions had sometimes been the source of serious conflict in the local public life of Britain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

⁴ Barry, 'Culture'; Rosemary Sweet, 'Freemen and Independence in English Borough Politics c.1770-1830', *Past and Present*, 161 (1998); idem, *The English Town, 1680-1840: Government, Society and Culture* (1999); David Eastwood, *Government and Community in the English Provinces, 1700-1870* (1997); Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England, 1727-1783* (Oxford, 1989).

⁵ R.J. Morris, 'Civil Society and the Nature of Urbanism: Britain, 1750-1850', *Urban History*, 25 (1998), p.298; idem, 'Clubs, Societies and Associations', in F.M.L. Thompson (ed.), *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950, vol. 3: Social Agencies and Institutions* (Cambridge, 1990); Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800: the Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford, 2000), chap. 4.

⁶ Clark, *British Clubs*, chap. 12 and 13; Dror Wahrman, 'National Society, Communal Culture: an Argument about the Recent Historiography of Eighteenth-century Britain', *Social History*, 17 (1992); Wilson, *People*, pp. 82-83.

Moreover, as in other provincial towns,⁷ serious ideological tensions emerged in Halifax from the later eighteenth century. The construction of a new economic ideology by the merchant and manufacturer, through their capital without depending on old 'domestic system', developed the conflict between them and the clothier and artisan. The clothier and the artisan tried to protect their customs, values, and status against that ambitions of the merchants and manufacturers, and adopted Tom Paine's Radicalism in the 1790s and 1800s.⁸ From the mid-eighteenth century, parliamentary reform movements and loyalism seriously affected social order.⁹ Radicals in Halifax organised in order to support these movements.¹⁰ This chapter will explore how public institutions in Halifax were governed by the middle classes from 1780 to 1820, the extent to which 'the middle-class culture' that emerged in the third quarter of the eighteenth century¹¹ provided a critical element in the governance of public institutions in Halifax of this time; and the extent to which political tension and ideological conflict formed 'class culture' in Halifax.

1. The Social Composition of Public Institutions

Many of administrative bodies, commercial organisations, and voluntary societies in Halifax were governed by the middling sort of the people from the second half of the eighteenth century. For instance, the membership of the churchwardens, and the overseers of the poor and the Improvement

⁷ R.J. Morris, 'Voluntary Societies and British Urban Elites 1780-1850: an Analysis', *Historical Journal*, 26 (1983), pp. 97-101.

⁸ Adrian Randall, *Before the Luddites: Custom, Community and Machinery in the English Woollen Industry, 1776-1809* (Cambridge, 1991), chap. 7 and 8; E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, Penguin books ed. (1980).

⁹ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven, 1992); Wahrman, 'National Society'.

¹⁰ John A. Hargreaves, '“Evangelical Piety and Gallic Flippancy”: Religion and Popular Protest in Halifax Parish in the Age of Revolution', in Keith Dockaray and Keith Laybourn (eds.), *The Representation and Reality of War: the British Experience. Essays in Honour of David Wright* (Stroud, 1999); idem, *Halifax* (Edinburgh, 1999), pp. 101-104; Paul Holroyd, 'Post-War Parliamentary Reform Politics in the Parish of Halifax, 1816-17', *THAS*, New ser., 6, (1998); idem, '“A Revolution Worse than that of France”: Political Radicalism in Halifax and the Peterloo Massacre', *THAS*, New ser., 7 (1999).

¹¹ Smail, *Origins*, chap. 3-8.

Commission was drawn from a select male group in Halifax.¹² Between 1780 and 1820, officers of these administrative bodies were also occupied by a select male group, composed of merchants, manufacturers, professionals, and bankers, though some members of the craft, and distribution and processing groups sometimes held office. Public institutions in Halifax in the eighteenth century did not exclude wealthy Nonconformist members. From 1780 to 1820 Unitarians and Congregationalists had sometimes acted as churchwarden or overseers of the poor. These dissenters also joined the Improvement Commission, the Canal Navigation, and the Turnpike Trust. Beyond various occupational groups and religious sects, public institutions were spaces where the middle classes maintained social order and regulated social resources,¹³ and where they distinguished themselves from other classes of the people.

The power of local administrative bodies was 'legislated' and defined by Parliamentary Acts. For example, the Sturges Bourne Act¹⁴ established the political position of property owners in parish administration. Before this Act, which limited qualification for voting in the vestry to the property owners who paid local rates, merchants, manufacturers and professionals already dominated parish administration in Halifax. In addition, a number of local and private acts established the organisations for specific purpose in Halifax in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. For instance, in order to improve the management of the Waterhouse Charity, some local people petitioned Parliament in the 1770s.¹⁵ Furthermore, the trustees of Halifax New Market tried to establish the committee governing this market building by parliamentary act.¹⁶ The Improvement Act in 1823

¹² Smail, *Origins*, pp. 124-146.

¹³ Paul Langford, *Public Life and the Propertied Englishman, 1689-1798* (Oxford, 1991).

¹⁴ 58 Geo. III, c.69; 59 Geo. III c. 12. See also Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *English Local Government from the Revolution to the Municipal Corporations Act, vol. 1, the Parish and the County* (1906), pp. 146-172.

¹⁵ An Act for Uniting and better regulating the Charities of Nathaniel Waterhouse within the Town and Parish of Halifax in the West Riding of the York, (1777); John Clayton, 'A History of the Waterhouse Charities, Halifax', unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Leeds (1944); Smail, *Origins*, pp.155-157.

¹⁶ 50 George III, c.30. An Act for regulating the New Market Place in the Town of Halifax, in the West Riding of the Country of York (1810).

established the new Town Trustees,¹⁷ and gave more power and specified the qualification more clearly than the Acts of 1762 and 1768.¹⁸ Although statutory authorities like Town Trustees have been called ‘ad hoc’ organisations, they were important in helping the middle classes to intensify their power through the reciprocal relationship between Parliament and local societies.

Several commercial societies developed the urban infrastructure of Halifax from 1780 to 1850.¹⁹ The Piece Hall, the Cloth Hall for textile merchants and manufacturers, not only represented the textile interests in Halifax but also was the symbol of economic prosperity in Halifax. The New Market provided more commercial space for trade in food, especially meat.²⁰ Subscribers and shareholders of these commercial societies were clearly distinguished by economic status. A share in Halifax New Market cost more than £25 and a share in the Piece Hall £28.²¹ Turnpike Trusts, and Calder and Hebble Navigation also attracted many shareholders, but mainly relatively wealthy groups, like merchants, manufacturers, and bankers, who could afford the expensive shares in these societies. Subscribers or shareholders of these commercial organisations were thus usually occupied by the wealthy middle classes. The social composition of commercial organisation clearly reflected the economic power of the middle classes in Halifax.

In addition to these administrative and economic institutions, voluntary societies, which had

¹⁷ 4 George IV, c.90. An Act for paving, lighting, cleaning, watching and improving the Township of Halifax, and for supplying the same with water.

¹⁸ G.R. Dalby, ‘The Work of the Halifax Town Trustees from the Passing of the Improvement Act of 1823 to the Incorporation of the Borough in 1848’, unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Leeds (1953).

¹⁹ Kevin Grady, ‘The Provision of Public Buildings in the West Riding of Yorkshire, c.1600-1840’, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Leeds (1980) clarifies movements for the construction of public buildings in West Yorkshire towns including Halifax in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

²⁰ CDA, Resolutions, Orders, Memorandum, Agreements etc. re Intended New Market, 1788-1853, HXM: 425.

²¹ For New Market, see CDA, HXM425. For the Piece Hall, see H. Ling Roth, *The Yorkshire Coiners 1767-1783 and Notes on Old and Prehistoric Halifax* (Halifax, 1906), pp.207-219; M.W. Garside, ‘The Halifax Piece Hall’, *THAS* (1921); Philip Smithies, *The Architecture of the Halifax Piece Hall, 1775-1779* (Halifax, 1988).

‘subscriber democracy’ and used a ‘public meeting’ for subscribers, were also important.²² The system of subscriber democracy constructed a hierarchical system between a normal subscriber and the special subscriber, who supported a special fund. The public meeting was also important in generating common consciousness and social relationships. Furthermore, the public meeting of voluntary societies opened their accounts, and published their minutes, thus, displaying ‘accountability’ to the membership.

Table 3.1 Number of Donors and Subscribers in Halifax, 1803-1811²³

	Male	%	Female	%	Total
Subscribers to the Halifax Volunteers in 1803	744	96.2%	29	3.8%	773
Donors and Subscribers of the Halifax General Dispensary in 1807	146	85.9%	24	14.1%	170
Subscribers to the Royal Jubilee in 1809	142	80.2%	35	19.8%	177
Donors and Subscribers to the Halifax British School in 1811	179	58.9%	125	41.1%	304

Subscriber democracy was useful both in absorbing wider support and distinguishing the subscribers from the lower orders. Subscription itself for specific objects was not unique to Halifax between 1780 and 1820. For example, the Halifax Circulating Library had attracted 145 subscribers when established in 1768. Subscriptions for constructing the Piece Hall, the Cloth Hall, was supported by many merchants, manufacturers, and other inhabitants at the end of the 1770s.²⁴ However, as Table 3.1 shows, it seems that scale of subscriptions in our period was wider than before 1780, and that the purposes of subscription had multiplied. Like other provincial infirmaries,²⁵ the Halifax General Dispensary was the principal organisation for the improvement of social conditions in

²² This paragraph depends on section 2 in chapter 2. See also Morris, ‘Voluntary Societies’; idem, *Class, Sect and Party. The Making of the British Middle Class: Leeds, 1820-1850* (Manchester, 1990), chap. 7.

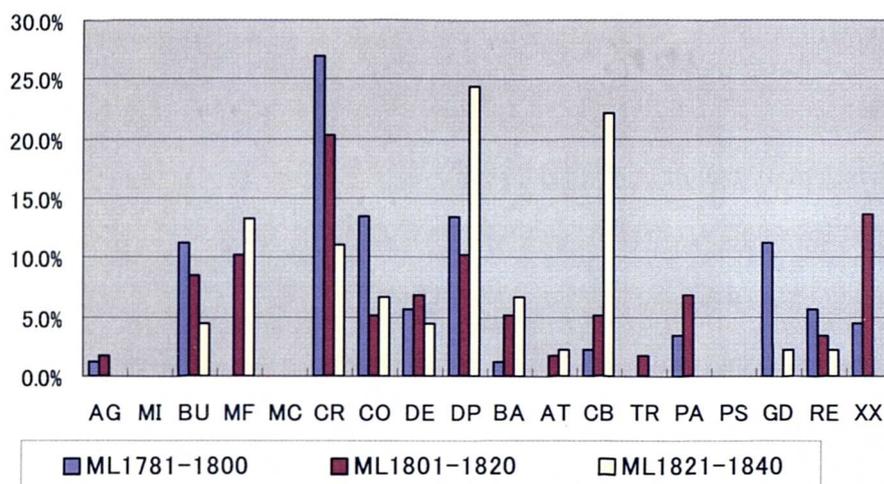
²³ From the Halifax database.

²⁴ Smail. *Origins*, chap. 5.

²⁵ Langford, *Polite*, pp. 134-141; Anne Borsay, *Medicine and Charity in Georgian Bath: a Social History of the General Infirmary, c. 1739-1830* (Aldershot, 1999), esp. chap. 2, 6 and 7; John Money, *Experience and Identity: Birmingham and the West Midlands 1760-1800* (Manchester, 1977), pp. 8-12, 21, 276-278; John V. Pickstone, *Medicine and Industrial Society: a History of Hospital Development in Manchester and its Region* (Manchester, 1985), chap. 1.

Halifax. Patriotism was also a feature of the Halifax societies including the Halifax Volunteers. In 1809 the Royal Jubilee, together with many friendly societies and freemason lodges, demonstrated loyalism in Halifax. Part of the subscription for the Royal Jubilee in Halifax in 1809 was used to give relief to the poor.²⁶ Various subscriptions for voluntary societies and public events gave more inhabitants in Halifax increased opportunity to engage in public life. More importantly, this system was crucial in the improvement and identification of urban life in Halifax.

Figure 3.1 Occupational Structure of New Members for the Masonic Lodge (ML) in Halifax, 1781-1840²⁷



Masonic Lodges in Halifax fostered sociability among of the local communities, and, as John Brewer describes, ‘helped cushion their members against indebtedness and social misfortune’.²⁸ The Masonic Lodge in Halifax²⁹ was a small but important society providing for the exchange of friendship between members from various occupations. The membership of this society was

²⁶ *HJ* 21 and 28 Oct., 4 Nov. 1809.

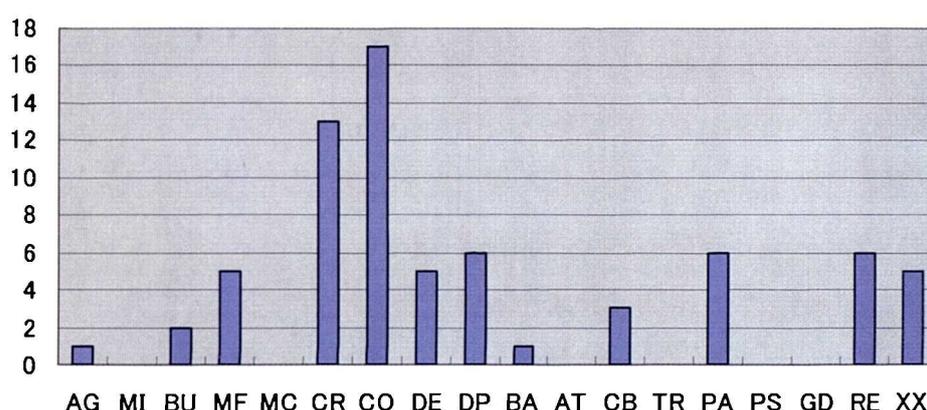
²⁷ See list of abbreviations of occupational classification, p. xv. The data of this table from the Halifax database.

²⁸ John Brewer, ‘Commercialization and Politics’, in N. McKendrick, J. Brewer and J.H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: the Commercialization of Eighteenth-century England* (1982), p. 220.

²⁹ For this Lodge, this study depends on T.W. Hanson, *The Lodge of Probity No. 61 1738-1938* (Halifax, 1939).

composed of ‘the solid burghers and respectable tradesmen’, including the craft group, and the distribution and processing group as well as bankers, merchants, manufacturers, and professionals (Figure 3.1). Between 1781 and 1800, this Lodge absorbed some military officers (GD), when ‘patriotism’ grew with the fear of ‘French Revolution’. Despite the controversy about whether the conservative character of Freemasons since the later eighteenth century was driving force in the constructing public culture of Britain,³⁰ the Masonic Lodge in Halifax was one of the organisations to interconnect members from the elite in Halifax as well as from the lower middle classes and labouring people.

Figure 3.2 Number of Donors and Subscribers for the Halifax General Dispensary in 1807³¹



In addition to these Masonic Lodges, other voluntary societies in Halifax protected the life and property of the middle classes, and sought to improve the social condition. Philanthropic societies

³⁰ Sweet, *English Town*, p.187; Money, *Experience*, p. 138; Clark, *British Clubs*, chap. 9; John Money, ‘Freemasonry and the Fabric of Loyalism in Hanoverian England’, in Eckhart Hellmuth (ed.), *The Transformation of Political Culture in Britain and Germany in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1990); idem, ‘The Masonic Moment; Or, Ritual, Replica, and Credit: John Wilkes, the Macaroni Parson and the Making of the Middle Class Mind’, *Journal of British Studies*, 32 (1993).

³¹ The data of this table made of record linkage between the subscription list of the Halifax General Dispensary in 1807 and the poll book of Yorkshire election in 1807. For per cent of successful record linkage, see Appendix 2.

were composed of the middle classes together with local gentry from the surrounding Halifax townships. There were two types of these philanthropic societies. The first mainly consisted of charitable trusts like the Waterhouse, and Hopkinson Charity and Crowther's Almshouse and School. These organisations were managed by a select group from the wealthy middle classes providing relief for the poor.³² In contrast to these charitable societies, the Halifax Benevolent Society tried to give the relief to the poor through subscription. The members of this society were principally drawn from the middle classes.³³ This system was similar to the Dispensary in Halifax established in 1807.³⁴ This dispensary succeeded in collecting more subscribers both from Halifax township and neighbouring townships than the Halifax Benevolent Society. As Figure 3.2 shows, this dispensary was supported by the upper middle classes, commerce, professionals, and manufacturers as well as the lower middle classes such as the craft group. Like other provincial infirmaries in other towns,³⁵ it seems that the Halifax General Dispensary got support from the rentier group, such as local gentry and landed aristocracy of West Yorkshire. For example, after the Yorkshire parliamentary election in 1807, Lord Milton presented a donation to this dispensary.³⁶ Thus, the Halifax General Dispensary was the place for the improvement of social problems together with the middle classes in Halifax and the surrounding gentry. This collaboration between the middle classes and local gentry established new relationship to develop social infrastructure in Halifax in the early nineteenth century.³⁷

³² Clayton, 'Waterhouse'; CDA, Jane Crowther and Ellen Hopkinsons Charity, Account Book, 1750-1815, HXT: 626.

³³ CDA, Halifax Benevolent Society, Minute Book, 1796-1821, MISC: 2/29/1; CDA, Halifax Benevolent Society, Collector's Book, 1820-1823, MISC: 2/29/2.

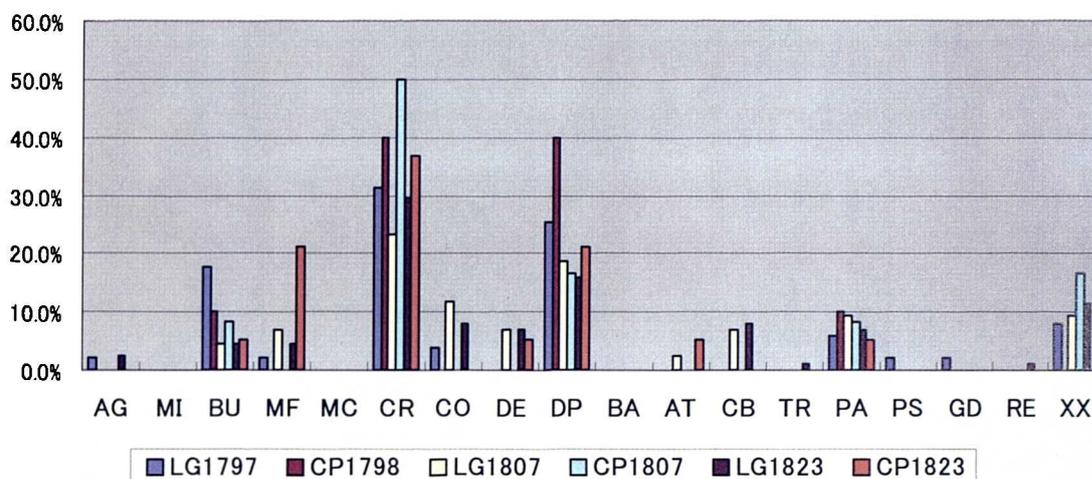
³⁴ *HJ* 10 Oct. 1807; CDA, Handbills advertising meeting of subscribers to the Halifax General Dispensary, September 1807, STN: 312/1; J.G. Washington, 'The Origins and Development of the Royal Halifax Infirmary, 1807-1995', *THAS*, New Ser., 4 (1996).

³⁵ Money, *Experience*, pp. 8-12, 21, 276-278; Borsay, *Medicine*, esp. chap. 8; S.T. Anning, *The General Infirmary at Leeds, Vol. 1, the First Hundred Years, 1767-1869* (Edinburgh, 1963), pp. 1-8.

³⁶ *HJ* 2 Jan. 1808

³⁷ Cf. Smail, *Origins*, pp. 122-123, 137-138, 217-218.

Figure 3.3 Occupational Structure of Two Local Friendly Societies in Halifax, 1797, 1807 and 1823³⁸



In contrast to charitable organisations and philanthropic societies, through mutual financial help, friendly societies or benefit clubs supported the fragile urban life of the middle classes and of the labouring people.³⁹ Figure 3.3 illustrates the membership of two local friendly societies in Halifax. The majority of these societies were from the craft group, and distribution and processing group, while these two societies absorbed a small number of wealthy occupational groups, manufacturers, commerce, and professionals. The evidence suggests that these two societies had distinct characteristics. The Loyal Georgian Society (LG) was established by the urban elite in Halifax.⁴⁰ The qualification for this society required the new subscriber to earn more than £40 per annum⁴¹: it thus excluded the labouring people. Between 1780 and 1820, it was the place where the local elite and various middle classes gathered.⁴² The Cross Pipes Friendly Society (CP) was not only a benefit society but also had the character of a drinking club. One of its objectives was to provide a

³⁸ LG: The Loyal Georgian Society; CP: The Cross Pipes Friendly Society. This table made of record linkage between nominal lists of these two societies and the commercial directories or the poor apprentice register.

³⁹ Clark, *British Clubs*, chap. 10.

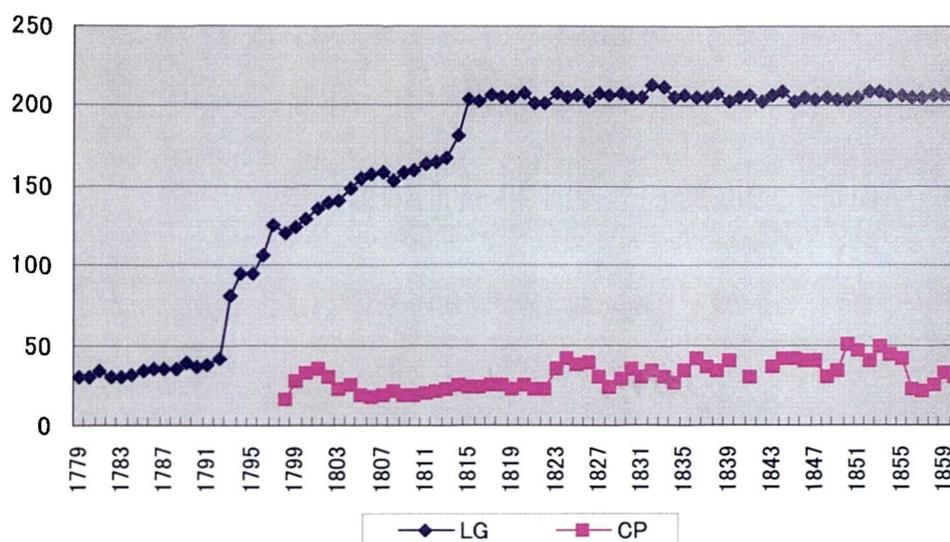
⁴⁰ Ling Roth, *Coiners*, pp.211-212.

⁴¹ CDA, Rules and Regulations of the Loyal Georgian Society, 1793, LG: 22/1

⁴² From the Halifax database.

convivial place with the members.⁴³ The friendly society in Halifax was, therefore, an institution to intensify mutual help between members, and to foster their sociability.

Figure 3.4 Number of Members of the Friendly Societies in Halifax, 1779-1860⁴⁴



P.H.J.H. Gosden and Peter Clark suggest that the number of friendly societies and their membership grew from the last quarter of the eighteenth century.⁴⁵ F.M. Eden estimated that about 1000 people joined friendly societies in Halifax, and that half of these were from Halifax township and the other half from neighbouring townships.⁴⁶ According to the Parliamentary Papers,⁴⁷ there were thirteen friendly societies in Halifax township in 1803, which included one female friendly society, and the

⁴³ A. Porrit, '18th and 19th Century Clubs and Societies in Halifax', *THAS* (1964), pp. 68-69. The name, 'Cross Pipes Friendly Society', had changed to the 'Old Smoke Club' in 1806 when the members had decided to change the place for their meeting from the Cross Pipes Inn to the Old Cock Inn. This society was also called as the 'Old Cock Friendly Society' in the mid-nineteenth century.

⁴⁴ For the abbreviations, see Figure 3.3. This table made from the Halifax database.

⁴⁵ P.H.J.G. Gosden, *The Friendly Societies in England 1815-1875* (Manchester, 1961), esp. chap. II; Clark, *British Clubs*, chap. 10.

⁴⁶ F.M. Eden, *The State of the Poor* (1797), pp. 820-826.

⁴⁷ *P.P. Abstract of Returns Relative to the Expense and Maintenance of the Poor in England* (1803-4), XIII, pp. 638-639; *Abstract of Returns Relative to the Expense and Maintenance of the Poor in England* (1818), XIX, pp. 556-557. For assessment of these materials, see Martin Gorsky, 'The Growth and Distribution of English Friendly Societies in the Early Nineteenth Century', *Economic History Review*, 51 (1998).

total membership of friendly societies in the township was 1567. By 1813 the membership had increased 2510. The membership of the Loyal Georgian Society was growing from the 1780s to the 1820s, while that of the Cross Pipes Friendly Societies remained at about twenty to thirty during that time (Figure 3.4). It seems that these two long-surviving friendly societies were unusual cases in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. As Peter Clark suggests, many local friendly societies had suffered from poor financial foundations from the eighteenth century. It appears that the Loyal Georgian Society and the Cross Pipes Society survived during the long period, as they had strong financial support from the middle classes. The new type of friendly societies like Oddfellows and Foresters tried to solve the financial problems encountered by many friendly societies. These new affiliated friendly societies had arrived in Halifax by the end of the 1800s.⁴⁸ Through strong financial support from their central offices, these affiliated friendly societies became more popular in Britain than local friendly societies.⁴⁹ By the spread of the affiliated societies in the nineteenth century, the friendly society established its strength as an institution for the labouring people, witnessing that not all voluntary societies were dominated by the middle classes.

Cultural and educational societies in Halifax were dominated by the middle classes in Halifax. These societies played an important role in making the intra- and inter-class relationships of the middle classes. In the 1800s, like other provincial towns such as Leeds and York,⁵⁰ the people of Halifax had the opportunity to attract public lectures and leisure events.⁵¹ In addition to these events, there was a music society and a library. The Halifax Circulating Library was important in cultivating the intellectual life of the middle classes in Halifax through exchanging discussions

⁴⁸ For example see *HJ* 21 Oct. 1809 and 14 July 1810.

⁴⁹ P.H.J.G. Gosden, *Self-Help: Voluntary Associations in Nineteenth-century Britain* (1973), esp. chap. 2 and 3.

⁵⁰ John Jefferson Looney, 'Cultural Life in the Provinces: Leeds and York, 1720-1820', in A.L. Beier, D. Cannadine and J.M. Rosenheim (eds.), *The First Modern Society: Essays in English History in Honour of Lawrence Stone* (Cambridge, 1989).

⁵¹ *HJ* 27 Feb., 28 May and 22 Oct. 1808.

about books and periodicals.⁵² Together, the library and public lectures in Halifax fostered the cultural confidence of the middle classes and created a common space for exchanging their public opinion on the managing of voluntary societies.

In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the middle classes attempted to educate children from the lower classes through the National School⁵³ and the British School.⁵⁴ The British School taught the children to write, read, and do basic calculation. According to the record linkage between the subscription lists and the commercial directories, the British School was supported by the subscribers from the upper middling groups as well as the lower middling groups from 1811. Like the Halifax General Dispensary, the British School also succeeded in securing donations from the upper middling groups in Halifax, and from the local gentry or landed aristocracy around Halifax.⁵⁵ Like the philanthropic societies, subscriptions for the educational society reflected the duty of the middle classes towards the poor or the labouring people.

In contrast to the opportunities for men, women experienced much restriction in joining public institutions from 1780 to 1820. Some voluntary societies like the Masonic lodge and the male friendly societies in Halifax excluded women from membership. Furthermore, some voluntary societies provided different services for men and women. For instance, the educational societies, like the British School, operated a gender division in management of the school; the boys' class and

⁵² CDA, Halifax Circulating Library, Order Books, 1768-1848, MISC: 49/1, 2, 3 and 4; E.P. Rouse, 'Old Halifax Circulating Library, 1768-1866', *THAS* (1911); Smail. *Origins*, chap. 5.

⁵³ There is little evidence about this school in this time. See John Crabtree, *A Concise History of the Parish and Vicarage of Halifax in the Country of York* (Halifax, 1836); J.A. Hargreaves, 'Religion and Society in the Parish of Halifax c. 1740-1914', unpublished thesis, the Council for National Academic Awards (Huddersfield Polytechnic) (1991), chap. 3.

⁵⁴ CDA, Halifax British School, Minutes of the Proceedings of the Committee, 1813-1821, MISC: 83/31/2; Hargreaves, 'Religion and Society', chap, 3.

⁵⁵ The evidence depends on the record linkage in the Halifax database between the nominal subscription lists of the British School in 1811 and 1823 and the commercial directories in 1814 and 1822.

the girls' classes were separated, and the content of their curriculum was slightly different.⁵⁶

However, as Table 3.1 shows, there were some new opportunities for women to engage in public life between 1780 and 1820. During this time females subscribed to the British School, the Halifax Circulating Library, the Halifax Prosecution Society, and the Halifax Benevolent Society. The British School in Halifax gave female subscribers the chance to become members of the committee managing the girls' school, which was a part of this school,⁵⁷ though the offices of President, Vice-President, Treasurer, and Secretary were all male. For labouring women, the female friendly society gave them the chance to join public life. As the Parliamentary Papers show,⁵⁸ one female friendly society contained 363 members in 1803. Although almost all administrative bodies and voluntary societies excluded women from becoming officers or holding leading positions in these institutions, women could join public life in Halifax through various subscriptions. In public institutions in Halifax between 1780 and 1820, women were not confined to the 'domestic sphere'.⁵⁹

Between 1780 and 1820 public institutions in Halifax consisted of local administrative bodies, economic societies, and various voluntary societies. Public institutions did not destroy these roles, despite competition between institutions. Some public institutions were established by acts of Parliament, and others were voluntary. The middle classes in public institutions developed social relationships and values. Some individuals, who attended many societies (more than three or four), held important positions like President, Vice-President, clerk, or treasurer.⁶⁰ For example the Vicar of Halifax and several local attorneys had been among the first organisers or the chairmen of the societies. John Smail showed that the principal members of public institutions in Halifax in the

⁵⁶ For example, the girls' school taught sewing.

⁵⁷ From the Halifax database.

⁵⁸ *P.P. Abstract* (1803-4), XIII, pp. 638-639.

⁵⁹ F.K. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-century England* (Oxford, 1980); Amanda Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History', *Historical Journal*, 36 (1993).

⁶⁰ From the Halifax database.

third quarter of the eighteenth century were dominated by ‘merchants, manufacturers and professionals’.⁶¹ In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, ‘merchants, manufacturers, and professionals like lawyers, doctors and clergymen’ as well as local bankers held a strong leadership position in public institutions in Halifax. For example, the Briggses (Unitarians) and the Rawsons (Anglicans) had been powerful local bankers in Halifax since the eighteenth century.

2. The Governance of Public Institutions

Since the second half of the eighteenth century the middle classes had constructed the institutional structure of public life in Halifax by managing local administrative bodies, and voluntary societies. The governance of public institutions was crucial in the articulation of the collective actions of the middle classes. In other words, the middle classes aimed to establish public institutions as the matrix of their authority. Political discourses shared by the middle classes, the organisational structure in local administrative bodies and voluntary societies, and specific ideologies were critical in articulating middle class collective actions, and the social relationships and social identities of the middle classes in Halifax from 1780 to 1820.

By the end of the third quarter of the eighteenth century, the middle classes in Halifax ‘identified the members of the parish’s elite, both to themselves and to their neighbours, as a group that had the right to dispute such issues’.⁶² They tried to articulate own political interest in public institutions when disputing issues in these institutions. The middle classes in public institutions in Halifax needed to legitimise their position by appealing to their common political interest. Therefore, it was important for the actors in public institutions to demonstrate both ‘accountability’ and good

⁶¹ Smail, *Origins*, pp. 124-146; idem, ‘From the Middling to the Middle Class: Class Formation in Halifax, Yorkshire in the Century before the Industrial Revolution’, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Stanford University (1988), Appendix 4.

⁶² Smail, *Origins*, pp.154-155.

management to the public in Halifax, as public institutions such as the vestry, the improvement commission, and voluntary societies depended on the propertied people, who often subscribed to these societies and paid the local rates. The overseers and the churchwardens dealt with the problem of the poor both through collecting the Poor Rate and managing poor administration, Poor Relief, Settlement, Parish Apprenticeship, and the Workhouse. Accountability was one of the important elements in the administration of Poor Laws, allowing the parish officer to prove the legitimacy of their administration and to secure the broad support of the people of the parish. The vestry distinguished a 'Public meeting' from a 'meeting' in the vestry minute books to emphasise their public nature. In the 1790s, vestry minutes provide coverage of the accounts and management of the workhouse.⁶³ In 1801, a notice criticised the abuse by the parish officers and the confusion of their accounts.⁶⁴

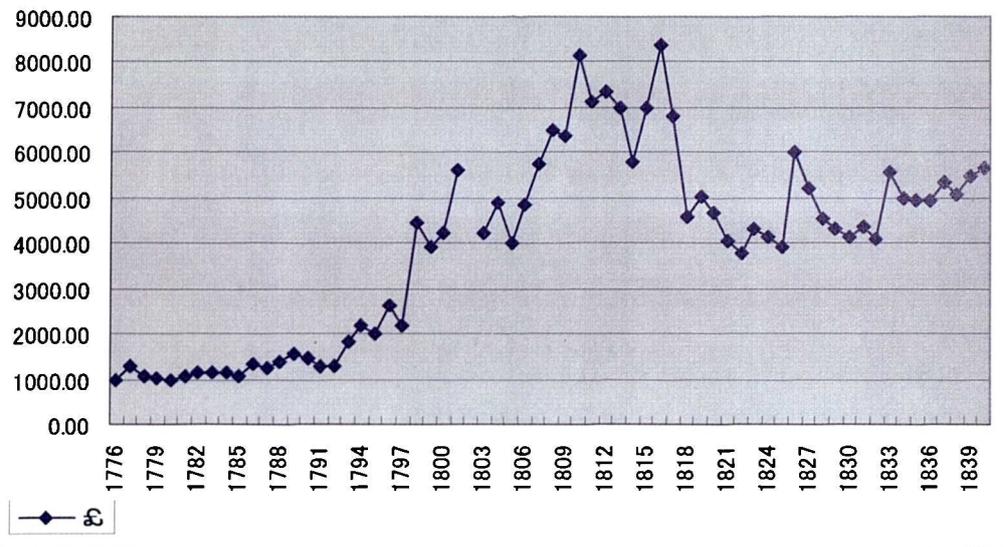
It was also important for the Improvement Commission, which was the central organisation for improving the town's condition, to demonstrate 'accountability' in their accounts each year. This commissions' objective was the improvement of the urban environment for the middle classes, and it collected water rates and subscriptions for this purpose. There is little evidence about whether accounts were published or not, though according to the township minute book in the 1780s, it seems that the committee members opened their accounts to the other principal inhabitants in Halifax.⁶⁵

⁶³ CDA, Halifax Committee Transactions Book, 1780-1816 (Vestry Meeting), OR: 100.

⁶⁴ J.W. Houseman, 'Notes and Comments on Halifax Churchwardens' Accounts, 1714-1800', *THAS* (1926), pp.137-138.

⁶⁵ CDA, Halifax Meetings of Trustees, 1780-1793, HXM: 36.

Figure 3.5 Expenditure of Overseers in the Halifax Parish, 1776-1840⁶⁶



In addition to ‘accountability’ in administrative bodies in Halifax, ratepayers had always been interested in the management of their local rates. There were serious disputes about the power of the parish church in Halifax from 1740s to 1770s.⁶⁷ The substance of these disputes in the parish church was how the elite used the sources of income of the parish. Since the end of the eighteenth century, the parish administrative body in Halifax faced serious expenditure problem. Figure 3.5 shows that after 1790 the growth of the Overseers’ expenditure in Halifax was very rapid and burdened with property owners.

After 1780 there were several disputes about Poor rates and the rates of the Improvement Commission in Halifax. For example, Mr Richard Royds, who opposed the imposition of street rates by the Improvement Commission, tried to petition Parliament to refuse the rates by challenging the assessment of his property. The commissioners proposed both to contact him, and make him

⁶⁶ CDA, Overseers Accounts in Halifax Townships, 1760-1801, HAS:22; CDA, Annual Report of Halifax [Workhouse] from 1801 to 1811, HAS: 173; CDA, Annual Report of Halifax [Workhouse] from 1811 to 1845, HXT: 206.

⁶⁷ Smail, *Origins*, pp. 146-155; idem, ‘Local Disputes and the Making of Halifax’s Middle Class, 1748-76’, *THAS*, New Ser., 2 (1994).

agree the rates of the Commission, through discussion.⁶⁸ On 12 April 1786, eight persons, including one improvement commissioner, appealed against the water rates, but their application was dismissed by the Improvement Commission.⁶⁹ In 1797, in contrast to this, there was a serious problem in the assessment of the poor rates. In the vestry book, there is a printed card dated 20 September 1797.⁷⁰

For Years has the Majority of the Town of Halifax laboured under a Grievance, by permitting a Shameful Inequality of Taxing for the Relief of the Poor, without an Effort to remedy it; a Gentleman, of no very popular, but persevering Character, has at last taken the matter up, and he will go on; the suffering Inhabitants ought to give him every Support, and those who may be dissatisfied will do well to appear content with the Past, and give no Opposition to an amicable Adjustment, for should the Business assume an hostile Form, personal Property must be involved.

‘A gentleman’ is William Frobisher, who was the executor named in the will of the late Edward Nelson.⁷¹ He had not become parish officers in Halifax township, and would not have been a member of the elite in this local community. As a consequence, the Quarter Sessions in Leeds in October 1797 ordered the vestry to make the new valuation book, which contains more information than the older rate book.⁷² Although it is difficult to tell whether the valuation in 1797 was correct or not, after this dispute there were no serious problems about the assessment in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

⁶⁸ CDA, HXM: 36. Interestingly, he, who opposed the rates, signed the minutes book together with the committee members when agreeing the assessment.

⁶⁹ See anon, ‘Eighteenth century Waterworks’, *Horsfall Turner Newspaper Cuttings*, 1, pp.204-210.

⁷⁰ CDA, OR: 100.

⁷¹ William Frobisher’s assessment was £5 in valuation book in 1797 and £7 in land tax in 1797 only. The [Rev.] Edward Nelson was the subscriber of Halifax Circulating Library and Halifax New Market, and his assessment of Land Tax, though was £37 in 1782 and £40 in 1797 (1797 was the executor). See CDA, Halifax Township Valuation, 1797, HXT: 155; WAH, Land Tax Returns for Halifax, QE13/7/20.

⁷² Older assessment is probably in 1793. See CDA, Rate Books, HAS30, 31 and 32.

In voluntary societies in Halifax ‘accountability’ and financial management had also been points of concern between 1780 and 1820. For instance, the management of the Halifax Circulating Library was discussed both at committee meetings and at the annual general meeting. This Circulating Library published accounts every year, and sometimes a catalogue or an appendix to the catalogue. The membership of the committee revealed continuity.⁷³ On 4 September 1812, the committee resolved ‘that three members of the committee shall go out every year, and that the existing committee do ballot amongst themselves for the three who shall be withdrew’. However, in 3rd September 1813, the committee ordered that this law be rescinded.⁷⁴ On the other hand, subscribers sometimes came to oppose the management of the committee. For instance, on 9th January 1818, President, J. Waterhouse, resolved ‘by a Majority of the subscribers attending that no extra subscription shall be made for the purpose of defraying the Expenses of filling up the New Room but that the same must be discharged out of the annual subscriptions and that the committee are requested to suspend until the close of the year any further order for new books excepting the monthly and quarterly periodical publications’.⁷⁵

The building and managing of the Halifax New Market provides another illustration of financial management from 1780 to 1820. The first committee to manage the Halifax New Market established in 1789 opened subscriptions to shares for the project. Shareholders of the New Market mainly consisted of the upper middling group, such as wealthy merchants, manufacturers, bankers, professionals, and members of the rentier group.⁷⁶ Before the construction of the New Market, it was obvious to the middle classes that space for the market in Halifax was very limited, and conflicts between retail shopkeepers and butchers, and hawkers dealing illegally became

⁷³ See CDA, MISC49/1, 2 and 3; CDA, Proposals for establishing a Circulating Library in Halifax, MISC:5/96a/79; Rouse, ‘Library’.

⁷⁴ CDA, MISC49/3.

⁷⁵ CDA, MISC49/3.

⁷⁶ From the Halifax database.

obvious.⁷⁷ The committee thought the New Market would provide a good solution to this problem. The committee was concerned to regulate bad environment and unlawful behaviour in the market. They tried to prohibit illegal trade by hawkers, pedlars, and itinerant traders. The stallholders of the New Market, mainly butchers, wanted the committee to prohibit illegal trade in the market in order to protect their position, whereas the committee did not want to lose control over the New Market by illegal trade.

The committee of the New Market tried to maintain it in good condition and improve facilities by collecting more subscriptions, as, like the market building in Leeds,⁷⁸ they wanted to keep up its profitability.⁷⁹ However, the committee encountered difficulties in the management of the New Market. There were two serious problems about the stallholders. First, slaughtering of animals by butchers, who were one of the majorities of stallholders, worsened the environmental condition of the New Market. The committee tried to restrict the place of slaughter, and ordered the butchers to wash the walls of the New Market to maintain its good condition. A further problem was that the butchers resisted rent rises, and were reluctant to pay the rent during depressions. Despite establishing clear rules of behaviour, the butchers sometimes broke those, and were perceived as rebellious occupiers of the New Market. It seems that the case of the New Market in Halifax was not unique in provincial towns in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. For instance, in Manchester, there was also dispute between the committee, which controlled the markets in Manchester, and traders, such as the butchers.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Hoh-cheung Mui and Lorna H. Mui, *Shops and Shopkeeping in Eighteenth-Century England* (1989), p.77; T.W. Hanson, 'The Corn Market', *THAS* (1945).

⁷⁸ K. Grady, 'Profit, Property Interests, and Public Spirit: the Provision of Markets and Commercial Amenities in Leeds, 1822-29', *Publications of the Thoresby Society*, 54 (1976). Cf. Deborah Hodson, "'The Municipal Store': Adaptation and Development in the Retail Markets of Nineteenth-century Urban Lancashire', *Business History*, 40 (1998), pp.97-99.

⁷⁹ Every year, a dividend was paid to all the proprietors on their capitals. This dividend ranged from four per cent to more than ten per cent.

⁸⁰ For Manchester, see Roger Scola, *Feeding the Victorian City: the Food Supply of Manchester, 1770-1870* (Manchester, 1992), esp. chap. VII and IX. There were also disputes between the lord of the manor and the people about stall rents and tolls in Manchester.

In 1810, the committee of New Market took an alternative approach to solving these problems. This was to petition Parliament. The committee sought and obtained the power of legislation to control the New Market.⁸¹ The act for the New Market established the power and the role of the committee. The committee could maintain order in the market, and restrict the days of opening and prohibit illegal traders who did not have permission to trade there. Nevertheless, after the 1810s, the committee continued to suffer from the unlawfulness of the butcher. Since establishing New Market, the committee confronted the different economic values and interests of the butchers. The conflicts between the committee and the butchers indicate how difficult it was for the upper and lower middle classes to agree over business practices, and how far business interests within the middle classes were separated in Halifax.

The economic interests of the committee and shareholders of the New Market also revealed tensions between themselves and the public interest in Halifax. The committee tried to add public facilities to the New Market in 1813, when they decided to build a new courthouse for the Justices. However, the New Market had not yet become the single important public space, like the Town Hall in the Victorian age, where people gathered for public events in Halifax. One of the principal reasons was that the committee was reluctant to widen public facilities for administrative bodies and to exempt them from rents for their premises.⁸² In this respect, commercial interests conflicted with 'public interest'.

In addition to financial disputes, some organisations faced political and religious conflicts between members. Cultural and learned societies in particular paid attention to this problem. For example,

⁸¹ 50 George III, c.30. An Act for regulating the New Market Place in the Town of Halifax, in the West Riding of the Country of York (1810); CDA, Records of Halifax New Market, MISC: 111/11/27, 30, 31 and 46; CDA, HXM425, esp. from 25th August 1809 to 29th October 1810.

⁸² Crabtree, *Halifax*, pp. 333-335.

the British School also represented religious tolerance; it reflected in its title ‘the School for Poor Children of All Religious Denominations’.⁸³ Indeed, the children of Anglicans as well as those of Nonconformists - Baptist, Quakers, Independents, Wesleyans, Methodist New Connexion, and Unitarians - attended this school from the 1810s to 1850s.⁸⁴

The Halifax Circulating Library shows another example of political and religious concerns. This library contributed to the development of common knowledge among the members, and formed the discussion forum for acquiring values of the middle classes. In its process the library avoided showing specific political or religious preference, especially in the selection of books and periodicals. On 1 September 1797, two years after the purchase of William Paley’s⁸⁵ *Evidences of Christianity*, the committee ‘ordered that no Sermons, Works of Divinity, Religious Controversy, or on (Subjects) of Religion be hereafter purchased by the Committee for the use of the Library’,⁸⁶ a stricture that was broken in subsequent years.⁸⁷ They also tried to limit books, which contained an ‘indecent or immoral or blasphemous character’, and one of the committee members insisted on displacing these books from the library.⁸⁸ The committee had also purchased radical publications such as William Cobbett’s *Weekly Political Register*. However, on 7th January 1806, the committee ‘immediately discontinued’ this periodical because it judged that it represented a specific radical political ideology, and that this ideology threatened the management of this library.⁸⁹ Since establishing it in 1768, the committee, as the organisation managing the library, had tried to prevent the library having a specific political and religious preference. It seems that this policy of the library was necessary to gain extensive support as a public cultural society from the middle classes

⁸³ CDA, MISC: 83/31/2.

⁸⁴ CDA, MISC: 83/31/2.

⁸⁵ William Paley (1743-1805) was archdeacon of Carlisle. *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 15 (Oxford, 1917), pp.101-106.

⁸⁶ CDA, MISC49/2.

⁸⁷ CDA, MISC49/2.

⁸⁸ Rouse, ‘Library’, pp.55-56.

⁸⁹ CDA, MISC49/3.

in Halifax.

Subscriptions to voluntary societies, part of public institutions, in Halifax between 1780 and 1820 was the central method to improve social and cultural conditions as well as to support particular political movements. The voluntary societies sustained by subscriptions formed social, cultural and political ideologies. The educational societies like the British School intensified the middle classes' sense of duty to educate lower people, and of their ascendancy over this lower people. For their view, the education of youth was that 'rank, power, wealth, and influence, constitute no exception from activity or attention to duty, but only serve to lay a weight of real accumulated responsibility on the possessor'.⁹⁰ The Halifax General Dispensary represented 'social improvement' and 'philanthropy' for subscribers. Subscriptions for the Royal Jubilee for George III in 1809 clearly exhibited 'loyalism'. The Halifax Volunteers represented not only 'patriotism' but also voluntarism in public services by subscribers. *The Halifax Journal* commented on the "Volunteer Defenders of their Country", from their strict attention, zeal, and loyalty, and with such promising appearances before us we have every reason to expect they will maintain the encomiums we with real pleasure pay to their exertions for the public good'.⁹¹ One report about the Halifax Volunteers in 1809 praised this, 'all classes subscribe their acknowledgements, indeed it is but truth to say, that we have not heard of a single complaint of disorderly conduct against any man in the Corps'.⁹²

These ideologies that emerged from the voluntary societies in Halifax were not only shared by male subscribers but also by females. Women were active members of philanthropic societies.⁹³

⁹⁰ *HJ* 19 Dec. 1807.

⁹¹ *HJ* 21 Jan. 1804.

⁹² *HJ* 9 June 1810.

⁹³ Prochaska, *Women*.

Additionally, as Linda Colley points put,⁹⁴ not all women in Britain in the 1790s and the 1800s opposed war and proffered public peace. At this time, women sometimes displayed their ‘patriotism’ and ‘loyalism’. Furthermore, in the Anti-Slavery Movement, female members were sometimes more active than male members.⁹⁵ Male subscribers in Halifax had never given female subscribers the chance to become leading officers in the societies between 1780 and 1820. Although women did not govern public institutions in Halifax in this time, some women of the middle classes and local elite women cultivated their personal connections through visits to their homes and public space.⁹⁶ Through these connections they were able to develop their knowledge and public consciousness. The ideology of distinction between public and private invaded political and social rhetoric more clearly from the 1830s,⁹⁷ though, as Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall describe,⁹⁸ as in the Queen Caroline affair, gender tensions had sometimes arisen in the public life before the 1830s. Many local administrative bodies and voluntary societies after 1820 excluded women from public life in order to defend the ideology of women’s domesticity and to avoid intellectual conflict over gender in public life.⁹⁹ Gender ideologies and the separate sphere, public and private, were becoming dominant in public institutions in Halifax in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁴ Colley, *Britons*, chap. 6.

⁹⁵ Clare Midgley, *Women against Slavery: the British Campaigns, 1780-1870* (1992).

⁹⁶ Smail, *Origins*, 167-187. In Halifax in the first half of the nineteenth century, Anne Lister had vital female connection with her friends. See Catherine A. Euler, ‘Moving between Worlds: Gender, Class, Politics, Sexuality and Women’s Networks in the Diaries of Anne Lister of Shibden Hall, Halifax, Yorkshire, 1830-1840’, unpublished D. Phil. thesis, University of York (1995); Jill Liddington, *Female Fortune. Land, Gender and Authority: The Anne Lister Diaries and Other Writings, 1833-36* (1998); Robert B. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society 1650-1850: the Emergence of Separate Spheres?* (1998).

⁹⁷ Dror Wahrman, *Imaging the Middle Class: The Political Representation of Class in Britain, c.1780-1840* (Cambridge, 1995), chap. 11.

⁹⁸ Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850* (1987).

⁹⁹ John Tosh, *A Man’s Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven, 1999); Anna Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class* (1995).

Subscriptions to the voluntary societies in Halifax between 1780 and 1820 constructed an inter-relationship between subscriber classes and non-subscriber classes, and intra-relationships between subscribers. The Halifax General Dispensary, like the voluntary hospitals in eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century towns,¹⁰¹ constructed paternalistic relationships between the subscribers and the patients by giving the subscribers the right of recommendation. The Halifax Benevolent Society also recommended poor people to the societies, though this recommendation system was managed not by the subscribers but by the officers appointed to oversee the condition of the poor.¹⁰² In the British School, the donors and the subscribers also had the power to introduce children. The system to recommend the poor, patients, and children to voluntary societies by subscribers was a cheap system of patronage: offering control of the lower orders. Middle class awareness of social improvement in the voluntary societies intensified distinctions between themselves as subscribers and the poor or labouring people. All denominations and political groups supported the consciousness of philanthropy and social improvement in the voluntary societies in Halifax.

Hierarchical structures were contained within subscribers and donors in Halifax public institutions. Table 3.2 shows that the Halifax General Dispensary heavily depended upon donations when it was established in 1807. Subscriptions for the British School exceeded donations when this society was established in 1811. However, after 1811 local gentry, bankers, merchants, and professionals often made donations,¹⁰³ and donations to the British School became no less important than the annual subscription.

¹⁰⁰ See chapter 5.

¹⁰¹ Borsay, *Medicine*, chap. 6 and 8; Minoru Yasumoto, *Industrialisation, Urbanisation and Demographic Change in England* (Nagoya, 1994), pp. 148-149.

¹⁰² See CDA, MISC: 2/29/1.

¹⁰³ From the Halifax Database.

Table 3.2 The Largest and Mean Subscription or Donation in Halifax, 1803-1811¹⁰⁴

	Total Number of Subscriber	Total (£)	Biggest (£)	Mean (£)
The Halifax Volunteers in 1803_Subscription	773	8312.8	300	10.8
The Halifax General Dispensary in 1807_Subscription	162	45.4	2.1	0.3
The Halifax General Dispensary in 1807_Donation	32	266.2	21	8.3
Royal Jubilee in Halifax in 1809_Subscription	177	182.4	5.3	1
The British School in 1811_Subscription	258	185.8	2.1	0.6
The British School in 1811_Donation	101	185.1	50	1.8

Figure 3.6 Amount of Subscription and Donations in Halifax as a Per cent of Total by Occupational Status, 1803-1811¹⁰⁵

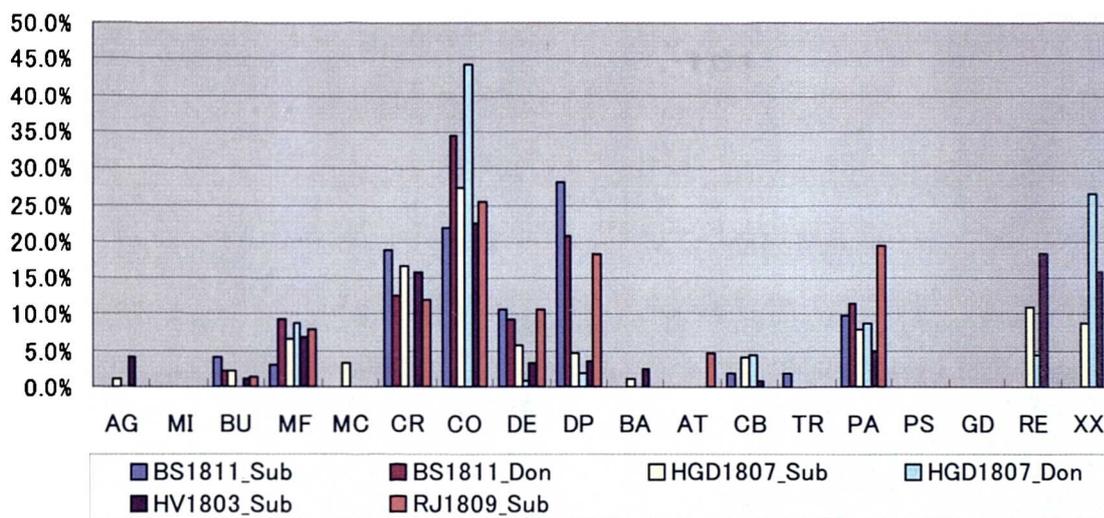


Figure 3.6 was constructed from the record linkage between the nominal subscription lists and the poll book for the Yorkshire election in 1807 or the commercial directory in 1814. The nominal lists of the Halifax Volunteers and the Halifax General Dispensary related to the 1807 poll book,

¹⁰⁴ This table made from the Halifax database.

¹⁰⁵ This figure made from the Halifax database. BS1811_Sub: The subscription list of the British School in 1811 related to the commercial directory in 1814; BS1811_Don: The donation list of the British School in 1811 related to the commercial directory in 1814; HGD1807_Sub: The subscription list of the Halifax General Infirmary related to the poll book of Yorkshire election in 1807; HV1803_Sub: The subscription list for the Halifax Volunteers in 1803 related to the poll book of Yorkshire election in 1807; RJ1809_Sub: The subscription list of Royal Jubilee in 1809 related to the commercial directory in 1814.

while the list of the British School and the Royal Jubilee related to the directory in 1814. Although the poll book does not include comprehensive information for the middle classes in the Halifax, this book includes valuable data for many members of the local elite or gentry around Halifax Township. Although the 1814 commercial directory has little information on local gentry around Halifax township, this directory contains more occupational data than the poll book.

Despite the difficulties of record linkage, figure 3.6 shows that subscriptions and donations in Halifax in the early nineteenth century depended on particular occupational groups. Most important for the amount of subscriptions was the commercial group who had plentiful liquid capital. The Halifax General Dispensary especially benefited from this group's donations, although many of the donors like many subscribers for the Halifax Volunteer force who had no recorded occupational data were local gentry or landed gentleman. The rentier group, including local gentry near Halifax, were also big donors in the Halifax Dispensary. Subscriptions to the Halifax Volunteers came mainly from commerce and rentier groups. It seems probable that the gentry's donations and subscriptions to the British School were underestimated because of the character of the commercial directory. But, through subscriptions from the commerce, distribution and processing, and craft groups, the occupational structure of the subscriptions and donations for the Halifax British School was more balanced than many others. The Royal Jubilee depended on commerce and professional groups as well as craft, dealing, and distribution and processing groups.

It is true that local subscription and donation in Halifax in the first two decades of the nineteenth century depended on a range of various occupational groups though the subscriptions and donations were unevenly distinguished among their groups. For instance, except for medical doctors in the Halifax General Dispensary, principal officers in this dispensary such as president, treasurer, and 21 governors, were occupied by rich merchants, manufacturers, bankers, and professionals, who were

big donors, since establishing the dispensary.¹⁰⁶ Through paying bigger subscriptions and donations, the capital rich upper middle classes, such as the commerce and banking groups, and the local gentry, kept many principal officers in some voluntary societies. So, the subscription system intensified a middle class hierarchy in public institutions.

Through subscriptions to public institutions, some voluntary societies created cooperative relationships in the early nineteenth century. Like other provincial infirmaries,¹⁰⁷ the Halifax General Dispensary was one of the centres for this interrelationship. This dispensary was enthusiastically supported by the middle classes from Anglican as well as Nonconformists.¹⁰⁸ After 1807 a number of cultural or scientific lectures and concerts were held in order to collect donations for the dispensary.¹⁰⁹ On the occasion of the Royal Jubilee in 1809, *the Halifax Journal* said

‘Let, then, the hand of charity be stretched out; let a resolution be adopted for the relief of the wretched. To this end, there are two establishments in this town which are peculiarly entitled to our consideration – the Halifax General Dispensary and the Friendly Benevolent Society’.¹¹⁰

Additionally, the Caledonian Society, one of the benefit clubs in Halifax, commenced an annual subscription to the Halifax General Dispensary in 1810. *The Halifax Journal* praised this decision. ‘The Caledonian Society does not consist of more than 40 members, most of whom are individually subscribers to the Dispensary. – We record this instance of liberality, as worthy of imitation by other

¹⁰⁶ *HJ* 3 and 10 October 1807.

¹⁰⁷ Langford, *Public Life*, pp. 508-509; Borsay, *Medicine*, chap. 6, 7 and 10; Money, *Experience*, pp. 8-12, 21, 276-278; Kathleen Wilson, ‘Urban Culture and Political Activism in Hanoverian England: the Example of Voluntary Hospitals’, in E. Hellmuth (ed.), *The Transformation of Political Culture in Britain and Germany in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1990).

¹⁰⁸ *HJ* 23 and 30 June 1810.

¹⁰⁹ *HJ* 25 June and 3 Dec. 1808; CDA, Handbills advertising meeting of subscribers to the Halifax General Dispensary, December 1808 and May 1810, HAS: 435/ 42 and 87.

¹¹⁰ *HJ* 7 Oct. 1809.

clubs'.¹¹¹ In conclusion, the social relationships through subscriptions of public institutions articulated various collective actions of the middle classes and their social resources in Halifax.

3. The Political Sphere in Halifax

While public institutions in Halifax fostered various ideologies and social relationships to maintain social order in this local community, economic and political awareness of the people in Halifax was growing from 1780. After the 1750s, new machinery and larger units of production replaced the domestic system, and new credit network developed within the local community between merchants and manufacturers.¹¹² Their network was one of the ways distinguishing the merchant and manufacturer from the clothier and artisan. Furthermore, the credit networks created a common consciousness between merchants and manufacturers: cooperating economic interests, risk-taking, and credit. On the other hand, the clothier and artisan, such as the cloth dresser, retained a cooperative mind and old customs, and depended on local community life.¹¹³ As Adrian Randall suggests,¹¹⁴ economic institutions such as the domestic system and the cloth hall in West Yorkshire created the critical culture of community life. After the 1780s the merchants and manufacturers tried to challenge the old customs of the domestic system by introducing machinery, building factories, and breaking the apprentice system. At the same time, the clothier and other artisans

¹¹¹ *HJ* 14 July 1810.

¹¹² Derek Gregory, *Regional Transformation and Industrial Revolution: a Geography of the Yorkshire Woollen Industry* (1982); Pat Hudson, *The Genesis of Industrial Capital: a Study of the West Riding Wool Textile Industry, c.1750-1850* (Cambridge, 1986); Smail, *Origins*, chap. 3-4; idem, *Merchants, Markets and Manufacture: the English Wool Textile Industry in the Eighteenth Century* (Basingstoke, 1999); R.G. Wilson, *Gentlemen Merchants: the Merchant Community in Leeds 1700-1830* (Manchester, 1971); idem, 'The Supremacy of the Yorkshire Cloth Industry in the Eighteenth Century', in N. Harte and K. Ponting (eds.), *Textile History and Economic History* (Manchester, 1973).

¹¹³ Robin Pearson, 'The Industrial Suburbs of Leeds in the Nineteenth Century: Community Consciousness among the Social Classes, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Leeds (1986); idem, 'Knowing One's Place: Perceptions of Community in the Industrial Suburbs of Leeds, 1790-1890', *Journal of Social History*, 27 (1993); Randall, *Luddites*.

¹¹⁴ Randall, *Luddites*, chap. 1.

tried to defend their status and custom in the local community.

That challenge of merchant and manufacturer against the domestic system, and the counter-attack of clothier and artisan against the merchant and manufacturer in West Yorkshire became the political campaign of the 1790s and the 1800s. By 1790 public meetings became one of the important platforms for this political movement in Halifax. The public meeting was also important for specific occupational groups such as clothiers and cloth dressers, or merchants and manufacturers to demonstrate their legitimacy in the local community in Halifax.

Local trade organisations¹¹⁵ were also important for formulating strategy for self-protection. Clothiers and cloth dressers especially protected their mutual relationship through their local organisations, such as the 'Brief Institution'. Merchants and manufacturers in Halifax held very strong militant attitudes against organisations of artisans and clothiers. An advertisement in *Halifax Journal* for croppers, pressers, and master dressers announced: 'A Few Free Born Britons, who have a Spirit to dare to think and act for themselves, and not be dictated to by a Club. They are to work where Gig Mills have been used nearly twenty years. Such men may apply to Charles Hudson, of Shaw Hill'.¹¹⁶ Due to breaking the old law prohibiting the usage of gig mills, this manufacturer was the subject of accusations not only from clothiers and artisans but also from other manufacturers in Halifax. After this criticism, he declared he would not use gig mills.¹¹⁷ Nevertheless, the manufacturers' hostility to cloth workers' societies did not diminish. In September 1805, more than thirty manufacturers in the Halifax and Huddersfield areas agreed 'Not to employ any Workman in our Manufacture, who shall on or after the first Day of October next, be or become a Member of what is called the Institution, or any illegal combination; or who shall from

¹¹⁵ Malcolm Chase, *Early Trade Unionism: Fraternity, Skill and the Politics of Labour*, (Aldershot, 2000), chap. 2 and 3; J.G. Rule, *The Experience of Labour in Eighteenth-Century Industry* (1981), chap. 6 and 7.

¹¹⁶ *HJ* 20 Oct 1804.

¹¹⁷ *HJ* 27 Oct, 3 and 10 Nov 1804.

that Time, either directly or indirectly, contribute to the support of any Workmen who shall after that Period turn out for an Advance of Wages, or for attempting to enforce Regulations contrary to Law'.¹¹⁸

In addition to these organisations for artisans and clothiers, there is also a serious controversy between historians over the political role of friendly societies at this time.¹¹⁹ It seems that the middle classes and the local elite suspected the political neutrality of some friendly societies in the early nineteenth century. One writer to the *Halifax Journal* regretted that some members of 'the Friendly club held at the Union Cross' shared anti-government opinions, and that the social role of this club by mutual benefits should be diminished by this political attitude.¹²⁰ The local administrators observed whether these societies sustained both the life of labouring people and mutual relationships between members or not. At the same time, they also recognised that the openness and collectivism of those societies or clubs would easily connect to political radicalism and the anti-state movement in the 1790s and the 1800s.¹²¹

Petitions to Parliament as a means of protecting industrial interests were very common in the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century.¹²² In West Yorkshire, merchants and manufacturers as well as clothiers and artisans used this method to protect their economic interests. For example, cotton manufacturers in West Yorkshire petitioned Parliament to repeal the 1802 Act that regulated the hours of child workers in cotton mills.¹²³ A committee was established in 1803

¹¹⁸ *HJ* 14 Sep. 1805.

¹¹⁹ For recent review of this topic, see Chase, *Unionism*, chap. 3.

¹²⁰ *HJ* 30 June 1804.

¹²¹ Clark, *British Clubs*, chap. 10; Chase, *Unionism*, chap. 3.

¹²² Lee Davison, Tim Hitchcock, Tim Keim and Robert B. Shoemaker (eds.), *Stilling the Grumbling Hive: the Response to Social and Economic Problems in England, 1689-1750* (Stroud, 1992), esp. chap. 1 and 2; N.B. Harte and K.G. Ponting (eds.), *Textile History and Economic History* (Manchester, 1973), esp. chap. 4.

¹²³ This paragraph depends on George Ingle, *Yorkshire Cotton: the Yorkshire Cotton Industry, 1780-1835* (Preston, 1997), p.71.

in Keighley for this purpose. Although the cotton industry in West Yorkshire played an important role in supplying the cotton yarn to Lancashire after 1780,¹²⁴ manufacturers presumably continued to be interested in how they served labour and capital, and how they managed their mill under the Factory Acts. The Worsted Committee had been established by Parliamentary Act in 1777:¹²⁵ for the worsted merchant and manufacturers in Halifax,¹²⁶ it represented a powerful body to further the interest of the worsted employers. It tried to restrict embezzlement in spinning and appointed an inspector to check this leakage. The first committee comprised twenty seven members, including six members from Halifax, and it met several times there.¹²⁷

The committee confronted the reluctance of Justices of the Peace to convict workers accused of embezzlement.¹²⁸ As a result, the Committee and Justices of the Peace came into conflict on the judgement of embezzlement. Additionally, the members of the committee sought to make a propaganda for their interests, using published papers and accusing the Justices of the Peace.¹²⁹ For example, the Committee prosecuted the Halifax wool-combers for illegal combination,¹³⁰ and sometimes maintained wool supply and opposed exporting wool from Britain. It succeeded in reducing embezzlement and, consequently, promoting the common interest in the worsted districts in West Yorkshire and Lancashire through disputing, petitioning, accusing, and helping the local public bodies.

¹²⁴ D.T. Jenkins, 'The Cotton Industry in Yorkshire 1780-1900', *Textile History*, 10 (1979).

¹²⁵ 17 Geo. III, c.11.

¹²⁶ John James, *History of the Worsted Manufacture in England from the Earliest Times* (1857); Herbert Heaton, *The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries from Earliest Times up to the Industrial Revolution*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1965), pp.418-437; John Styles, 'Embezzlement, Industry and the Law in England, 1500-1800', in M. Berg et al. (eds.), *Manufacture in Town and Country before the Factory* (Cambridge, 1983); Gary Firth, *Bradford and the Industrial Revolution: an Economic History 1760-1840* (Halifax, 1990), pp.144-152; Kiyoshi Sakamaki, 'The Dead Line of the Putting-out System in the Yorkshire Worsted Industry in the Eighteenth Century', *Tohoku Management and Accounting Research Group(TM & ARG)*, Discussion Paper, 23 (1991).

¹²⁷ BDA, Worsted Committee, Minutes book, 1777-1786, 56D88, 1/1; James, *Manufacture*, p.297.

¹²⁸ BDA, 56D88, 1/1, 1777-1786; Worsted Committee, Minutes Book, 1786-1805, 56D88, 1/2.

¹²⁹ BDA, 56D88, 1/1, 1777-1786; 1786-1805, 56D88; Worsted Committee, 2/1, Account Books, 1777-1789, 56D88. 2/1; Worsted Committee, Account Books, 1801-1836, 56D88, 2/2.

¹³⁰ BDA, 56D88, 1/2, 3 Jan. 1791 and 2 Apr. 1791.

Interestingly, the Worsted Committee sought to establish relationships with local societies by contributing to their funds.¹³¹ On the other hand, it also confronted local customs and interests. For example, in 1787 ‘the inhabitants of Northowram [which is one of the townships in Halifax parish] having claimed the whole penalty recovered by an inspector appointed by this Committee, for buying of Embezzled Materials to be distributed amongst the poor of the township where the offence was committed’.¹³² Mr Curer, who was one of the Committee members and from Halifax Parish (Luddenden township), insisted ‘such penalty [was] distributed amongst the poor of the ...township [Southowram]’. But this opinion was rejected by other members. The committee formalised their own strategies through the disputes between them and the national government. In 1800 the government consulted the committee over the ending of the drawback of tax on soap. The Committee responded by indicating that the tax was of continuing use, and defended their position. The committee said ‘the power and the provisions of the said Act [Worsted Act, 1777] have been found of great Public Utility and the said Committee have been thereby and by means of the said Fund [the drawbacks] enabled to detect prosecute and bring to Justice Offenders against the said Laws who otherwise would have escaped punishment and that in consequence such frauds have greatly decreased’.¹³³ After the 1800s manufacturers continued to be interested in embezzlement in their worsted factories. As Barry Godfrey points out,¹³⁴ in order to check worsted workers’ embezzlement, the Worsted Committee was still an important organisation in the Bradford area in the mid-nineteenth century.

In contrast to the Worsted Committee, the clash between new merchants and manufacturers, and

¹³¹ BDA, 56D88, 1/2, 1786-1805.

¹³² BDA, 56D88, 1/2, 26 Feb 1787.

¹³³ BDA, 56D88, 1/2, 4 June 1802.

¹³⁴ Barry Godfrey, ‘Law, Factory Discipline and ‘Theft’: the Impact of the Factory on Workplace Appropriation in Mid to Late Nineteenth-century Yorkshire’, *British Journal of Criminology*, 39 (1999); Heaton, *Yorkshire*, pp.435-437; Hudson, *Genesis*, p. 290; Jack Reynolds, *The Great Paternalist: Titus Salt and the Growth of Nineteenth-century Bradford* (1983), pp. 162-163.

clothier and artisans in the woollen industry in West Yorkshire became a more serious source of conflict of the 1790s and 1800s. In 1794, clothiers in West Yorkshire petitioned Parliament to prohibit cloth merchants from becoming cloth manufacturers.¹³⁵ Clothiers were worried about the fact that cloth merchants were ‘becoming Cloth makers ... in and near *Leeds* and *Halifax*’ and ‘established large Factories’. Since it was a serious matter for clothiers that the ‘[domestic] system [was] destroyed by the modes [factories]’, and ‘modes [were] founded on a Monopoly erected and supported by great capitals’. Clearly the clothiers wanted to protect the domestic system because they wished to preserve their independent status and customary position in the local community. Merchants and manufacturers in West Yorkshire did not protest against this clothier action by using the petition to Parliament. The merchants in Leeds preferred to avoid serious conflicts between the merchants and the clothier. In Leeds ‘the tendency was for the manufacturer to break in to merchanting and not vice versa’.¹³⁶ In contrast to the gentlemen merchants in Leeds, the large manufacturers in the Halifax area attempted to merchant the cloth they made and vice versa from the mid-eighteenth century.¹³⁷ As John Crabtree suggests,¹³⁸ ‘it is evident that merchants, concentrating in themselves the whole process of a manufactory, from the raw wool to the finished piece, have an advantage over those who permit the article to pass through a variety of hands, each taking a profit’. It is undoubted that the merchant and manufacturer possessed a definite interest both in developing their business with their capital and in breaking through the traditional production and dealing system such as the ‘domestic system’ by the end of the 1790s.

After 1802, the merchants and manufacturers in West Yorkshire very actively sought to repeal the old laws, which restricted the woollen industry.¹³⁹ As a result, in 1806, Parliament established a

¹³⁵ *JHC*, vol. 49, pp.275-6, 431-432, 496; Randall, *Luddites*, p.211.

¹³⁶ Wilson, *Merchants*, pp. 59, 97-101.

¹³⁷ Wilson, *Merchants*, pp. 58-59; Smail, *Origins*, pp. 53-81, 226-228.

¹³⁸ Crabtree, *Halifax*, p. 305.

¹³⁹ *JHC*, vol. 58, pp.375, 379-380, 386-391-393, vol. 59, pp.81, 226, 245, 295, 302, 341, 346, 363, vol. 60, pp. 224, 235, 306-307, 339, 347. See also *PP, Report from the Select Committee on the Petitions of Merchants and Manufactures Concerned in the Woollen Manufacture in the Country of*

committee to examine this problem, and its completed report about this problem,¹⁴⁰ represents the interests of both merchant and manufacturer, and clothier and cloth dresser.¹⁴¹ Although merchant and manufacturer confronted the gap between ‘the entrepreneurial and traditional’, by 1803 they had ‘a growing confidence born of rising incomes and an ascendant ideology of *laissez-faire*’ through petitioning, and business activity.¹⁴² It was clear that merchant and manufacturer in Halifax and Huddersfield showed a strong interest in repealing old laws regulating the woollen industry.¹⁴³ The committee reached negative conclusions on the domestic system, and the old industrial statutes protecting apprenticeship and prohibiting the use of machinery in the woollen industry. They also had a strong militancy towards the ‘Brief Institution’ of the cloth workers. On the other hand, they assessed the factory system, machinery for the woollen industry, and the rich manufacturer as a profitable and desirable system through their capital. As Derek Gregory points out,¹⁴⁴ this parliamentary committee in 1806 had strong prejudices, such as a preference for the interests of manufacturers and merchants, antipathy to old industrial laws and old community culture supportive of the domestic system, and hostility towards the collectivism of labouring people. Nevertheless, it seems that the report in 1806 was not a distinct watershed, as Smail argues,¹⁴⁵ in the consolidation of class consciousness for the middle class such as merchants and manufacturers or the working class such as clothiers and cloth workers. Rather, through their political campaigning in the 1800s the merchants and manufacturers had established their interests, and reconstructed the business

York and Town of Halifax, 1802-3, V; Report from the Select Committee on the Petition of the Clothworkers, Shearmen, Weavers and Clothiers of the Counties of York, Somerset, Gloucester and Wilts, and Other Parts of United Kingdom, 1805, III.

¹⁴⁰ *PP, Report from the Select Committee appointed to consider the State of the Woollen Manufacture of England, 1806, III; Minutes of Evidence taken before the Committee, 1806, III.*

¹⁴¹ There is a controversy between John Smail and Adrian Randall about this report of 1806. John Smail, ‘New Languages for Labour and Capital: the Transformation of Discourse in the Early Years of the Industrial Revolution’, *Social History*, 12 (1987); idem, ‘New Languages? Yes indeed: a Reply to Adrian Randall’, *Social History*, 16 (1991); Adrian Randall, ‘New Languages or Old? Labour, Capital and Discourse in the Industrial Revolution’, *Social History*, 15 (1990).

¹⁴² Randall, *Luddites*, p.261.

¹⁴³ Randall, *Luddites*, pp.208, 215, 261; Wilson, *Merchants*, pp.93-97.

¹⁴⁴ Gregory, *Transformation*, pp.121-138.

¹⁴⁵ Smail, ‘New Languages for the Labour and Capital’.

attitude, and the 'new language' expressing their economic interests by the end of the 1800s.

Table 3.3 Result of the Yorkshire Parliamentary Election of 1807¹⁴⁶

	Wilberforce		Milton		Lascelles		Total	Number of Voters
Halifax Township	94	35.6%	76	28.8%	94	35.6%	264	168
Halifax Parish	424	31.7%	525	39.2%	389	29.1%	1338	938
West Riding	5807	29.7%	7625	39.0%	6100	31.2%	19532	13830
Total	11806	34.8%	11177	32.9%	10989	32.3%	33972	23007

It is a controversial but critical point for us whether the cloth dressers and clothiers, confronting merchants and manufacturers, linked with radical political movements and created a specific class culture, and whether the merchant and manufacturer created their own political strategy and represented a specific class culture in West Yorkshire in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. It seems that the political conflict between merchant and manufacturer, and clothier and artisan in West Yorkshire strongly influenced the Yorkshire election in 1806 and 1807.¹⁴⁷

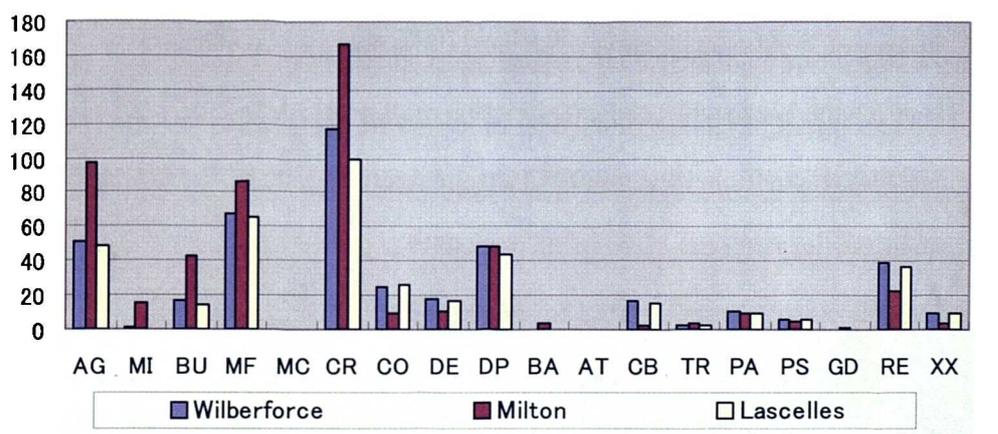
When Parliament was dissolved in October 1806, Henry Lascelles, the Tory aristocrat, tried to stand as the West Yorkshire candidate. However, he was under considerable pressure from woollen clothiers and artisans in West Yorkshire, as he was recognised as an enemy of the domestic system through his behaviour on the Parliamentary Committee on the woollen industry in 1806. Eventually, he declined to stand, and William Wilberforce, a supporter for Pitt, and William Fawkes, an independent Whig, became the M.Ps. from Yorkshire. Parliament was dissolved again in April 1807. William Wilberforce and Henry Lascelles decided to stand as West Yorkshire candidates for Parliament, and Lord Milton became the Whig candidate; Wilberforce and Milton succeeded in

¹⁴⁶ From the Halifax database. All per cent in this table is that number of each vote is divided by total number of votes.

¹⁴⁷ E.A. Smith, 'The Yorkshire Elections of 1806 and 1807: a Study in Electoral Management', *Northern History*, 2 (1967); A. Gooder (ed.), 'The Parliamentary Representation of the County of York, 1258-1832, vol. II', *Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series*, 96 (1938); Wilson, *Merchants*, pp. 168-171.

winning the seats. The small clothiers and artisans in West Yorkshire supported Lord Milton strongly, while some local Whig/Liberal propagandists in West Yorkshire, like Edward Baines who was local newspaper publisher in Leeds, gave very active support for Milton.¹⁴⁸ Henry Lascelles was unpopular in West Yorkshire (Table 3.3), due to his hostility towards small clothiers and artisans. He had also another disadvantage in this election. When the Anti-Slavery issue became another key topic in the election in 1807, his reputation was damaged during the election campaign by the information that he was connected to the Slave trade in the British colonies. In contrast to Lascelles, Wilberforce was the dominant leader of the Anti-Slavery movement. Although he was the member of the Parliamentary committee on enquiring the woollen industry in 1806, and his votes in West Yorkshire in 1807 were less than that of Milton and Lascelles, he gained much support as a leader of the Anti-Slavery movement.

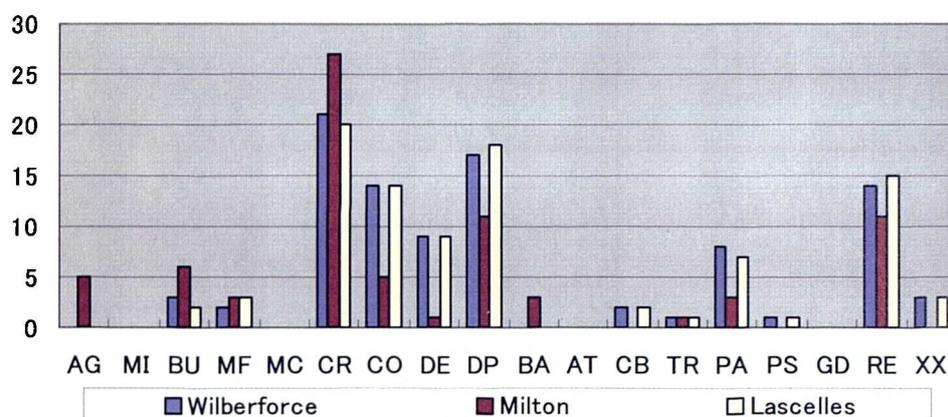
Figure 3.7 Voting and Occupational Status in Halifax Township for the Yorkshire Election of 1807 (Number of Voters)¹⁴⁹



¹⁴⁸ Anon, *Yorkshire Contested Election: Part First. Containing all the Songs, Epigrams, & c. ...* (Leeds, 1807); anon, *Yorkshire Election: a Collection of the Speeches, Addresses, and Squibs ...* (Leeds, 1807).

¹⁴⁹ Figure 3.7 and 3.8 made from the Halifax database.

Figure 3.8 Voting and Occupational Status in Halifax Parish for the Yorkshire Election of 1807 (Number of Voters)



In contrast to the West Riding in the Yorkshire parliamentary election in 1807, Halifax township included many supporters for Henry Lascelles. At this point, the local elite, vicar, merchants, manufacturers, and professionals in and around Halifax township formed the electoral committee for Lascelles.¹⁵⁰ Commerce, dealing, distribution and processing, professional, and rentier groups preferred Lascelles and Wilberforce, while the craft group, including small artisans, strongly supported Milton (Figure 3.7). The data on Halifax Parish for the 1807 election shows the craft group as strong supporters of Milton, for whom many in the agricultural category also voted. In contrast, the commercial group strongly supported Lascelles and Wilberforce. Although some manufacturers and merchants in Elland, Heptonstall, Ovenden, and Sowerby were strong supporters of Lascelles and Wilberforce, votes from manufacturers in Halifax Parish were divided among Milton, and Lascelles and Wilberforce (Figure 3.8). It seems that overall the political behaviour of merchants and manufacturers in Halifax Parish was varied. It was difficult for them to adopt a unified political and economic strategies due to their different economic status, personal relationships with particular political parties, and different relationships with small clothiers and artisans.¹⁵¹ On the other hand, for clothiers and artisans, the Yorkshire parliamentary election was

¹⁵⁰ *HJ* 2 May 1807.

¹⁵¹ Randall, *Luddites*, pp. 210-216, 271-272.

one of the key events in which political interest united, and strong militancy demonstrated against merchants and manufacturers.¹⁵² Thus, the political environment for the middle classes in Halifax was more complicated than had been the case in the eighteenth century.¹⁵³

Did clothiers and artisans in Halifax form a 'class culture' through participation in their political campaign and their organisations in the 1790s and the 1800s, in a different way from the merchant and manufacturer? Merchants and manufacturers, and clothiers and artisans had many opportunities to cooperate in political organisations through patriotism against France,¹⁵⁴ loyalism,¹⁵⁵ anti-war consciousness,¹⁵⁶ and anti-slavery consciousness¹⁵⁷ in the 1790s and 1800s. Local administrators in West Yorkshire overlooked their political actions in local communities except for organisations having an anti-state tradition.¹⁵⁸ Although the ruling classes of the people were worried about the risk for people's patriotism in the 1790s and 1800s,¹⁵⁹ it seems that these ideologies at the time integrated nationalistic interests for all classes of the people in the local community. Nationalistic awareness such as patriotism and loyalism would obscure class distinctions such as conflict between merchant and manufacturer, and clothier and artisan.¹⁶⁰ At the same time, popular radicalism in the 1790s and the 1800s had a close relationship with clothiers and artisans, their organisations, and some friendly societies in West Yorkshire.¹⁶¹ These groups and organisations did not automatically adhere to popular radicalism, such as the ideas of Tom Paine,

¹⁵² *HJ* 13 June 1807.

¹⁵³ Smail, *Origins*, pp. 155-163.

¹⁵⁴ Colley, *Britons*.

¹⁵⁵ J.E. Cookson, *The British Armed Nation, 1793-1815* (Oxford, 1997), esp. chap. 8 and 9.

¹⁵⁶ J.E. Cookson, *The Friends of Peace: Anti-War Liberalism in England, 1793-1815* (Cambridge, 1982), chap. 8.

¹⁵⁷ Colley, *Britons*; pp. 350-363; J.R. Oldfield, *Popular Politics and British Anti-Slavery: the Mobilisation of Public Opinion against the Slave Trade 1787-1807* (Manchester, 1995).

¹⁵⁸ Gregory, *Transformation*, chap. 4; Randall, *Luddites*, chap. 8.

¹⁵⁹ Wahrman, 'National Society', pp. 60-63.

¹⁶⁰ Linda Colley, 'Whose Nation? Class and National Consciousness in Britain 1750-1830', *Past and Present*, 113 (1986); Cookson, *Armed Nation*, pp. 244-245.

¹⁶¹ Thompson, *Making*, chap. 8, 12, and 13.

as their political ideology.¹⁶² Nevertheless, it seems that popular ‘constitutionalism’ included in the political radicalism of Britain in the 1790s and 1800s provoked a distinct political awareness among clothiers and artisans. The campaign by clothiers and artisans depended upon the old statutes to defend their economic status and the domestic system, and they looked to the constitution to enforce these statutes.

Under this political environment, the middle classes in Halifax faced a political contradiction. On the one hand, the rhetoric of ‘constitution’ provided a means to legitimise the political and social reform movement on a radical platform both for the middle classes and labouring people in the early nineteenth century.¹⁶³ ‘Constitutionalism’ became an important political ideology for the clothier and artisan as well as the merchant and manufacturer in Halifax in the 1810s. Confidence in the ‘constitution’ bridged the political demands of the middle classes and of the labouring people. Popular political movements together with the middle classes and the labouring people were able to attract enormous public support in order to put pressure on the government and the upper classes in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. For instance, in Halifax in October 1812, the union for Parliamentary Reform was founded, and was successful in attracting enormous supports of people in Halifax, and in securing 17000 signatures for this petition. This union did not use rhetoric of ‘class’ politics, but spoke of ‘constitution’ and ‘people’ to attract support from all ranks of the people collectively.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶² Randall, *Luddites*, p. 280; Chase, *Unionism*, pp. 78-83.

¹⁶³ John Belchem, ‘Republicanism, Popular Constitutionalism and the Radical Platform in Early Nineteenth-century England’, *Social History*, 6 (1981); J.A. Epstein, *Radical Expression: Political Language, Ritual, and Symbol in England, 1790-1850* (Oxford, 1994).

¹⁶⁴ Anon., *An Appeal to the Nation, by the Union for Parliamentary Reform according to the Constitution* (Halifax, 1812); Thompson, *Making*, pp. 658-659; John Dinwiddy, ‘Luddism and Politics in the Northern Counties’, *Social History*, 4 (1979), p. 60. See also Penelope J. Corfield, ‘Concepts of the Urban Middle Class in Theory and Practice: England 1750-1850’, in B. Meier and H. Schultz (eds.), *Die Wiederkehr des Statbürgers. Sadtereformen im Europäischen Vergleich 1750 bis 1850* (Berlin, 1994), pp. 257-265.

On the other hand, the political sphere in Halifax was fractured by the industrial disturbances of the Luddites, and the popular political agitation leading to the massacre of Peterloo in the 1810s. The campaign of clothiers and artisans to Parliament ultimately failed to prevent the repeal of the old industrial statutes in 1809. As a result, these groups then turned to direct violent action against manufacturers, abandoning the path of Parliamentary petition. In 1812, when serious economic depression occurred, Luddite disturbances emerged in the woollen district in West Yorkshire, notably in Leeds, Halifax and Huddersfield.¹⁶⁵ Although the domestic system in West Yorkshire had adapted to the mechanisation of the woollen industry since the later eighteenth century, the Luddite disturbances in 1812 demonstrate that this domestic system could not cushion the impact of mechanisation and the decline of old community culture for clothiers and artisans at this time.¹⁶⁶ The shock of the massacre of Peterloo in Manchester in 1819¹⁶⁷ also increased the fear of the middle classes over the popular political demonstrations in Halifax. After Peterloo, administrators in Halifax had to pay serious attention to keeping social order in this community, as they thought that Radicals, like the crowd in Manchester, possibly threatened public order through political agitation.¹⁶⁸

In short, the industrial and political conflicts in Halifax between 1780 and 1820 produced diversified political aims for the middle classes and other classes. The merchants and manufacturers in Halifax keenly consolidated their economic interest, and the profitable and desirable system through their capital such as factory system without depending old industrial legislations, while the clothiers and artisans defended their independent status under the domestic system, old industrial legislations, and their industrial customs. Furthermore, when Popular Radicalism was fostered under popular

¹⁶⁵ Frank Peel, *The Risings of the Luddites: Chartists and Plug-Drawers*, 4th ed. (1968); Thompson, *Making*, chap. 14; Gregory, *Transformation*, pp. 161-185; John A. Hargreaves, 'Halifax and the Yorkshire Luddite Disturbances of 1812', *THAS* (1986).

¹⁶⁶ S.A. Caunce, 'Complexity, Community Structure and Competitive Advantage within the Yorkshire Woollen Industry, c.1700-1850', *Business History*, 39 (1997), pp. 36-37.

¹⁶⁷ Donald Read, *Peterloo: the Massacre and its Background* (Manchester, 1958).

¹⁶⁸ Holroyd, 'Revolution Worse'.

constitutionalism in West Yorkshire during that period, the middle classes in Halifax failed to establish a distinct presence against those political movements. Through using their political organisations, political partnerships, and ideologies in Halifax, the middle classes did not succeed in negotiating their divided economic and political interests and specific political ideologies.

4. Summary

In this chapter we have confirmed that the principal actors of public institutions in Halifax between 1780 and 1820 were mainly from the middle classes, and were composed of wealthy merchants, manufacturers, bankers, and the professionals as well as shopkeepers, dealers, small manufacturers, and craftsmen. The wealthy occupational groups, such as merchant, manufacturer, banker, and professional, gave voluntary societies more subscriptions and donations than the lower middling groups. Usually, they occupied the office of local administrative bodies and voluntary societies. Qualifications through the legislation and economic power to hold shares of commercial organisations or to subscribe the voluntary societies were critical systems to authorise their presence in those public institutions. These institutions also fostered intra-relationships between the middle classes and formed inter-relationships between them and local gentry around Halifax township from 1780 to 1820. Although, as John Smail points out, the elite in Halifax constructed ‘the middle-class culture’ in the third quarter of the eighteenth century, shaping their civic identity in the public sphere,¹⁶⁹ this was also the powerful regulator governing public institutions and maintaining social order from 1780.

However, governance of public institutions by the middle classes became more institutionalised than that before 1780. The growth of the voluntary societies in Halifax was a clear phase of the last

¹⁶⁹ Smail, *Origins*, esp. chap. 5-6.

quarter of the eighteenth century. Like other provincial towns,¹⁷⁰ these societies became 'more open, more transparent'. Public subscriptions in Halifax, especially after the 1800s, created social relationships in the middle classes, and between them and local gentry, and cultivated sociability for the middle classes. Some voluntary societies formed ideologies, such as social improvement, to foster the identity of the middle classes and to establish distinctions between them and labouring people or the poor. Subscriptions and donations in voluntary societies created networks between these societies. For example, the Halifax General Dispensary was one of the centres intensifying those cooperative activities. The networks sustained by subscription system were interrelated collective actions of the middle classes, and fostered their collective awareness in Halifax.

Moreover, the economic and political interests were disputed in Halifax through the industrial campaigns from merchants and manufacturers, and clothiers and artisans, and political and social organisations, in Halifax in the 1790s and the 1800s. As chapter 2 demonstrated, centralised production systems such as the factory system and introduction of new machinery gradually spread by the merchants and manufacturers in Halifax after 1780. Clearly, they had a new economic aim to increase their capital such without depending on old custom and industrial legislations. In contrast, the clothiers and artisans joined Radicalism, based on popular constitutionalism, in order to protect their position and independence within woollen textile industry. The new economic aim of the merchant and manufacturer was not accepted by the old lower middling groups such as the craft group since the 1790s. The political environment in Halifax became more dynamic and complex than that in the third quarter of the eighteenth century as John Smail shows.¹⁷¹ The Parliamentary elections in Yorkshire, industrial and commercial campaigns to Parliament, and formation of political organisation or partnership were no longer mechanism for the middle classes to negotiate their disputes and form their collective identity.

¹⁷⁰ Morris, 'Civil Society', p. 298.

¹⁷¹ Smail, *Origins*, esp. pp.155-162.

Chapter 4 The Political Sphere in Halifax, 1820-1850

This chapter examines the local political activities, relationships, and identities of the middle classes in Halifax from the later 1820s to the early 1850s. The Parliamentary elections from 1832 and the major political movements in Halifax are the principal research objects for this project. As recent studies suggest,¹ voting in provincial boroughs was one of the critical political practices in these local communities. These studies recognise that the voting reflected power relationships in the local community. As one study points out,² the middle classes shaped their own awareness through political movements, by competing with other classes and by articulating loyalty to the parties they supported. Moreover, political activities related to provincial borough elections served to intensify the political awareness of voters as well as non-voters through the organisation of political societies and the formation of political ideologies. Thus, the Halifax Parliamentary Borough elections from 1832 to 1852 well-represented not only the political activities of voters but also the strategies and ideals of political associations and non-voters' political actions.

Recent studies have tended to focus on local politics in Halifax in the first half of the nineteenth century such as the Borough elections³ and popular movements,⁴ and the relationship between

¹ T.J. Nossiter, *Influence, Opinion and Political Idioms in Reformed England: Case Studies from the North East, 1832-74* (Brighton, 1975), pp. 5-7; R.J. Morris, *Class, Sect and Party. The Making of the British Middle Class: Leeds, 1820-1850* (Manchester, 1990); Derek Fraser, *Urban Politics in Victorian England: the Structure of Politics in Victorian Cities* (Leicester, 1976).

² Geoffrey Crossick, *An Artisan Elite in Victorian Society: Kentish London 1840-1880* (1978), p. 199.

³ John A. Hargreaves, *Halifax* (Edinburgh, 1999) provides a brief sketch of Halifax Borough elections in the nineteenth century since 1832. See also J.A. Jowitt, 'A Crossroads in Halifax Politics: Election of 1847', *THAS* (1973); idem, 'Parliamentary Politics in Halifax, 1832-1847', *Northern History*, 12 (1976); idem, 'Sir Charles Wood (1800-85): a Case Study in the Formation of Liberalism in Mid-Victorian England', unpublished M.Phil. thesis, University of Leeds (1980); Eric Webster, 'Parliamentary Elections in the Parish of Halifax 1806-1837', *THAS*, New Ser., 1 (1993).

⁴ Dorothy and E.P. Thompson, 'Halifax as a Chartist Centre', unpublished typescript, Halifax Reference Library (n.d. [1950s]); Kathleen Tiller, 'Working Class Attitudes and Organisation in Three Industrial Towns, 1850-1875', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Birmingham (1975); idem, 'Late Chartism: Halifax 1847-58', in James Epstein and Dorothy Thompson (eds.), *The*

religion and politics.⁵ This research differs from those studies by two key points. First, as Chapter 1 showed, by a close analysis of the Halifax Borough elections from 1832 to 1852 through systematic use of the Halifax database and cross-reference between the evidences from the database and of the qualitative documents, it investigates the process and the institutional matrix of the Halifax Borough elections, and Radical movements associated with the elections. Then, it examines the interaction of process and matrix of those elections. Secondly, there are a few works which evaluate the middle classes' political practices in Halifax Borough, while Dorothy Thompson, E.P. Thompson, and Kate Tiller place Halifax as one of the critical places where militant Radicals were very active since the late eighteenth century.⁶ In this chapter, the political dynamics of the middle classes on the Halifax Borough elections will be explored by the analysis of political relationships within the middle classes and between themselves and other classes such as the lower labouring people, while political ideologies and strategies for the middle classes will also be investigated.

The first section of this chapter will outline the results of the Halifax Borough elections from 1832 to 1852 by focussing on the nature of voters and of political communities in Halifax. The second section will evaluate the political environment in Halifax through examining the popular political movements. Both in the third and fourth sections, the political activities of the middle classes will be investigated especially from the perspective of the Halifax Borough elections.

Chartist Experience: Studies in Working-Class Radicalism and Culture, 1830-60 (1982)

⁵ John Andrew Hargreaves, 'Religion and Society in the Parish of Halifax c. 1740-1914', unpublished thesis, the Council for National Academic Awards (Huddersfield Polytechnic) (1991); idem, 'Methodism and Electoral Politics in Halifax, 1832-1848', *Northern History*, 35 (1999).

⁶ Thompson, 'Chartist'; Tiller, 'Working Class'; idem, 'Chartism'. Contemporary evidences from Halifax were convincingly used in two critical works for the English working class and the Chartists, E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, Penguin books ed. (Harmondsworth, 1980) and Dorothy Thompson, *The Chartists: Popular Politics in the Industrial Revolution* (Aldershot, 1984).

1. An Outline of Halifax Borough Elections, 1832-1852

By the Reform Act of 1832, Halifax township with parts of Northowram and Southowram became a Parliamentary Borough, with two M.Ps. The 1832 Act defined the qualifications of the franchise in the Halifax Borough: 'adult males owing or occupying property worth at least £10 per annum, provided that: they had been in possession of the property for at least one year and have paid all contingent taxes arising from the property; and they had not received any parochial poor relief in the previous year'.⁷ All women, non-propertied classes such as the labouring orders, and the poor were excluded from the right to vote. Thus, voters in the Halifax Borough elections from 1832 to 1852 were neither a majority of all inhabitants in this Parliamentary Borough nor even of the adult male population. Indeed, as J.A. Jowitt estimates, 'in 1832 there were 531 voters, 1.7 per cent of the total population and 7.48 per cent of the total male population over twenty year of age'.⁸ Even in 1852, the number of voters in the Halifax Borough was less than four percent of the total population, less than eight percent of the total male population and twelve percent of the total adult male population over twenty years of age.

Table 4.1 Number of Voters and Turn out for the Halifax Borough Elections, 1832-1852⁹

	Number on roll	Voters	Per cent of Turn out
1832	531	492	92.7%
1835	647	601	92.9%
1837	865	793	91.7%
1841	774	704	91.0%
1847	979	920	94.0%
1852	1165	1091	93.6%

The socio-economical composition of this authority group will now be examined. As chapter 1 explained, this study uses two economic markers such as occupational category and industrial

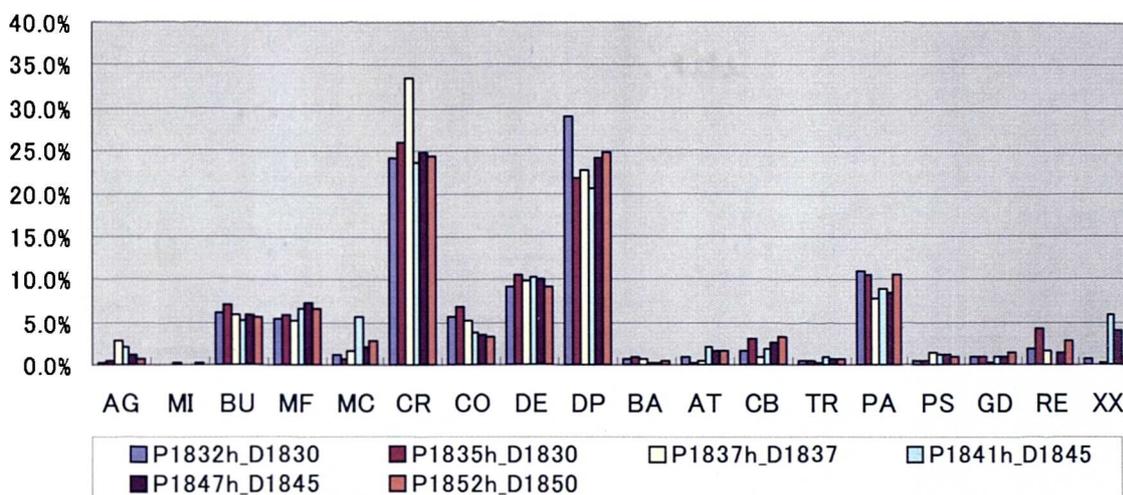
⁷ Eric J. Evans, *The Forging of the Modern State: Early Industrial Britain, 1783-1870*, 2nd ed. (1996), p. 400.

⁸ Jowitt, 'Parliamentary Politics', p. 173.

⁹ This table made from the Halifax database.

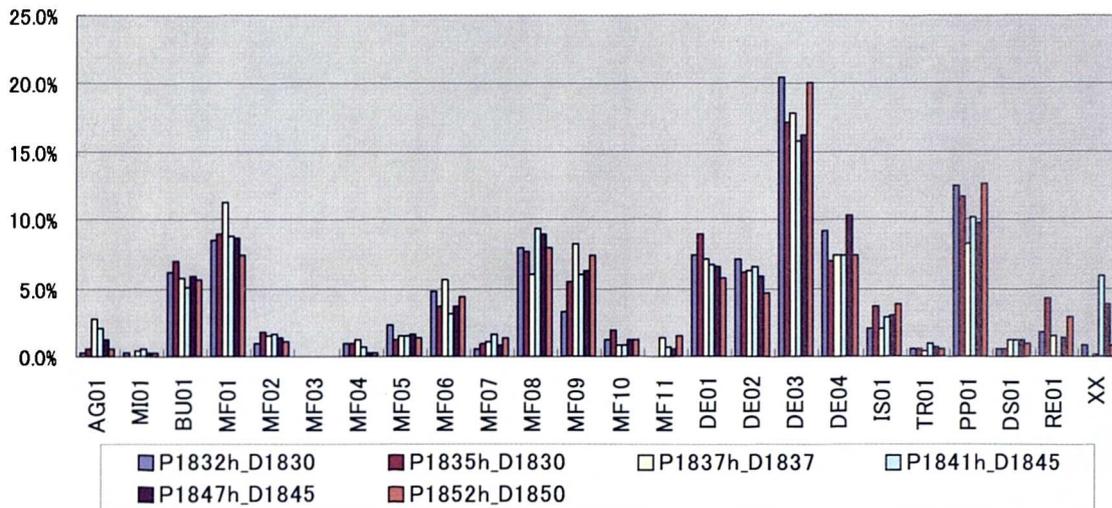
category to analyse the composition of the voters in the Halifax Borough elections. The former represents occupational status in terms of capital ownership, for instance, merchant, manufacturer and craft. The latter represents industrial interest, for example, textile manufacturing, metal and machine manufacturing (including machine tool manufacturing), dealing in textiles, dealing in food, and industrial service.

Figure 4.1 Occupational Structure of Voters in the Halifax Borough Elections, 1832-1852¹⁰



¹⁰ See list of abbreviations of occupational classification, p. xv. This figure made from the Halifax database. P1832h_D1830: the poll book in 1832 related to the directory in 1830; P1835h_D1830: the poll book in 1835 related to the directory in 1830; P1837h_D1837: the poll book in 1837 related to the directory in 1837; P1841h_D1845: the poll book in 1841 related to the directory in 1845; P1847h_D1845: the poll book in 1847 related to the directory in 1845; P1852h_D1850: the poll

Figure 4.2 Industrial Structure of Voters in the Halifax Borough Elections, 1832-1852¹¹



From 1832 to 1852 the two biggest occupational groups of the voters in Halifax were the craft and the distribution and processing group (Figure 4.1 and 4.2).¹² These groups accounted for a half of all voters. Dealing, commerce, manufacturer, and professional groups were also important for the elections. Dealing and professional groups accounted for ten per cent, and manufacturers occupied more than five per cent. The occupational structure of the voters in these elections consisted of the upper middle classes such as merchants, manufacturers, bankers, and professionals as well as the lower middle classes such as craft, dealing and distribution, and processing groups. Some principal industrial groups are also observed among the voters in the Halifax Borough elections from 1832 to 1852. Food dealing and lodging (DE03) was the dominant industrial group for the voters. Other industrial groups were also important for the voters: textile industry (MF08), dress industry (MF09), iron and machine and tool industry (MF01), other dealing groups: raw materials (DE01), clothing and dress (DE02) and other (DE04) and professional service (PP01). As section 1 in chapter 2 demonstrates, economic state of the middle classes in Halifax in the second quarter of

book in 1852 related to the directory in 1850.

¹¹ This figure made from the Halifax database. For abbreviations of industrial classification, see pp xiii-xv.

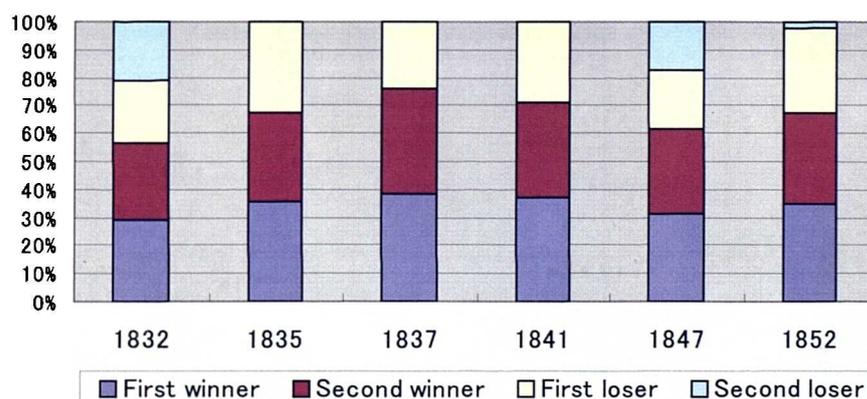
¹² Percentage of distribution and procession groups in occupational structure in 1832 and Craft in 1837 show difference of another elections in Halifax. Chapter 1 examined this.

the nineteenth century was not homogenous, and industrial structure of Halifax became more diversified at this time. A similar picture is confirmed in Voters' occupational status and industrial structure in the Halifax Borough. Thus, the political parties in Halifax, dominated by the authorised middle class voters and a small number of the local elite, would need to negotiate those diversified voters in order to get their support. On the other hand, popular political movements usually supported by non-voters and the labouring people, such as Chartism, sought to set up their own powerful political organisation and tried to influence voting. The political parties also confronted the claim of popular political movements. The Halifax Borough elections since 1832 became one of the most important political events for voters as well as various political parties.

Table 4.2 Electoral Returns in the Halifax Borough Elections, 1832-1852¹³

Candidates	1832	1835	1837	1841	1847	1852
Charles Wood (Whig/Liberal)	W	W	W	W	W	W
Rawdon Briggs (Whig/Liberal)	W					
Francis Crossley (Whig/Liberal)						W
Michael Stocks (Radical)	D					
Edward Protheroe (Radical)		D	W	W		
Edward Miall (Radical)					D	
Ernest Jones (Chartist)					D	D
J.S. Wortley (Tory)	D	W	D			
George Sinclair (Tory)				D		
Henry Edwards (Tory)					W	D

Figure 4.3 Poll by Voting Per cent in the Halifax Borough Elections, 1832-1852¹⁴



¹³ W: Win; D: Defeat. This table made from the Halifax database.

¹⁴ This figure made from the Halifax database. For pattern of voting in these elections from 1832 to 1841, see section 3 in this chapter, and for those from 1847 to 1852, see section 5 in this chapter.

From 1832 to 1852, the Whig/Liberal candidates were consistently more successful in the Halifax Borough elections than the Tories and Chartists (Table 4.2). The radical candidate in Halifax made a partnership with Whig/Liberal candidate at the elections of 1835, 1837, and 1841, though this partnership was not always successful but defeated by the Tory in 1835. Figure 4.3 shows that the election in 1835 was closely contested among each party. In contrast to this, the elections of 1837 and 1841 were relatively favourable for Whig/Liberal and Radical candidates, though the Tory got more votes in 1841 than in 1837. Furthermore, the Radical candidate obtained third position and Tory was the fourth at the election in 1832. The Radical candidate was the third, and the Chartists candidate was the fourth position at the 1847 election. However, the former got 349 votes and the latter got 281 votes, when the Whig/Liberal candidate got 507 votes and Tory got 505 votes. In contrast to the 1847 election, in 1852, the Chartist candidate got only 38 votes, two Whig/Liberal candidates got more than five hundred votes respectively. Thus, the ascendancy of the partnership between Whig/Liberal and Radical candidates in Halifax from 1832 to 1852 was not stable.

These electoral results depended on voters' political awareness. The analysis of political awareness of voters in the Halifax Borough led to understanding of loyalty to a particular party. In order to examine party loyalty, this study has three agenda: the per cent of split or cross-party voting; the amount of unnecessary plumping where 'a voter supports only one of a party's two or more available candidates'; and floating vote where 'voters change their preferences from one election to another'.¹⁵

¹⁵ Sarah Richardson, 'Independence and Deference: a Study of the West Riding Electorate, 1832-1841', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Leeds (1995), pp. 95-96.

Table 4.3 Plumper, Unnecessary plumper and Splitter in the Halifax Borough Elections, 1832-1852¹⁶

	All Plumper	% of all voters	Unnecessary plumper	% of all voters	Split		Total Voters
1832	149	30.3%	10	2.0%	194	39.4%	492
1835	251	41.8%	18	3.0%	75	12.5%	601
1837	299	37.7%	20	2.5%	29	3.7%	793
1841	296	42.0%	15	2.1%	39	5.5%	704
1847	194	21.1%			109	11.8%	920
1852	455	41.7%	46	4.2%	133	12.2%	1091

Table 4.3 shows the number of all plumpers and unnecessary plumpers proportioned by total voters, and cross-party voting. Unnecessary plumping generally happened when electors such as tenants, employees, and small masters were influenced by their patrons and customers such as the landowners, manufacturers, and merchants. The rate of unnecessary plumping in Halifax from 1832 to 1852 was relatively low, and it suggests that the party loyalty worked well. The small number of unnecessary plumpers supporting the Whig/Liberal (Charles Wood) tried not to vote Radical candidate (Edward Protheroe) in 1835, 1837, and 1841, or Francis Crossley who had a close relationship with Radical Dissenters in 1852. ‘Split’ voting was also low in the elections of 1835, 1837, and 1841. These elections were contested by one Whig/Liberal, one Radical candidate who had a partnership, and one Tory candidate. In contrast to the elections of 1835, 1837 and 1841, which had three candidates, the pattern of split voting in the elections of 1832, 1847, and 1852 with four candidates respectively looked more complicated. Partnerships between political groups at the election of 1847 were the most complex throughout the six elections from 1832 to 1852. Although there were two major partnerships in 1847, Whig/Liberal and Tory; and Radical-Dissenter and the Chartists, not all Whig/Liberal supporters followed the tactical Whig/Liberal and Tory

¹⁶ This table made from the Halifax database. In the elections of 1835, 1837 and 1841, the Whig/Liberal candidate, Charles Wood had a partnership with Edward Protheroe, a Bristol merchant, who was a radical candidate. This partnership between Wood and Protheroe is not included in the category of ‘split’, and electors who voted only Wood or Protheroe in 1835, 1837 and 1841 are included in ‘unnecessary plumper’. In the election of 1847, Henry Edwards, the Tory candidate, and Charles Wood, the Whig/Liberal candidate, had a partnership, as did Edward Miall, radical dissenter candidate, and Ernest Jones, Chartist candidate. ‘Split’ voting is not included in voters for ‘Tory-Whig/Liberal candidates’ and ‘Radical-Chartist’.

alliance. In the election of 1852, two major patterns of voting can be identified; two Whig/Liberal candidates and Tory plumper are identified. Some splitters would have chosen the Tory and Whig/Liberal partnership as in the election of 1847, while the Chartist candidate failed to get support from both Tory and Whig/Liberal supporters.

Table 4.4 Number and Per cent of Floating Votes in the Halifax Borough Elections, 1832-1852¹⁷

Year	Floating votes		Total
1835	42	7.0%	601
1837	6	0.8%	793
1841	13	1.8%	704
1847	109	11.8%	920
1852	183	16.8%	1091

‘Floating votes’ show the number of people who changed from one party to another in successive elections. There were more floating votes in 1835, 1847, and 1852 than 1837 and 1841 (Table 4.4). Such a pattern is linked to the number of the candidates: four in 1832, 1847, and 1852, and three in 1835, 1837, and 1841.¹⁸ It seems that ‘floating votes’ were influenced by the partnership of political parties in the Halifax Borough elections. Within the alliance of the Whig/Liberal and the Radicals of 1835, two candidates could get support from voters who had chosen Whig/Liberal, splitter for Whig/Liberal, and Radical and plumper for Radical in the 1832 election. The relatively small number of splitters in the elections of 1837 and 1841 shows that the alliance between Whig/Liberals and Radical was important in reducing floating votes in these elections. In the election of 1847 floating votes dramatically increased because of the dissolution of the Whig/Liberal and Radical alliance and the emergence of the Whig/Liberal and Tory alliance, and the Radical-Dissenter and Chartist alliance. In 1852, the competition between the Whig/Liberals and Tory became intense again, when Radicals tried to revive a partnership with the Whig/Liberals. In

¹⁷ This table made from the Halifax database by record linkage between one poll book and other poll book which follows the first poll book.

¹⁸ As each table of the voter’s shift in Appendix 4.

the 1852 election, those who had voted for the Radical-Dissenter and Chartist alliance in 1847 returned Whig/Liberal candidates; they no longer supported the Chartist candidate. Thus, the number of floating votes in 1852 was higher than in other elections. Commitment to political parties such as Whig/Liberal and Tories revealed in this brief sketch of the Halifax Borough elections from 1832 to 1852, yet the formation of those allegiances was not a linear process. Voters' political awareness changed according to the policy of the political parties and partnership between parties at each election from 1832 to 1852.

How did the middle class voters as well as non-voters demonstrate their political loyalty to a party in a specific local community, Halifax, in the second quarter of the nineteenth century? In general, party awareness were shaped among the middle classes through electoral campaigns, political public meetings, and political clubs.¹⁹ There was a strong local Tory community of local gentry and local urban elite including the Waterhouse, Rawson and Norris families. The Rawsons, the Waterhouses, and the Vicar were matrimonially related to each other.²⁰ Anne Lister, described as a member of the local female gentry,²¹ Christopher Rawson, Jeremiah Rawson, John Waterhouse, and J.E. Norris were part of an elite who supported Tory candidates in the Halifax Borough elections in the 1830s. Even when the Radical candidate, Edward Protheroe, a Bristol merchant,²² whose wife was Waterhouse's aunt, stood for M.P. in the Halifax Borough election in 1835, John Waterhouse supported the Tory candidate despite his matrimonial relation with the candidate. When Protheroe was defeated at the 1835 election, the radical crowds attacked the premises of the Tory elite.²³ There was also a Whig/Liberal elite community in Halifax at that time. The Whig/Liberal elite in

¹⁹ For the political clubs in Halifax in the nineteenth century, see A. Porrit, '18th and 19th Century Clubs and Societies in Halifax', *THAS* (1964).

²⁰ A. Porrit, 'Well Head and the Waterhouses', *THAS* (1958); idem, 'The Rawson Family', *THAS* (1966); R. Bretton, 'The Norris of Halifax', *THAS* (1962).

²¹ Jill Liddington, *Female Fortune. Land, Gender and Authority: The Anne Lister Diaries and Other Writings, 1833-36* (1998).

²² R.G. Thorne (ed.), *The House of Commons, 1790-1820*, vol.4 (1986).

²³ *HG* 10 Jan. 1835; anon., *Proceedings on the Trial of the cause Browne v. Leyland & Others, 1835* (Halifax, 1835).

Halifax mainly consisted of Rawdon Briggs, William Briggs, Jonathan Akroyd, and Michael Stocks supported the Parliamentary Reform movement in Halifax in 1831 and 1832 together with the Radicals. Although Rawdon and William Briggs were Whig/Liberal supporters, and Michael Stocks was a Radical with Whig/Liberal sympathies, the Whig/Liberal elite group faced conflicts among themselves at the Halifax Borough election of 1832. When Michael Stocks stood at the first Halifax Borough election in 1832, the local Whig/Liberal group tried to select other two candidates, Charles Wood and Rawdon Briggs.²⁴ Furthermore, when the Whig/Liberal and the Radical groups made a partnership in the Halifax Borough election of 1835, 1837, and 1841, this Whig/Liberal group tried to distinguish itself from the Radicals. For example, in 1836 the Whig/Liberal group in Halifax prepared for a separate dinner when Feargus O'Connor, Ultra-Radical and Chartist leader, decided to attend the Whig/Liberal-Radical dinner.²⁵ *The Halifax and Huddersfield Express*, a supporter of the political alliance between the Radicals and the Whig/Liberals, published an account of this incident in their article, 'Ultra-Radical Dinner at Halifax': 'We use the term ultra Radical, not in an offensive sense, but as distinctive of party. In these remarks, by Radical we mean those who adhere to the union with Whigs; and by ultra-Radical, those who have, really or apparently, decoupled from that union'.²⁶

Personal relationships within the middle classes and local elite influenced activities of political organisations in Halifax too.²⁷ For example, unlike clergymen in other West Yorkshire towns, the Vicar of Halifax Parish, Charles Musgrave, did not support the Factory Movement because of his antipathy since the tithing dispute to the Radical Tory, Richard Oastler. Nevertheless, he supported the Anti-Slavery movements in the 1830s together with Methodist groups. Some Methodist preachers bridged popular movements. G.B. Browne (Methodist New Connexion), for example,

²⁴ Jowitt, 'Parliamentary Politics', pp. 177-178.

²⁵ *HHE* 28 Sep., 1 and 5 Oct 1836; *HG* 8 Oct. 1836; Thompson, *Chartists*, pp. 33-34.

²⁶ *HHE* 5 Oct. 1836.

²⁷ The argument of this paragraph from the Halifax database and many secondary sources about Halifax such as some theses and the articles in *THAS*.

was an active supporter of the Parliamentary Reform movement and the Anti-Slavery movement and was the main actor in the campaign for the radical candidate in the elections of 1832 and 1835. Jonathan Akroyd, a giant worsted manufacturer, was a principal middle class Radical Dissenter and a central organiser for HACLA. Yet, he attacked the Factory movement in Halifax and supported New Poor Law in 1834. From the later 1820s to the 1840s, Akroyd was a key person to intermediate between Whig/Liberal and Radical groups.

Relationships between politics and economic activities were often close in Halifax in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. As Anne Lister described,²⁸ bankers, merchants, and manufacturers who were either Whig/Liberal or Tory supporters influenced their employees or business partners such as clerks, bookkeepers, agents, and watchmen at Borough election times. After the Halifax Borough election in 1835, she sketched ‘the Edwards making a great many votes, ditto the Rawsons, particularly Mr. William Henry [Rawson]’.²⁹ H. Ling Roth has showed that,³⁰ three local banks in Halifax: the Halifax Joint Stock Banking Company (HJBC); the Halifax and Huddersfield Union Banking Company (HHUBC); and the Halifax Commercial Banking Company (HCBC) were influenced by those local political groups. For example, the shareholders in the HHUBC in 1836 showed a Tory preference. Record linkage between the surviving original deed of settlement for the HHUBC in 1836 and the poll book of 1835 matches up 79 shareholders out of total 404 shareholders.³¹ 55 shareholders were plumpers for Tory, and 7 were splitters voting Tory and Whig/Liberal. There were 15 voters for Whig/Liberals and Radicals, and two enfranchised shareholders did not vote. Moreover, the composition of the directors in these three banks represented distinct political preferences. Tory and Whig/Liberal bankers dominated the

²⁸ Liddington, *Female*, pp. 47, 99, 151, 197.

²⁹ Liddington, *Female*, p. 151. The Rawsons were the leading local banker in Halifax.

³⁰ H. Ling Roth, *The Genesis of Banking in Halifax with Side Lights on Country Banking* (Halifax, 1914), Chap. IV, VI and VII. For these banks, see section 1 in Chapter 2.

³¹ It seems that this low figure of the record linkage due to the number of shareholders in Huddersfield district and out townships of Halifax parish.

management of the HHUBC and HCBC. Christopher Rawson, a Tory banker, for example, was the first chairman of the HHUBC. His brother, Stansfeld Rawson, was also one of the directors of the HHUBC who supported the Tories. Other directors of the HHUBC included John Waterhouse, a Tory merchant, and Henry Lee Edwards, a Tory manufacturer and M.P. for Halifax between 1847 and 1852. Rawdon Briggs, a Unitarian, Whig/Liberal banker, and M.P. for Halifax between 1832 and 1835, was the first chairman of the HCBC. His brother was also one of the directors of the HCBC. Other directors were Jonathan Akroyd and George Pollard, chairman of the West Riding Bench of magistrates. In contrast to these two banks, the Directors of the HJBC included important local Radicals as well as Tory-Anglican supporters. The first chairman of the HJBC was William Rothwell, a local merchant, who voted for Tory at the first Halifax Borough election in 1832. Michael Stocks, a director of HJBC and a Country J.P. from 1825, became a Radical candidate in the 1832 election, and John Abbott, another director of HJBC and a local merchant, voted Whig/Liberal, Charles Wood, and Tory candidate in the 1832 election.

Although the enfranchised middle classes were able to express their political preference by voting, there were many, including women and labouring people, who did not have right to vote in Halifax Borough elections. They could, nevertheless, engage in electoral political activities through their personal political contacts with the local elite, political organisations and political campaigns. Recent studies suggest that elite women could join elite political activities.³² Anne Lister, a female member of the gentry of Shibden Hall, was a typical case. She had the power to control the voters by her property in the Halifax Borough election of 1835.³³ Other middle class women were able to join the activities of HACLA from 1839 to 1846. In its records of 1846, the HACLA thanked women, usually the wives of male subscribers, for assisting their tea party and bazaar, though there

³² Sarah Richardson, 'The Role of Women in Electoral Politics in Yorkshire during the Eighteen-Thirties', *Northern History*, 32 (1996); idem, "'Well-neighboured Houses': the Political Networks of Elite Women, 1780-1860", in Kathryn Gleadle and Sarah Richardson (eds.), *Women in British Politics, 1760-1860: the Power of the Petticoat* (Basingstoke, 2000).

³³ Liddington, *Female*, pp. 47, 13, 138.

were no female names on the subscription lists.³⁴ Clearly, there was a gender distinction in the activity of the HACLA.³⁵ Furthermore, labouring women in Halifax joined popular political movements, such as the Anti-Poor Law campaign in the 1830s.³⁶ However, as recent research points out,³⁷ popular political movements in the 1840s such as Chartism and the Ten-hours Campaign privileged males as political actors by appropriating the middle-classes notions of 'domesticity' and respectability.

Non-voting labouring radicals also expressed their dissatisfaction with the Parliamentary Reform Act in 1832, and campaigned for the extension of the suffrage.³⁸ The description, 'voters and non-voters', which were usually used at the political meetings in Halifax since 1832,³⁹ clearly represented political conflicts between the two groups after the Parliamentary Reform Act of 1832. Non-voting labouring people organised political meetings before the Halifax Borough elections in order to demonstrate their political views to the middle-classes voters and candidates,⁴⁰ and consequently could also put pressure on middle-class voters. Innkeepers, shopkeepers, and other lower middle classes such as grocers and butchers were particularly affected by non-voting labouring people. As one Parliamentary report shows,⁴¹ political meetings were commonly held in inns, and working people might threaten these innkeepers and shopkeepers by boycotting their

³⁴ CDA, HAS/B: 11/1.

³⁵ Cf. Paul A. Pickering and Alex Tyrrell, *The People's Bread: a History of the Anti-Corn Law League* (Leicester, 2000), chap. 6; F.K. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-century England* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 62-64.

³⁶ For example, Female Anti-Poor Law Meeting of Halifax opened in February 1838, see *HHE* 24 Feb. 1838.

³⁷ Especially Anna Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class* (1995), chap. 11-15; Robert Gray, *The Factory Question and Industrial England, 1830-1860* (Cambridge, 1996), chap. 2 and 7; Katrina Honeyman, *Women, Gender and Industrialisation in England, 1700-1870* (Basingstoke, 2000), chap. 7.

³⁸ Jowitt, 'Parliamentary Politics', p. 181.

³⁹ See articles for the Halifax Borough elections from 1832 to 1847 in *HG* and *HHE*.

⁴⁰ For example, see *HHE* 18 Dec. 1834; *P.P., Report from Select Committee on Bribery at Elections; together with the Minutes of Evidence* (1835), VIII, pp. 202-203, 208.

⁴¹ *P.P., Report* (1835), VIII, pp. 201-208.

services and products, a practice known as 'exclusive dealing',⁴² and demonstrating in front of their shops. Other political actions of the labouring people in the Halifax Borough elections took the form of occupying election meeting places and heckling speakers. Speakers supporting candidates in the Halifax Borough election from 1832 to 1852 were usually from the local elite such as rich merchants, bankers or giant manufacturers.⁴³ Labouring people occupied the majority of public meetings for the Halifax Borough elections after 1832. The later 1830s and the 1840s was the period when political meetings, organised by the middle classes in Halifax, were particularly threatened by popular radicals in Halifax. The popular radicals in Halifax also organised their own public meetings in the 1830s. In this respect, the Halifax Chartists were especially active.⁴⁴

The Halifax Borough elections from 1832 to 1852 were not simply political competition between two major parties such as Whig/Liberal and Tory. Rather, Whig/Liberal, Tory, and Radical groups always modified their political strategies and political partnership in response to voter's economic, political, and social interests, their economic and social relationships, and popular political movements. The middle classes in the Halifax Borough elections in the second quarter of the nineteenth century can be located within a complex political matrix. Sections 3 and 4 will analyse the Halifax Borough elections, from 1832 to 1852 in detail; the next section will explore the political environment in Halifax in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

2. Political Movements in Halifax, 1827-1852

Various political movements existed in Halifax, both within the middle classes and between the

⁴² *HG* 26 June 1841.

⁴³ This evidence depends on the Halifax database and *Halifax Guardian* and *Halifax and Huddersfield Express*.

⁴⁴ Thompson, 'Halifax'; Dorothy Thompson (ed.), *The Early Chartists* (1971), pp. 67-70; J.R. Sanders, 'Working-class Movements in the West Riding Textile District, 1829-1839', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Manchester (1984), pp. 464-466, 580-587.

middle classes and other classes such as the labouring people. 'Radical' groups across the classes influenced the political environment in Halifax, and several studies emphasise the 'radical tradition' of Halifax parish in the eighteenth and nineteenth century.⁴⁵ However, it is not easy to define those Radical groups, as they had different political aims regardless of the common term 'radical': those who aimed to improve society, such as reformers; popular political groups which strongly opposed existing Government and Parliament; and the conservative groups which aimed to defend the existing hierarchy. Radical rhetoric in each group was often used to attack a specific target, yet Radical organisations were often sufficiently flexible in character to modify their political aims, or to associate with another radical group.⁴⁶ Therefore, the radical tradition in Halifax does not mean that Radicals retained a consistent political strategy from the eighteenth century to the nineteenth century. This section outlines the political environment in Halifax from the later 1820s and the early 1850s by focussing on the political movements, their organisations, and their strategies, especially for radical groups.

A religious tithe dispute in Halifax Parish from 1827 to 1829 provides a starting point not only for understanding the political environment in Halifax in the second quarter of the nineteenth century but also for exploring radical activities in this community. Rev. Charles Musgrave, who became Vicar of Halifax Parish in 1827, attempted to raise a small tithe. This action quickly provoked a serious dispute between the Vicar and opponents against him. This dispute was not confined to the local Anglican community but embraced other actors and their own interests over the dispute.⁴⁷ Firstly, the Anglican community was divided by the dispute. For instance, Christopher Rawson, a Tory Anglican banker, was a magistrate who opposed to the Vicar's plan.⁴⁸ Secondly, there were some affinities in disputes between the Halifax township and other townships in the eighteenth

⁴⁵ Thompson, 'Halifax'; Thompson, *Making*; Tiller, 'Working Class'.

⁴⁶ Sanders, 'Working-class', esp. chap. 1 and 6.

⁴⁷ Colin Spencer, 'Halifax Tithes', *THAS* (1986), pp. 15-22.

⁴⁸ Richard Oastler, *Vicarial Tithes, Halifax: a True Statement of Facts and Incidents* (Halifax, 1827).

century, which John Smail describes.⁴⁹ Opposition to the Vicar's tithe was mobilised by the 'central committee', which was dominated by members of out-township in Halifax parish.⁵⁰ Thirdly, radicals such as Richard Oastler, a principal leader of the factory movement in the 1830s, became involved in the dispute.⁵¹ Richard Oastler wrote to J. Milner in Huddersfield:

I (candidly) assure you that I should consider it a disgrace to take any part in such half measures concocted at a Private meeting of Twenty three Gentlemen ! – Why is this serious Public question to be settled in this Private way? Have we not all an interest in the matter ? – Upon what authority have these three and twenty Gentlemen absolutely excluded the whole of the working classes of the Parish of Halifax from taking part in this all important question? – Are not they recognised by the Constitution? ... I shall not be ashamed nor afraid of addressing the working Classes of the Parish on the subject and tell you candidly I should place more – much more reliance on their fidelity than upon many who call themselves Gentlemen and who would, as I well known, face round to the right and march off at the very first fire.⁵²

This dispute over a tithe in this parish reflected not only divisions within the local elite but also the conflict between radicals and others.

After the attack by Oastler and his group, some members of the local elite tried to look for a compromise between the vicar's group and its opponents. The mediators, composed of William Mitchell, Thomas Greenwood, Jonathan Akroyd, and Joseph Hodgson, sympathised neither with the vicar's original plan nor with Oastler's radical objection.⁵³ Oastler did not aim to defeat Anglican

⁴⁹ John Smail, 'Local Disputes and the Making of Halifax's Middle Class, 1748-76', *THAS*, New Ser., 2 (1994); idem, *The Origins of Middle Class Culture: Halifax, Yorkshire, 1660-1780* (Ithaca, 1994), pp. 146-155.

⁵⁰ WAH, Halifax Vicarial Tithes Deed of Covenants, D53/16/1-4.

⁵¹ Oastler, *Tithe*, pp. 1-2 and passim.

⁵² CDA, Letter in 10 Dec. 1828, Richard Oastler of Fixby Hall, Huddersfield, to J. Milner, concerning Vicar's tithes, HAS: 600 (emphasis in the original). Underline in the quotation remained in the original text.

⁵³ WAH, Minute Book of the Central Committee, 1827-1829, D53/16/7.

authority in Britain, but only wanted to expose the Vicar's immoral behaviour by using traditional radical rhetoric.⁵⁴ Although he and his supporters did not agree with the new arrangement of 1828, a Parliamentary act, which when it abolished the small tithe, was passed the following year, and consequently the vicar obtained the right to collect his own rate, less than £1500 annually.⁵⁵

After this dispute, some powerful popular movements emerged in Halifax. These movements, the nucleus of which consisted of Radicals, had clear objectives, strong leadership and organisation, and much support from the inhabitants. However, radical activities were restricted by three aspects of the Halifax political scene, which were exemplified in Tithe disputes from 1827 to 1829 namely: the scepticism of some of the local elite against the Radicals; political divisions within the middle classes; and the complex relationship between the middle class radicals and the labouring radicals.

The Parliamentary Reform Movement was particularly active from the end of the 1820s and 1832 when the Reform Act was passed. The Halifax Political Union was a central organisation in this movement. The labouring and middling people shared a common platform with a part of the local elite, who especially supported Whig/Liberal. At public meetings in Halifax in 1831 and 1832, the dissenting ministers, William Turner (Unitarian) and G.B. Browne (Methodist New Connexion), the manufacturer Jonathan Akroyd, the Whig/Liberal leader who had close relationship with the Radical, Michael Stocks, and a local banker, William Briggs, all supported the movement.⁵⁶ The petition to Parliament from Halifax parish contained 570 signatures of which more than 200 were from Halifax, Northowram and Southowram; these townships later became the Halifax Parliamentary Borough from 1832. The petitioners included more than three hundred people from the middle classes such

⁵⁴ Oastler, *Tithes*; idem, *Facts and Plain Words on Every-Day Subjects* (Leeds, 1833), pp.52-53.

⁵⁵ 10 George IV, c.14. An Act for extinguishing Tithes, and Payments in lieu of Tithes, Mortuaries, and Easter Offerings, and other Vicarial Dues and Payments, within the Parish of Halifax in the Diocese and County of York.

⁵⁶ Anon., 'Parliamentary Reform: the Agitation in Halifax, 1831-2', in *The Halifax Guardian Historical Almanack, 1895* (Halifax, 1894), pp. 37-39; Nancy D. LoPatin, *Political Unions, Popular Politics and the Great Reform Act of 1832* (Basingstoke, 1999), pp. 70, 175.

as manufacturers, craft group, distribution and processing group and dealing group in Halifax Parish.⁵⁷

However, record linkage between the 1831 petition to Parliament and the poll book shows only 63 voters who signed the petition.⁵⁸ The labouring people and the inhabitants of the out-townships, except for Southowram and Northowram, were very disappointed with the Great Reform Act of 1832. The majority of those voters in the first Halifax Borough election, who had petitioned Parliament in 1831, supported Whig/Liberal candidates.⁵⁹ The Parliamentary Reform Movement shows the common ground between middle class radicals and labouring radicals. This movement shaped the middle classes' political identity, while the labouring radicals strongly demanded extension of suffrage. After enacting the Great Reform Act of 1832, the political aim of the middle class radicals gradually differed from that of the labouring radicals, while the dichotomous rhetoric, 'voter and non-voter' or 'elector and non-elector, was distinctively formed.⁶⁰ So, dispute of extension of suffrage in the Halifax Borough elections from 1832 to 1852 intensified political tension between the middle classes and other classes.

The Factory Movement in Halifax also shows the difficulty of consolidating the relationship between the middle class radical and the labouring radical. After Richard Oastler's factory reform campaign in 1830, the Factory Movement in Halifax, like other towns in West Yorkshire, established a Short Time Committee, which mainly consisted of adult male skilled workers in the woollen and worsted industries. Campaigners argued that the over-use of machinery for factory owners' profit

⁵⁷ *P.P., Parliamentary Representation Return to an Address to His Majesty, dated 27 June 1831, Copies of all Applications made to His Majesty's Government, that any City, Town or District should be continued in, or admitted to, the Right of sending Members to Parliament* (1831), XVI.

⁵⁸ Form the Halifax database.

⁵⁹ 27 petitioners voted Whig/Liberal (including plumper for Charles Wood or Rawdon Briggs), 7 petitioners voted Radical, while only 3 petitioners voted Tory, and others were split between Whig/Liberal and Radical, Whig/Liberal and Tory, Radical and Tory.

⁶⁰ There were sometimes public political meetings called as 'non-voters meeting' in Halifax in the 1830s and the 1840s. For example, see *HHE* 18 Dec. 1834.

was at the root of the 'factory question'⁶¹; this position was sharply opposed by Jonathan Akroyd. The Halifax manufacturers insisted that the abolition of the Corn Laws and the rethinking of taxation policy were more important than the Factory Act.⁶² Such a position had a strong influence in Halifax in the 1830s. At the same time, trade organisations supporting the Factory Movement in Halifax were weakened by the pressure of such manufacturers as the Akroyds in the 1830s.⁶³ Furthermore, the Vicar of Halifax parish, Charles Musgrave, and the dissenting ministers were less sympathetic to this movement than were ministers in other parts of West Yorkshire, because of Oastler's action in the tithe dispute of 1827-1829. Thus, the Factory Movement failed to find a common ground between the middle class radicals and the labouring radicals.⁶⁴

The Anti-Poor Law Movement in Halifax, in general, was not as strong as that in Huddersfield, which was the centre of the campaign after the passage of the New Poor Law in 1834.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, in response to anti-Poor Law sentiment among labouring people in Halifax, the local government officer was initially reluctant to implement the Act,⁶⁶ and the Board of Guardians in Halifax attempted decisive measures to maintain the social conditions of the lower orders. What is important about the Anti-Poor Law movement in Halifax was that it acted as a catalyst to separate the middle class radicals and labouring radicals. In October 1836, Feargus O'Connor was invited to the Whig/Liberal-Radical Dinner, which opened a serious dispute between the organisers of this dinner. The Whig/Liberal supporters of Charles Wood withdrew from the dinner while the

⁶¹ Gray, *Factory*, pp. 23-24; J.T. Ward, *The Factory Movement, 1830-1855* (1962), chap. 2 and passim; Cecil Driver, *Tory Radical: the Life of Richard Oastler* (New York, 1946), chap. IV and passim.

⁶² *HHE* 12 March 1831; Ward, *Factory*, pp. 37-38.

⁶³ Sanders, 'Working-class', pp. 101-117, 256-266, 324-325. It seems that other organisations for labouring people in Halifax such as the cooperative society established in Halifax in the end of the 1820s and the friendly societies were not close to the Factory Movement or other popular political movements in the 1830s.

⁶⁴ Cf. Gray, *Factory*, chap. 2.

⁶⁵ Cf. N.C. Edsall, *The Anti Poor Law Movement, 1834-1844* (Manchester, 1971), chap. IV; John Knott, *Popular Opposition to the 1834 Poor Law* (1986), chap. 8.

⁶⁶ J.G. Washington, 'Poverty, Health and Social Welfare: the History of the Halifax Union Workhouse and St John's Hospital, 1834-1972', *THAS*, New Ser., 5 (1997), pp. 78-79.

supporters of Edward Protheroe accepted O'Connor's attendance. This became to be known as the Ultra-Radical Dinner, where O'Connor pronounced his hostility to the New Poor Law. This incident represented that the gap between the middle class radicals and labouring radicals was beginning to widen.⁶⁷ In January 1838, a public meeting was held to petition Parliament 'in favour of the Ballot, Universal Suffrage, Annual Parliaments, Equal Representation and No Property Qualification; after the discussion of which the subject of the New Poor Law was taken into consideration'. This meeting was dominated by future Chartists from Halifax parish.⁶⁸ As Michael Rose suggests,⁶⁹ the short-lived Anti-Poor Law movement in Halifax informed a radical strategy and linked a bridge between Chartism and other popular movements.

The breakdown between the middle class radicals, and the Chartists and the labouring radicals became decisive in 1839, when the Chartists occupied the meeting of the Halifax Anti-Corn Law Association (HACLA), which was the main political organisation of the middle classes from the end of the 1830s to 1846.⁷⁰ The principal organisers of the HACLA including Jonathan Akroyd, who organised the Ultra-Radical dinner in 1836, did not agree with the political demands of the Chartists.⁷¹ However Francis Crossley, a radical dissenter and carpet manufacturer, sympathised with Chartism in the 1840s and voted for the Chartist candidate, Ernest Jones, in the Halifax Borough election in 1847, although Francis and his two elder brothers joined the HACLA and became major subscribers in 1846.

The middle class radicals supported the Anti-Corn Law movement because of commitment to 'Free

⁶⁷ Thompson, *Chartists*, pp.33-34.

⁶⁸ *HG*, 23 Jan. 1838; *HHE* 27 Jan. 1838.

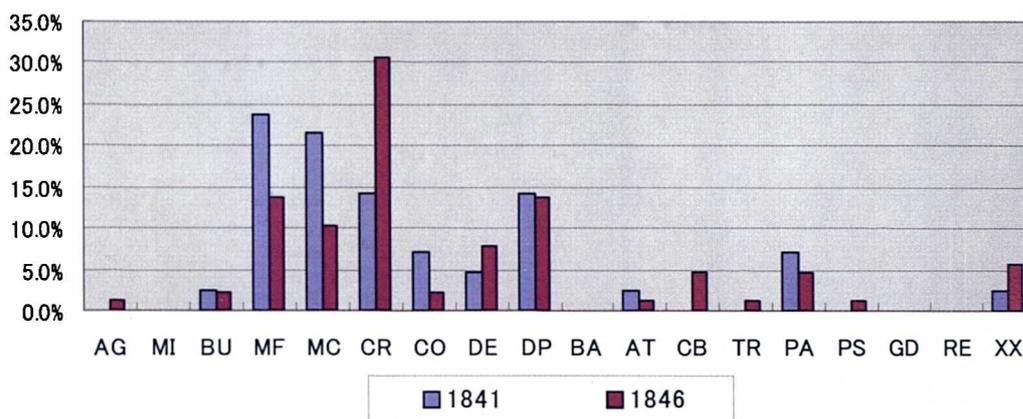
⁶⁹ M.E. Rose, 'The Anti-Poor Law Movement in the North of England', *Northern History*, 1 (1966).

⁷⁰ CDA, Halifax Anti-Corn Law Association, Minute Book, 1839-1846, HAS/B:11/1. See also Norman McCord, *The Anti-Corn Law League 1838-1846*, 2nd ed. (1968).

⁷¹ *HG* 16 Feb. 1839; *HHE* 16 Feb. 1839.

Trade' and their activities in this political movement shaped the ideological space of Halifax. In July 1846, the last annual report of HACLA described how 'public assemblies, the press, and the senate, have been the fields on which our battles have been fought; and we can not *augur evil* from proceedings conducted in the face of day, by men of the middle classes, to whom all agitation is highly distasteful, as interfering with the current of their private concerns, always the most pressing objects of their regard'.⁷²

Figure 4.4 Occupational Structure of Subscribers for HACLA, 1840 and 1846 (Per cent of Total)⁷³



⁷² CDA, HAS/B: 11/1.

⁷³ Figure 4.4 – 4.7 made from the Halifax database. The data of this figure includes only subscribers from Halifax, Northowram and Southowram. Total number of subscribers in this figure is 42 in 1840 and 85 in 1846.

Figure 4.5 Industrial Structure of Subscribers for HACLA, 1840 and 1846 (Per cent of Total)

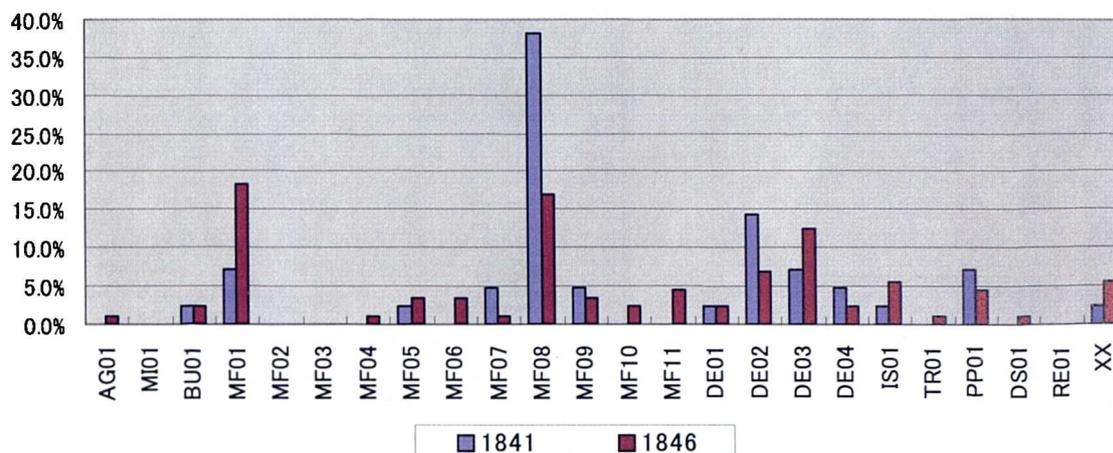
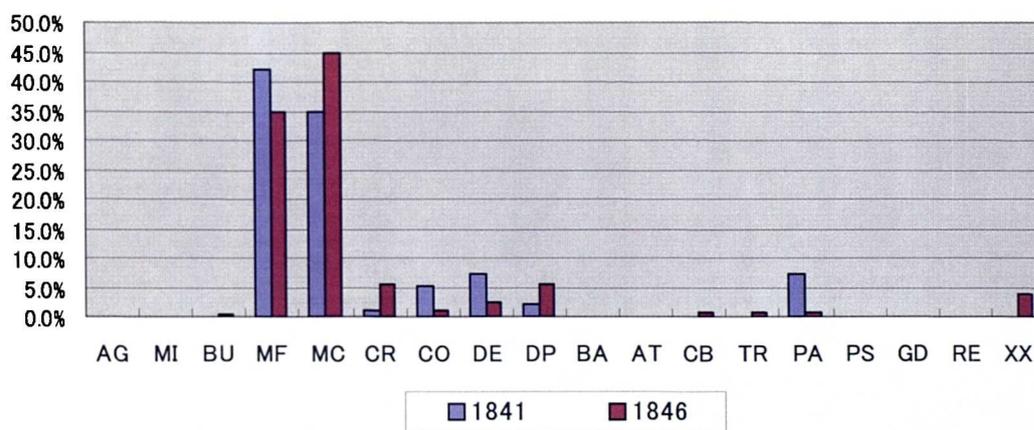
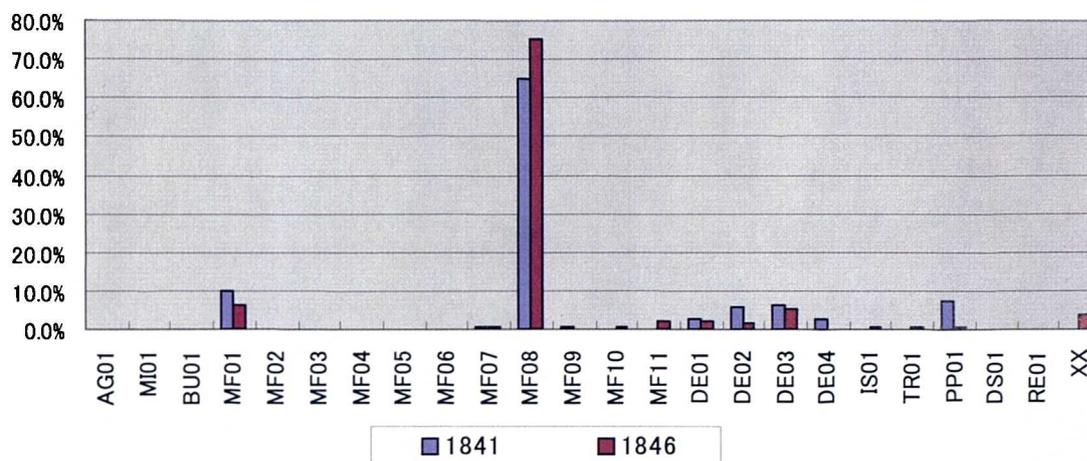


Figure 4.6 Occupational Structure of the Amount of Subscription for HACLA, 1840 and 1846 (Per cent of Total)⁷⁴



⁷⁴ In Figure 4.6 and 4.7, the amount of the subscription related to commercial directory (of Halifax, Northowram and Southowram) in 1845 is £204, which is 70 per cent of total subscription (£292) in 1840. The amount of the subscription related to the directory in 1845 is £3070.85, which is 69 per

Figure 4.7 Industrial Structure of the Amount of Subscription for HACLA, 1840 and 1846 (Per cent of Total)



Manufacturers and merchant-manufacturers together with craft, dealing, distribution and processing, and commerce groups amounted for the majority of the subscribers to the HACLA (Figure 4.4).

According to the industrial structure of the subscribers of the HACLA, the people engaged in textile manufacturing and dealing were majority of subscribers in the HACLA (Figure 4.5). The HALCA extended the number of the supporters beyond the narrow textile manufacturers and merchant-manufacturer's groups from 1840 to 1846, when there was growth in support from the craft group. A small number of professionals such as Nonconformist ministers also joined the HACLA from 1840 to 1846. William Turner, a Unitarian minister in Halifax who understood the utility of political economy was a typical case. The industrial structure of HACLA subscribers became more diversified in 1846, and included those engaged in manufacturing and dealing textiles together with those engaged in manufacturing metal, machinery and machine-tools, and in dealing food. Like the Manchester league,⁷⁵ the HACLA succeeded in getting wide support from the upper as well as lower middle classes in Halifax,⁷⁶ although the HACLA depended heavily on the

cent of total subscription (£4478) in 1846.

⁷⁵ Pickering and Tyrrell, *Bread*, pp. 217-237, 272-285.

⁷⁶ This study only linked the data of HACLA in 1840 and 1846 to the data of the directory for Halifax, Northowram and Southowram townships in 1845. According to annual reports in HACLA, it seems that HACLA also succeeded in getting much support from the middle classes,

financial support from the manufacturers, and merchant-manufacturers, and those engaged in manufacturing textiles (Figure 4.7). The principal industrial group of the HACLA were textile manufacturers of whom the two largest were the Akroyds and the Crossleys. Together with other manufacturers, they led the HACLA from 1839 to 1846.

The HACLA, like other voluntary societies in Halifax, held the principle of 'no party and no religion'.⁷⁷ In order to get support beyond Party and Sect at public meetings, some voluntary societies used the rhetoric of 'all parties and denominations' and described their meetings as 'public meetings'. However, the first public meeting of the Anti-Corn Law Association in Halifax in 1839, organised by the middle class radicals, was invaded by Chartists, who attempted to take over the meeting. The radical supporters of the association, then, left this Chartist-dominated meeting, and continued to hold their own meeting elsewhere.⁷⁸ While the Chartists described their meeting as a 'public meeting', the middle classes called themselves 'requisitionists'. The HACLA founded its activities on the abolition of the Corn Laws, and had no desire to include the more political issues of reform of Parliament or universal suffrage for which the Chartists campaigned. Nevertheless, when the HACLA opened their general meeting the following year, the Chartists again invaded this meeting, and asked the chairman, Jonathan Akroyd, why the meeting did not accept the concept of universal suffrage.⁷⁹ In November 1842, the Chartists occupied the lectures organised by the HACLA. Thomas Acland, the speaker for HACLA, 'commenced by declaring himself a Chartist, but contended that the middle classes could not be organised under the Charter banners, while they were ready and willing to join the Chartists for a total repeal of the Bread Tax'.⁸⁰ The Chartists interpreted the HACLA rhetoric of 'no party and no religion' as middle class political exclusiveness because of their continued rejections of universal suffrage and any group supporting this aim. In

especially manufacturers, in other townships in the Halifax parish. See CDA, HAS/B: 11/1.

⁷⁷ See section 2 in chapter 5.

⁷⁸ *HG* 16 Feb. 1839; *HHE* 16 Feb. 1839.

⁷⁹ *HG* 25 Apr. 1840.

⁸⁰ *NS* 9 Nov. 1842.

the early 1840s, political relationship between the middle classes supporting the HACLA and the Chartists in Halifax became more complicated.

At the Halifax Borough election in 1841, where repeal of Corn Laws was one of the central issues, Whig/Liberal and Radical groups supporting HACLA conflicted with Chartists seriously.⁸¹ Indeed, according to record linkage between subscribers of the HACLA in 1840 and the poll book in Halifax Borough election in 1841,⁸² 37 subscribers voted Whig/Liberal and Radical candidates, one voted Whig/Liberal, one voted Radical, and only two subscribers voted Tory. However, the relationship between the HACLA and the Whig/Liberal M.P., Charles Wood, was not always positive. Wood's reluctance to vote for repeal of the Corn Laws in Parliament in 1842 intensified tension between Charles Wood and the HACLA.⁸³ The HACLA's preference for the Whig/Liberal-Radical partnership in the 1841 election did not necessarily mean that it was united in supporting the Whig/Liberals.

Nevertheless, the HACLA formalised the political interest of the manufacturing middle classes against the landed interest through their political campaigns about wages, the price of bread, and the competitive power of domestic manufacturing. Their propaganda also fostered the consciousness of economic relationship between labour and capital based on political economy into the middle classes in Halifax. In their reports and lectures, HACLA contrasted the owners of capital with the labourers. However, not all lower classes in Halifax supported the aims of the Anti-Corn Law movements in the 1840s. At the public meeting to celebrate the abolition of the Corn Laws in 1846, as *Halifax Guardian* reported, the poor 'seem altogether to have been forgotten; *their* hearts have not been made to rejoice'.⁸⁴ It continued, 'had those mill owners and manufacturers who

⁸¹ See section 3 in this chapter.

⁸² From the Halifax database.

⁸³ CDA, HAS/B: 11/1; Jowitt, 'Sir Charles Wood', pp. 45-46; Pickering and Tyrrell, *Bread*, pp. 266-271.

⁸⁴ *HG* 15 Aug. 1846.

have subscribed so largely to the defunct League patronized the rejoicings as the poorer classes had a right expect, greater enthusiasm would have been manifested in the town, and the rejoicings would no doubt have been of a more spirited character’.

The HACLA also helped to instil the idea, ‘free trade’, into the middle classes as well as other classes. Free trade became significant as a moral force shaping other middle class ideology such as liberalism after abolishing the Corn Laws.⁸⁵ Henry Martin, a local publisher and ardent Congregationalist, provides a particularly good example of the impact of ‘free trade’ on the middle classes and Radical dissenters in Halifax. While Martin joined the major cultural and learned voluntary societies in Halifax in the 1830s, he also attended the Parliamentary reform movement in Halifax before 1832, and the anti-Church rate meetings in Halifax in the 1830s. In January 1838, he became the publisher of the *Halifax and Huddersfield Express*, a Whig/Liberal-Radical newspaper which ceased its publication in 1841, and newly published the short-lived Radical Dissenter Newspaper, the *Halifax Reformer*, from 1847-1848 to 1850.⁸⁶ Henry Martin, a relatively small subscriber to the HACLA, published annual reports, handbills and posters not only for the HACLA and other Radical dissenters but also for cultural and educational societies in Halifax. The Chartists in Halifax recognised Martin as a Whig/Liberal supporter by the end of the 1830s, and he clearly represented the ‘Middle Class Radical Dissenter’ in local administrative bodies, voluntary societies and public meetings in Halifax in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. His short-lived *Halifax Reformer* expressed the importance of the Anti-Corn Law League for the middle classes.

Anti-Corn-Law League taught the people of this country, - aye, and the world at large, too, - some very valuable lessons, besides those which were more immediately connected with Free Trade. It taught them the power of truth and justice, when perseveringly advocated

⁸⁵ Pickering and Tyrrell, *Bread*, pp. 237, 247-251; Anthony Howe, *Free Trade and Liberal England, 1846-1946* (Oxford, 1997), chap.1 and 2.

⁸⁶ Eric Webster, ‘Minor Halifax Newspapers, 1759-1904’, *THAS*, New Ser., 5 (1997), pp. 69-72.

by earnest and devoted men. It taught the middle-classes rightly to estimate their own strength, and to wield efficiently their own power, in vindication of their rights.⁸⁷

Since the 1830s, some radical dissenters like Henry Martin had been one of the central groups within the middle class radicals in Halifax, and had launched the campaigns against state church system and church rate. Then, in the 1840s, the main issue for them became the education system. The dissenters attacked the proposal for a state education system, which challenged religious freedom. They believed their propaganda of Anti-State Church followed by the success of the Anti Corn-Law Association. The *Halifax Reformer* argued that

The lessons thus taught by the Free Traders have been well learned by the Nonconformists; and the example of League is now being vigorously followed by the British Anti-State Church Association. ... The country has been divided into districts; and to each district is allotted a deputation of able and eloquent men, who will, either as lecturers or speakers at public meeting, visit every place of importance, and there disseminate the principles, and urge the claims, of the association.⁸⁸

However, serious tension between the radical dissenters and the free trade supporters in Halifax was also observed. That tension was revealed in the Halifax Borough election in 1847. The radical middle class group, mainly dissenters, did not support the state education policy of the Whig/Liberal candidate, Charles Wood, and chose political partnership with the Chartist and their candidate, Ernest Jones. A political partnership was formed between the supporters of 'voluntarism' and the Chartists in the 1847 election.⁸⁹ Record linkage between HACLA subscribers in 1846 and voters of the 1847 Halifax Borough elections, can illustrate the division between the radical dissenters and

⁸⁷ *HR* 3 Nov. 1847.

⁸⁸ *HR*, 3 Nov. 1847.

⁸⁹ For the matter of policy of education, see Derek Fraser, 'Voluntarism and West Riding Politics in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', *Northern History*, 13 (1977).

the free traders. 26 subscribers voted for Radical and Chartist candidates, and 6 voted for the radical candidate. 13 subscribers voted for the Whig/Liberal candidate and 22 for the Whig/Liberal and Tory candidate, who had a partnership for the 1847 election. 11 subscribers voted Whig/Liberal and Radical and one subscriber voted Tory, and Whig/Liberal and Chartist respectively. Some leading people within the free trade supporters in Halifax disliked cooperating with popular radicals such as Chartists, and supported Whig/Liberal only. Edward Akroyd, a leading free trade supporter, supported the Whig/Liberal candidate at the 1847 election, but failed to vote because of his father's sudden death during the campaign. Other leading free trade supporters supported 'voluntarism', and recognised the necessity for political partnership with Chartists. Francis Crossley, a Radical dissenter, voted for the political partnership between Radical and Chartists. The two key subscribers of the HACLA, Crossley and Akroyd, took different political positions. The free trade supporters who were ex-supporters of the HACLA in Halifax were sharply divided.

After the defeat of this political alliance at the 1847 election, Henry Martin and the Radical dissenters in Halifax continued to pursue radical liberalism, appealing for religious and political freedom. The ideology of this movement heavily depended on 'moral force' and liberalism.⁹⁰ Later in 1847, radical dissenters in Halifax tried to build partnership between themselves and the labouring radicals including Chartists at the National Alliance which was established in 1847 and was led by Edward Miall, W.J. Fox and Joseph Sturge. However, as William Lovett, who was one of the supporters of this Alliance, looked back the National Alliance never succeeded in forming an efficient partnership between the middle class radicals and the labouring radicals. In short, the Radical Dissenter movement in Halifax was essentially a middle class movement, which had a very

⁹⁰ For example, after defeat of the elections in 1847, *Halifax Reformer* inserted Edward Miall, who had been a Radical Dissenter candidate in the Halifax Borough election in 1847, article, 'Essays on Suffrage' which insists on the principal objects not of the suffrage but of religious reform.

limited political strategy that could not be shared by all middle class people in Halifax.⁹¹ After this 'voluntarism' movement, 'education' did not become a principal political issue in the Halifax Borough elections until the 1870s.⁹²

Popular radical activities reflected in Chartism became active after the end of the 1830s. In the early 1840s, Chartists in Halifax renounced their relationship with middle class radicals. The middle class supporters for the Whig/Liberal and Radical candidates in the 1841 Halifax Borough election ignored the Chartists' claim,⁹³ although they feared the Chartists' physical force over them. The most serious such attack was the 'Plug' riot in Halifax in August 1842, which reflected the serious conflict between the Chartists and the middle classes, especially factory owners like Jonathan Akroyd and his son, Edward Akroyd.⁹⁴ Chartist hostility was further fostered by the activities of the large manufacturers, whose profits were seen by the Chartists as representing the tyranny of capital.

In response to Chartist attacks and the worsened political tension between the middle classes and the Chartists, the Second West York Yeomanry Cavalry was established in 1845. This was supported both by Tories and Whig/Liberals, and its principal supporters were the local manufacturers and merchants such as George Pollard, Samuel Waterhouse, Henry Edwards, and Henry Akroyd.⁹⁵ When the Chartist movement held mass meetings in Halifax as well as in London, the local

⁹¹ J.F.C. Harrison, *Learning and Living, 1790-1960: a Study in the History of the English Adult Education Movement* (1961), p. 149; *HR* 6 Oct. 1847 and 26 Jan. and 17 May 1848; [William Lovett], *The Life and Struggles of William Lovett* (1876), pp. 335-350.

⁹² Tiller, 'Working Class', pp. 127-153.

⁹³ *HG* 3 July 1841.

⁹⁴ Frank Peel, *The Risings of the Luddites: Chartists and Plug-Drawers*, 4th ed. (1968), pp. 329-343; Thompson, *Chartists*, chap. 11; G.R. Dalby, 'The Chartist Movement in Halifax and District', *THAS* (1956), pp. 100-101; Eric Webster, 'Chartism in the Calder Valley, 1838-1850', *THAS*, New Ser., 2 (1994), pp. 62-65.

⁹⁵ The evidence from the Halifax database.

magistrates mobilised a large number of special constables together with the West York Yeomanry Cavalry.

The Factory Movement in Halifax was revived after the disturbance of 1842. The principle local organisation for the Factory Movement in Halifax, the Short Time Committee, included local Chartist leaders. The *Halifax Guardian* and Henry Edwards, a Tory Manufacturer, supported the Ten Hours Bill,⁹⁶ whereas Edward Akroyd opposed Lord Ashley's Ten Hours Bill, as his father, Jonathan Akroyd, had done in the 1830s. At the public meeting for the Ten Hours Bill in Halifax in 1846, Akroyd attacked the legislative interference of factory owners, and believed that factory conditions should be improved by voluntary actions by the manufacturers. This public meeting could not unite the factory owners' opinion against the Ten Hours Bill.⁹⁷ For example, John Crossley, a giant carpet manufacturer, was reluctant to oppose this bill directly, and proposed cooperating with the factory owners in Lancashire. The revival of the Factory Movement in Halifax in the later 1840s failed to consolidate a political partnership between the campaigners of the Factory Movement, the 'ten-hours supporters', and the middle class radicals (especially Radical Dissenter) such as the Crossleys and Henry Martin who were reluctant to support the movement at that time. Thus, the Factory Movement in Halifax in the later 1840s depended on a specific local organisation, the Short Time Committee, managed by 'ten-hours supporters' (often, presumably, non-electors) together with a number of Tory merchants and manufacturers, and some Chartists.⁹⁸

In the Halifax Borough election of 1847, the Halifax Chartists adopted a strategy to gain power in the parliamentary political system. Ernest Jones, the Chartist candidate, together with Edward Miall, challenged the Whig/Liberal, Charles Wood, and the Tory, Henry Edwards, but both Chartists and Radicals were defeated. After this election the Chartists in Halifax tried to create a

⁹⁶ *HG* 14 and 28 Feb. 1846; Thompson, 'Halifax'; Ward, *Factory*, pp. 326-327.

⁹⁷ *HG* 14 Feb. 1846.

⁹⁸ Gray, *Factory*, pp. 183-184; Webster, 'Chartism', pp. 67-68.

relationship with Henry Edwards, the Tory M.P. in Halifax from 1847 who was a strong supporter of the Factory Movement, but he rejected their advances.⁹⁹ Chartists in Halifax could still influence the first Halifax Municipal Borough Election in 1848, and also held public meetings from 1847 to the end of the 1850s. However, it was difficult for them to construct their social programmes beyond the political power of these limited political organisations.¹⁰⁰ *The Halifax Guardian* observed their difficulty:

The invention of the £ 10 franchise has not reduced, nor checked, the increase of the pauper list, and Free Trade has not *yet* increased the wages of the factory operatives. Even the Chartists are beginning to recognise the non-connection of political changes with general social benefit, and are more wisely looking to 'the land' for their sole chance of regeneration.¹⁰¹

Kate Tiller suggests 'Halifax Chartism had undoubtedly lost its momentum' in the 1850s. 'Degree of disillusionment and forms of responses varied'.¹⁰² Although some middle class radicals like Francis Crossley and James Stansfeld sympathised with Chartism in the 1840s, as the defeat of Ernest Jones in the 1852 election shows, the Chartists in Halifax were no longer able to sustain a political partnership with the middle classes. Some Chartists were committed to such social organisations as co-operation and mutual improvement societies, in order to enhance their social and economic positions, but Chartism in Halifax did not directly combine the labouring classes' social programmes with their political campaigns in the 1850s.¹⁰³

By the early 1850s, the social programme to stabilise social order and improve the living conditions

⁹⁹ J. Wild, 'Sir Henry Edwards, Bt., (II)', *THAS* (1968), pp. 98-99.

¹⁰⁰ Tiller, 'Chartism', pp. 326-328, 340-341.

¹⁰¹ *HG* 12 Feb. 1848.

¹⁰² Tiller, 'Chartism', p. 318.

¹⁰³ Tiller, 'Working class', pp. 425-447; Benjamin Wilson, *The Struggles of an Old Chartist* (Halifax, 1889), pp. 23-23; Harrison, *Learning and Living*, pp. 104-105; Malcolm Chase, *Early Trade Unionism: Fraternity, Skill and the Politics of Labour*, (Aldershot, 2000), chap. 6 and 7. Some members of the Mutual Improvement Society advocated Chartism, and they attended the meeting for Ernest Jones before the Halifax Borough election on 1847. See *HG* 28 Aug. 1847.

of the middle as well as lower classes was supported by the middle classes, especially the large manufacturers. When unemployment increased at the time of serious depression from the end of 1847 to 1848, the wealthy middle classes provided relief for the unemployed in Halifax through establishing the voluntary society of relief for the unemployed.¹⁰⁴ Large manufacturers such as the Crossleys and Akroyds were the major donors for this voluntary society. In the later 1840s, Edward Akroyd tried to construct housing for the lower middle classes and labouring classes to increase his political support from them,¹⁰⁵ but, as Akroyd himself admitted, his plan did not succeed. In the 1850s, Edward Akroyd and John Crossley developed model villages in Halifax, while they were main supporters of the Halifax Building Society and other terminating building societies. Their motivation in supporting the building societies and in construction of model villages was not a political desire to control the occupiers of their houses. Rather, Akroyd and Crossley were interested in 'social improvement' and 'moral order' through the provision of better dwellings.¹⁰⁶ These large manufacturers recognised that social stability would stem from stable industrial relationships in Halifax outside the mechanistic capital and labour relationship. By providing the social programmes such as constructing model villages and financial institutions, like Yorkshire Penny Bank, the Crossleys and the Akroyds, in fact, aimed to maintain hierarchy in this community. Indeed, Charles R. Dod, in his *Electoral Facts, from 1832 to 1852*, rightly described Halifax Borough as the Borough 'influenced by the heads of great cloth-making firms'.¹⁰⁷

In short, popular radical political movements had a powerful presence in the political environment in Halifax in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The middle class radicals were

¹⁰⁴ For this society, see section 1 in chapter 5.

¹⁰⁵ Edward Akroyd, *On Improved Dwellings for the Working Classes with a plan for Building them in Connection with Benefit Building Societies* (1862).

¹⁰⁶ S.J. Daniels, 'Moral Order and the Industrial Environment in the Woollen Textile District of West Yorkshire, 1780-1880', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London (1980), chap. 7 and 8; J.A. Jowitt, 'Copley, Ackroydon and West Hill Park: Moral Reform and Social Improvement in Halifax', in J.A. Jowitt (ed.), *Model Industrial Communities in Mid-Nineteenth Century Yorkshire* (Bradford, 1986).

¹⁰⁷ Charles R. Dod, *Electoral Facts, from 1832 to 1852* (1852), p. 181.

important in the Parliamentary Reform Movement, the Anti-Slavery movement in the 1830s, and the Anti-Corn Law movement especially in the 1840s. The middle class radicals, especially dissenters, also engaged in 'Anti-state church' movement such as 'voluntarism' in 1847. Radicals from the labouring groups influenced the Factory Movement, the Anti-Poor Law Movement, and Chartism. Halifax Radicals were had not always united during that period. The division between middle class radicals and radicals from the labouring groups at the end of the 1830s was a critical impact factor on political strategies and relationships in Halifax in the 1840s. Thus, political movements reflected fluid relationship both between and within the middle classes and lower classes in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The middle classes in Halifax always needed to recognise that dynamic political state, and then transact their political strategies at the Halifax Borough elections from 1832 to 1852.

3. Halifax Borough Elections, 1832-1841

This section will explore voting patterns in four Halifax Borough elections from 1832 to 1841 and analyse the political matrix of those elections. The purpose of this is two-fold. First is to examine the aims of, and the relationship between, political parties in Halifax: Tory, Whig/Liberal and Radicals. Second is the relationship between those three political parties and popular political movements which were usually launched by non-voters and the lower classes. Why and how did the middle-classes cooperate or oppose popular political movements in the Halifax Borough elections, 1832-1841?

When the campaigns for the first Halifax Borough election began in 1832, three principal political groups such as Whig/Liberal, Tory and Radical each put up a candidate. Although Michael Stock, one of the local Radical leaders in Halifax, announced that he would stand as a candidate, the Whig/Liberal group did not choose him as a candidate for the first Halifax Borough election,

because of the opposition of the leading members such as Jonathan Akroyd.¹⁰⁸ The Whig/Liberal group, instead, selected Charles Wood, a Whig politician from the West Riding, after failing to select F.H. Fawkes as their candidate. The Whig/Liberals also selected Rawdon Briggs, a local banker and Unitarian from Halifax, as a partner for Wood, while Stocks decided to stand as a Radical candidate in the first Halifax Borough election. The Tory group failed to select the Hon. W. Lascelles, and, instead, invited Christopher Rawson, a Tory banker, and John Waterhouse, a Tory merchant. But both declined and the Tory then invited James Stuart Wortley.¹⁰⁹

At the hustings of the first Halifax Borough election in the Piece Hall, which were attended by numerous non-voters who mainly supported Stock, the differences and overlaps in the political positions of the four candidates became clear.¹¹⁰ Charles Wood supported civil and religious liberty: the reduction of sinecures, pensions and taxation, and pressing the Tory government to support dissenters and Roman Catholic. Rawdon Briggs introduced himself as a local commercial man, representing the interests of the constituency, and supporting the reformers and the free traders. J.S. Wortley expressed his commitment to free trade, the abolition of the slave trade, and factory reform. Stocks announced his support for the abolition of sinecures and pensions, the abolition of the slave trade, anti-East Indian monopoly, the Anti-Corn Law League, and prohibition of children in factories. Yet, Stocks did not mention the Ten Hours Bill or the movement to widen the suffrage of the people. 'Old corruption' was contested by the Whig/Liberals and the Radicals. Anti-Slavery was supported by Radicals and Tory. Free trade was commonly shared by Whig/Liberal, Tory, and Radical. Factory Reform was an issue distinguishing Whig/Liberal and Tory.

¹⁰⁸ *HHE* 23 July and 13 Aug. 1831; D. Warrington, 'The Stocks Family of Upper Shibden Hall', *THAS* (1971); Jowitt, 'Parliamentary Politics', pp. 177-178.

¹⁰⁹ *HG* 8 Dec. 1832; Jowitt, 'Parliamentary Politics', p.178.

¹¹⁰ *HHE* 15 Dec. 1832; *HG* 15 Dec. 1832; anon, 'Halifax Election of 1832', in *The Halifax Guardian Historical Almanack, 1895*, (Halifax, 1894), 39-47.

Table 4.5 Result of the Halifax Borough Election in 1832¹¹¹

	Number
Briggs (Whig/Liberal)	241
Wood (Whig/Liberal)	233
Stocks (Radical)	187
Wortley (Tory)	174

Table 4.6 Voter Behaviour in the 1832 Election

	Number	%
Wood and Briggs	149	28.1%
Briggs plumper	4	0.8%
Wood plumper	6	1.1%
Split Briggs and Wortley	19	3.6%
Split Wood and Wortley	47	8.9%
Split Briggs and Stocks	69	13.0%
Split Wood and Stocks	31	5.8%
Wortley plumper	80	15.1%
Split Wortley and Stocks	28	5.3%
Stocks plumper	59	11.1%
Did not vote	39	7.3%
<i>Total</i>	531	

At a show of hands, Stocks 'received almost the whole of the "most sweet voters", Briggs 'a share nearly as ample'; Wood and Wortley 'experienced but a small portion of their favour'.¹¹² But, at that election, two Whig/Liberal candidates won this election, and the Tory and the Radical were defeated. Success for the two Whig/Liberal candidates depended on plumper for Briggs as well as splitters. The majority of votes were for Wood and Briggs in this election. They also gained votes from Tory-Whig/Liberal and Radical-Whig/Liberal splitters. Splitters were important to this election. Wood absorbed 78 votes from splitters and Briggs 90. Tory and Radical candidates got 126 votes for Radical and 96 votes for Tory from splitter, though the plumpers for Wortley and Stocks were not enough to win him this election.

¹¹¹ Table 4.5 and 4.6 made from the Halifax database.

¹¹² *HG* 8 and 15 Dec. 1832; *HHE* 8 and 15 Dec. 1832.

Figure 4.8 Voting and Occupational Status (Per cent of Major Categories of Voting), 1832¹¹³

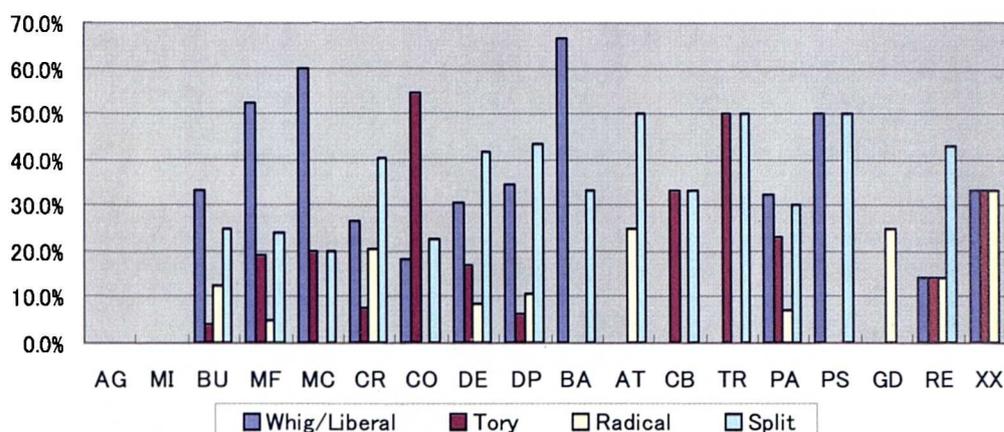
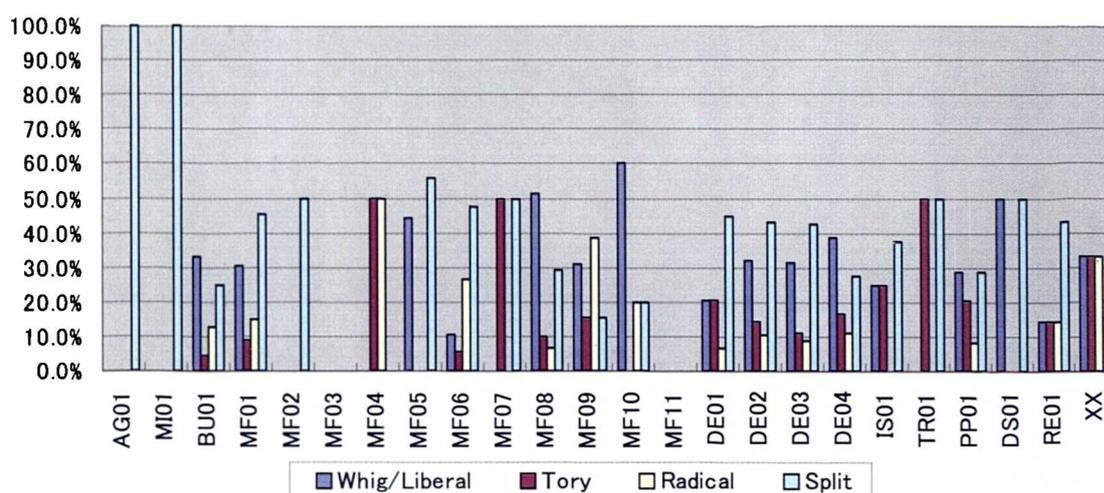


Figure 4.9 Voting and Industrial Interest (Per cent of Major Categories of Voting), 1832



As section 1 in this chapter mentioned, there were strong political communities for Tory and Whig/Liberal in Halifax in the 1830s. Those parties actively carried out their political campaigns at the 1832 election.¹¹⁴ Moreover, lack of unity among Radicals, especially the middle class radicals, affected the result of the 1832 election, although enormous supporters from non-voters supported the radical candidate at this election. As section 2 in this chapter described, non-voters'

¹¹³ Figure 4.8 and 4.9 made from the Halifax database. Appendix 6 includes tables which these figures are based on.

¹¹⁴ *HG* 15 Dec. 1832.

political interest to aim suffrage extension after the Great Reform Act of 1832 swayed the relationships within the middle class radicals. For instance, some from local elite and the middle classes joining Parliamentary Reform Movements in 1831 and 1832 such as Jonathan Akroyd and William Briggs supported *Whig/Liberal* candidates, others supported the Radical candidate.¹¹⁵ Due to the supporters with the different political interests, the voting pattern of many of occupational and industrial groups was diversified (Figure 4.8 and 4.9). However, some groups showed their political preferences. For instance, the commerce group including Tory merchants like John and Samuel Waterhouse formed the core of Tory supports in the 1832 election. On the other hand, the manufacturers (including merchant-manufacturers) were strong supporters of the *Whig/Liberal* candidates. As section 2 in this chapter mentioned, many textile manufacturers like Jonathan Akroyd united to oppose the Factory Act, which was one of Tory's platforms. Due to their support for political economy, the majority of textile manufacturers in Halifax strongly supported *Whig/Liberal* social policy and public opinion to abolish the Corn Laws and improve of taxation system. Few manufacturers supported the Radical Michael Stocks in 1832 because of the conflict between the major *Whig/Liberal* manufacturers and Stocks. For industrial interests, it is confirmed that textile manufacturers were strong supporters of the *Whig/Liberals* in 1832, due to the problem of the Factory Act and issues of taxation, although the other industrial groups did not show coherent voting patterns.

The next Halifax Borough election in 1835 was contested by three candidates: the *Whig/Liberal*, Charles Wood, the Radical, Edward Protheroe, and the Tory, J.S. Wortley. The political 'coalition' (or partnership)¹¹⁶ between the *Whig/Liberal* and the Radicals was one of the most important element for that election. Although the radicals were divided at the 1832 election, the middle class

¹¹⁵ Hargreaves, 'Methodism and Electoral Politics', pp. 146-147.

¹¹⁶ Local newspapers such as *Halifax Guardian* and *Halifax and Huddersfield Express* usually used this term.

radicals especially, tried to re-form their unity by the 1835 election.¹¹⁷ On the other hand, after their defeat at the 1832 Halifax Borough election, the Tories predicted a coalition between Whig/Liberal and Radical for the next Borough election. Tories, therefore, campaigned to oppose Radical candidate, and requested plumping for a Tory candidate. Through his campaigns, the Tory candidate criticised the Whig/Liberal policies such as the amendment of the Poor Law, although he did not agree the extension of franchise in order to gain supports from ‘non-voters’.¹¹⁸ At the hustings on the Piece Hall, where non-voters crowded and the supporters for each party gathered, Whig/Liberal and Radical candidates insisted on further reforms of national policies such as the improvement of taxation and liberty of religion, and expressed anti-Tory propaganda. But they did not support extension of suffrage. The Tory candidate emphasised the crisis of the Established Church, and the tyranny of the Whig/Liberal dominated Parliament.¹¹⁹

Table 4.7 Result of the Halifax Borough Election in 1835¹²⁰

	Number
Wood (Whig/Liberal)	336
Wortley (Tory)	308
Protheroe (Radical)	307

Table 4.8 Voter Behaviour in the 1835 Election

	Number	%
Wood and Protheroe	275	42.5%
Wood plumper	5	0.8%
Protheroe plumper	13	2.0%
Split Wood and Wortley	56	8.7%
Split Protheroe and Wortley	19	2.9%
Wortley plumper	233	36.0%
Did not vote	46	7.1%
<i>Total</i>	647	

At the show of hands, supporters of the Whig/Liberal and Radical candidates overwhelmed the Tory

¹¹⁷ Hargreaves, ‘Methodism and Electoral Politics’, pp. 146-147.

¹¹⁸ For example, see *HHE* 4 Dec. 1834; *HG* 22 and 29 Nov. and 13 Dec. 1834.

¹¹⁹ *HHE* 8 Jan. 1835; *HG* 10 Jan. 1835. See also *P.P., Report* (1835), VIII, pp. 202.

candidate.¹²¹ However, the Radical candidate failed to get a seat, while the Whig/Liberal candidate kept one. Although 275 voters elected Wood and Protheroe that accounted for the majority at the 1835 election, the Tory candidate succeeded in getting 232 plumpers. Plumpers for either Wood or Protheroe turned out to be a small share of the total. Protheroe got fewer votes from Tory splitters than Wood did, therefore failed to win a seat.

The emergence of a political partnership between the Whig/Liberal and Radical in the Halifax Borough election in 1835 influenced voting patterns of some occupational groups (Figure 4.10 and 4.11). Craft, dealing and distribution, and processing groups, whose support had been divided between Whig/Liberal, Radical, and Tory candidates in 1832, became supporters for the Whig/Liberal and Radical partnership in the 1835 election. Manufacturers, and merchant and manufacturer groups were strong supporters for the Whig/Liberal-Radical partnership in 1835 too, due to their support for Whig/Liberal policies such as reduction of taxation. Principal Tory supporters consisted of merchants, rentier group, and professionals. Except for reduction of taxation and improvement of government budget, neither Whig/Liberal and Radical candidates nor Tory candidate emphasised their own economic policies. Indeed, specific industrial groups such as textile manufacturers, and metal and machine tool makers which had a close relationship with the textile manufacturers, and dealing groups demonstrated strong support for Whig/Liberal and Radical candidates in the 1835 election (Figure 4.12 and 4.13). Presumably, they supported reduction of taxation and further political improvement, which would include repeal of the Corn Laws, one of the policies of the Whig/Liberal and Radical candidates.

¹²⁰ Table 4.7 and 4.8 made from the Halifax database.

¹²¹ *HG* 10 Jan. 1835.

Figure 4.10 Voting and Occupational Status (Per cent voting Whig/Liberal and Radical), 1835, 1837 and 1841¹²²

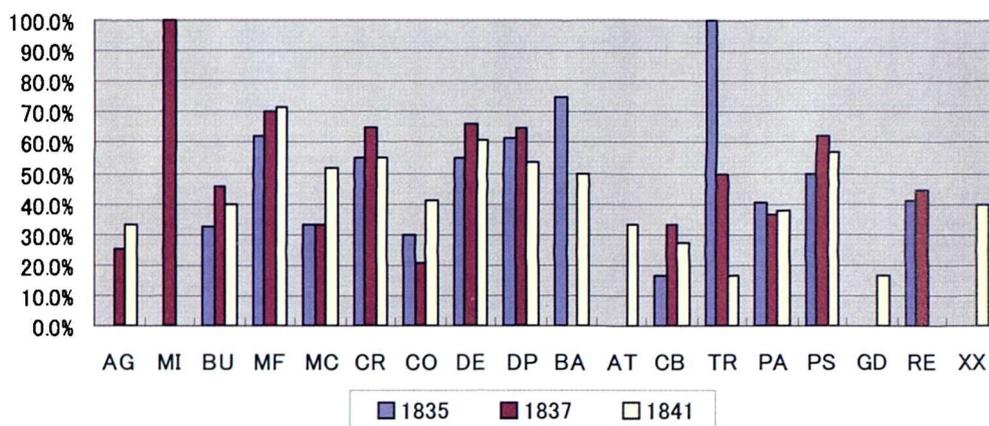
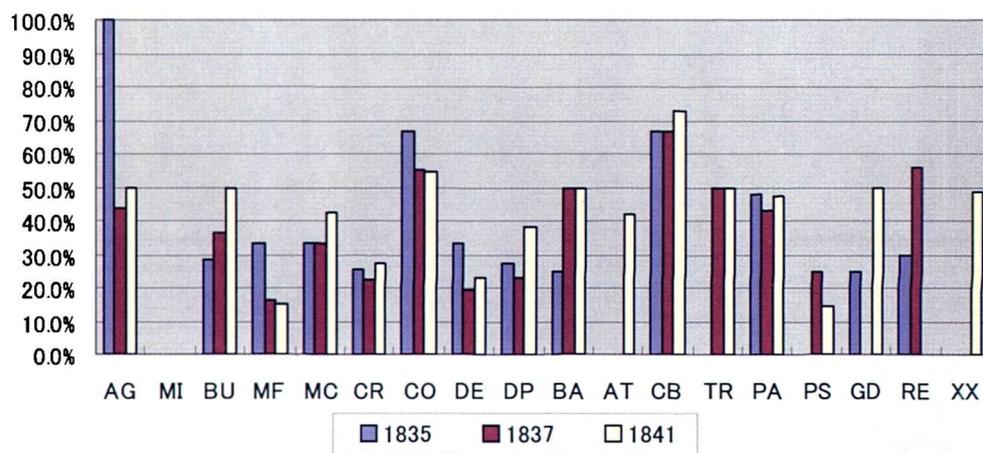


Figure 4.11 Voting and Occupational Status (Per cent voting Tory), 1835, 1837 and 1841



¹²² Figures 4.10-4.13 made from the Halifax database. Appendix 6 includes tables which these figures are based on.

Figure 4.12 Voting and Industrial Interest (Per cent voting Whig/Liberal and Radical), 1835, 1837 and 1841

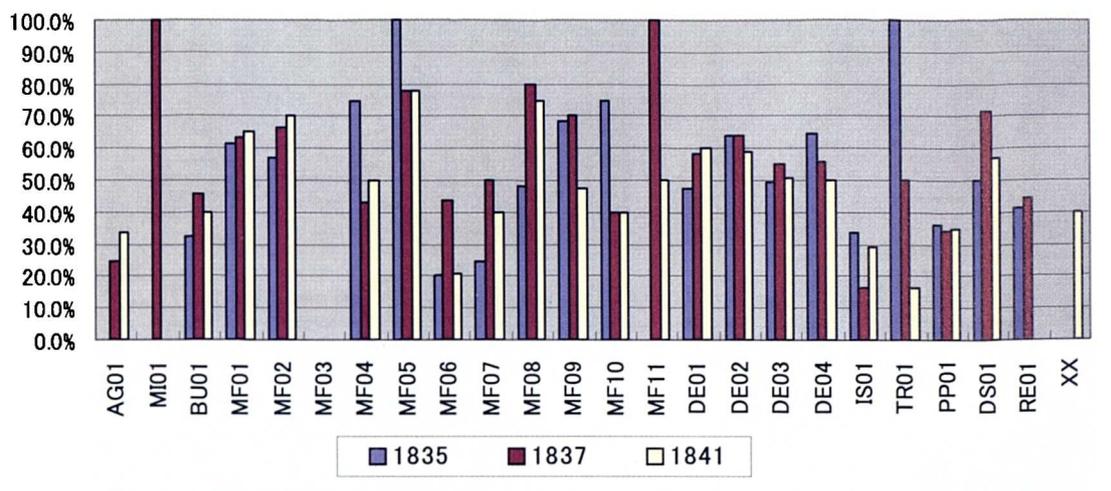
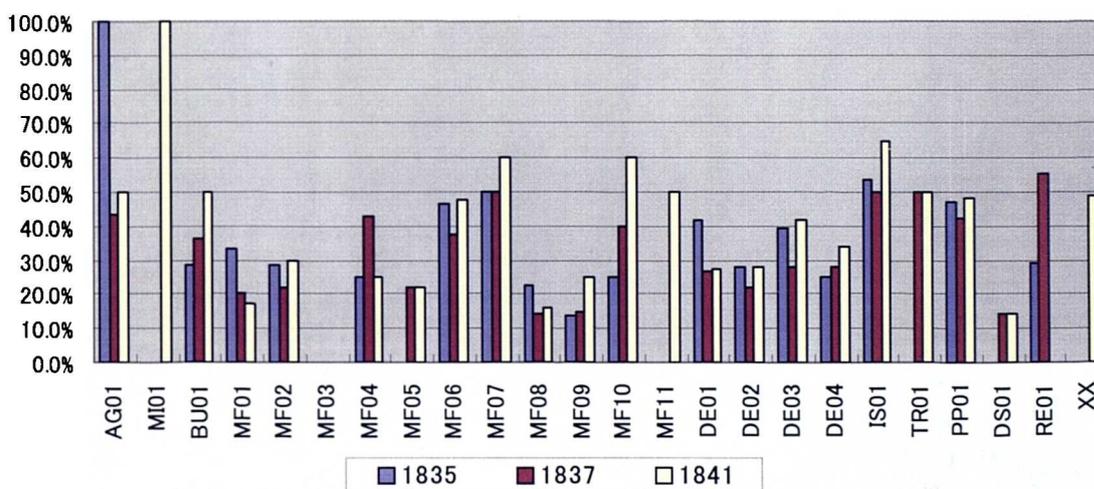


Figure 4.13 Voting and Industrial Interest (Per cent voting Tory), 1835, 1837 and 1841



Some studies suggest the existence of bribery and intimidation from political supporters, especially Tories, at the 1835 election.¹²³ As section 2 showed, Tory landlords such as Anne Lister pressured their tenants to vote Tory, and other members of the Tory elite such as merchants, bankers, and professionals put similar pressure on their employees.¹²⁴ On the hand, the lower middle class

¹²³ Jowitt, 'Parliamentary Politics', p. 183. Cf. Liddington, *Female*, p. 143.

¹²⁴ Anne Lister described Tory campaigns for the 1835 Halifax Borough election. See Liddington,

voters such as innkeepers, shopkeepers, and small dealers were put under pressure by their customers to support the Radical candidate. Indeed, the number of the Whig/Liberal and Tory splitters in 1835, more than ten percent of total voters, was more than that in 1837 and 1841. The size of 'floating vote' was more than that in the 1837 and 1841 elections. Numerical evidence offers the following voting patterns. In the 1835 election, probably through intimidation, Tory gained support from some Whig/Liberal voters, Radical plumpers, and Whig/Liberal and Tory splitters of the 1832 election. On the other hand, Whig/Liberal and Radical candidates gained support from some Radical plumpers, and Whig/Liberal and Radical splitters of the 1832 election.¹²⁵

Thus, the political campaigns, including political meetings organised by the major political groups, especially Tory and Radical, pressure from customers, landlords or employers, and both bribery and intimidation significantly influenced voting in the 1835 election.¹²⁶ At this election, the Tory candidate was generally unpopular among non-voters, although the Tory candidate had shown 'social Toryism' during the campaigns, expressing support for the factory movement and opposing the New Poor Law in 1834. Due to the defeat of Radical candidate by the Tory, Radical supporters especially from non-voters had strong hostility against Tory supporters. After the election, these radical supporters attacked the houses of the principal Tory supporters.¹²⁷

In the 1837 election, the competition between Tory and Whig/Liberal-Radical partnership continued. Especially, the New Poor Law was one of the main points of difference between the Whig/Liberal and Radical groups, and the Tory. Furthermore, the new competition within Radicals emerged, and Whig/Liberal-Radical partnership was affected by it. As section 2 in this chapter described already,

Female, pp. 133-143, esp. 137.

¹²⁵ From the Halifax database. For the detail information, see Appendix 4.

¹²⁶ *P.P., Report* (1835), VIII, and see section 1 in this chapter.

¹²⁷ *HG* 10 Jan. 1835; Anon., *Proceedings on the Trial of the cause Browne v. Leyland & Others, 1835* (Halifax, 1835); Liddington, *Female*, p. 140; Wilson, *Struggles*, p. 2.

after the rise of Ultra-Radicals in Halifax supporting Feargus O'Connor and the establishment of the Halifax Poor Law Union in 1837, the popular political movements in Halifax were organised for two clear strategies such as Anti-Poor Law and extension of suffrage. For example, in February 1837, there was the serious conflict between the Board of Guardian, mainly supported by the Whig/Liberal group, and Anti-Poor Law campaigner, supported by people of the lower classes.¹²⁸ Nevertheless, when the campaign of the Halifax Borough election in July 1837 started, the Whig/Liberal and Radical candidates, Charles Wood and Edward Protheroe, defended the New Poor Law of 1834 from Anti-Poor Law campaigners and from 'Ultra Radical' non-voters. Protheroe defended their position in Halifax as follows:

I have been accustomed to address not only to the higher and middle classes, but to all those who are generally delegated the working class. I, therefore, having addressed myself to the middle class in my canvass, have great pleasure in appearing not only to the respectable members of society, but to other, industrial class.¹²⁹

After all, despite the emergence of conflicts within Radicals, the partnership between Whig/Liberal and Radicals was sustained. On the other hand, the Tory candidate, J.S. Wortley, supported Anti-Poor Law platform, but he was reluctant to endorse other principal political aims of the non-voters such as 'universal suffrage'.¹³⁰ Thus, neither the Tory candidate nor the Whig/Liberal-Radical candidates fully responded to the political requests from popular radicals before the opening of the 1837 election.

Table 4.9 Result of the Halifax Borough Election in 1837¹³¹

	Number
Protheroe (Radical)	493
Wood (Whig/Liberal)	486
Wortley (Tory)	308

¹²⁸ *HG* 4 Feb. 1837; *HHE* 1 Feb. 1837.

¹²⁹ *HHE* 22 July 1837.

¹³⁰ *HHE* 22 July 1837; *HG* 25 July 1837.

¹³¹ Table 4.9 and 4.10 made from the Halifax database.

Table 4.10 Voter Behaviour in the 1837 Election

1837	Number	%
Wood and Protheroe	465	53.8%
Wood plumper	7	0.8%
Protheroe plumper	13	1.5%
Split Wood and Wortley	14	1.6%
Split Protheroe and Wortley	15	1.7%
Wortley plumper	279	32.3%
Did not vote	72	8.3%
<i>Total</i>	865	

At the hustings, the Whig/Liberal and Radical candidates emphasised the ‘liberty of civil and religion’ and further reforms in the state as their platforms, though the Radical also made reference to the repeal of Corn Laws and reconsideration of Church rate. The Tory spoke about Irish issues such as Irish Municipal Corporation and the authority of the Protestant Church, but did not strongly insist on Anti-Poor Law platform.¹³² At the show of hands, Wood and Protheroe got a majority.¹³³ At the polls, the Whig/Liberal and Radical candidates were dominant too (Table 4.9 and 4.10). The votes for the Whig/Liberal and Radical candidates amounted to more than 50 per cent of the total, while Tory plumpers comprised of about one third of the total. Moreover, the splitters for Tory, and Whig/Liberal or Radical were not enough to secure the Tory’s victory. At the 1837 election, the number of ‘floating votes’ was less than the elections of 1832 and 1835. In the 1837 election, the Tory candidate could not gain votes for Whig/Liberal and Radical candidates of the 1835 election. Indeed, a very small number of the Tory votes of the 1835 election shifted to the Whig/Liberal-Radical votes in 1837. One third of the splitters for the Tory, and Whig/Liberal or Radical of 1835 voted for Whig/Liberal-Radical candidates in 1837. A further third voted Tory in 1837.¹³⁴

The results of the 1837 Halifax election were influenced by candidates’ attitudes towards some

¹³² *HHE* 29 July 1837.

¹³³ *HG* 1 Aug. 1837.

¹³⁴ From the Halifax database. For the detail information, see Appendix 4.

policies such as Poor Law of 1834 and Corn Laws. The questions of whether or not to support the amendment of the Poor Law and the repeal of Corn Laws generally distinguished the Whig/Liberal and Radical groups and the Tory group. Many manufacturers in Halifax, like Jonathan Akroyd, who defended the Board of Guardians, were strong supporters of the amendment of Poor Law, though a small number of the manufacturers and merchant-manufacturing groups did not support the Whig/Liberals policy (Figure 4.10 and 4.11). The Tory candidate's rejection of the repeal of the Corn Laws¹³⁵ was not supported by the majority of manufacturers or the craft, dealing, and distribution and processing groups. In terms of industrial interests, textile manufacturers, metal and machine tool makers, and all dealing groups did not support Tory's policies on the Corn Laws (Figure 4.12 and 4.13).

At the 1841 Borough election, the difference in policy such as repeal of Corn Laws and amendment of Poor Law of 1834 became deepened between the Whig/Liberal-Radical alliance and the Tory. Although anti-Corn Law campaigns through HACLA were supported by the middle class radicals and Whig/Liberal supporters, they still ignored the request from labouring radicals such as Chartists: 'universal suffrage'. By 1841, the political relationship between Whig/Liberal supporters and middle class radicals especially from the Dissenting group gradually became tense due to radicals' discontent with the moderate reform position of Charles Wood, the Whig/Liberal M.P. from Halifax.¹³⁶ However, through growth of Chartists' strong discontent and attack against HACLA where the middle class radicals and Whig/Liberal supporters gathered, division between the middle class radicals and labouring radicals became decisive, as section 2 in this chapter described already. On the other hand, when Chartists failed to select their own candidate in the 1841 election, they supported the Tory candidate instead because of his 'social Toryism' position.¹³⁷ Thus, in the 1841

¹³⁵ *HHE* 22 July 1837; *HG* 25 July 1837.

¹³⁶ See section 2 in this chapter.

¹³⁷ *HG* 26 June and 3 July 1841; *NS* 26 June 1841; Thompson, *Chartists*, p. 273.

election, both Whig/Liberal and middle class radical groups were criticised by Tories as well as Chartists. As a result, in order to confront Tory and Chartists, Whig/Liberal and Radical groups intensified their political alliance, and ignored the requests of the labouring people including Chartists.¹³⁸

Table 4.11 Result of the Halifax Borough Election in 1841¹³⁹

	Number
Protheroe (Radical)	409
Wood (Whig/Liberal)	383
Sinclair (Tory)	320

Table 4.12 Voter Behaviour in the 1841 Election

	Number	%
Wood and Protheroe	369	47.7%
Wood plumper	4	0.5%
Protheroe plumper	11	1.4%
Split Wood and Sinclair	10	1.3%
Split Protheroe and Sinclair	29	3.7%
Sinclair plumper	281	36.3%
Did not vote	70	9.0%
<i>Total</i>	774	

At the hustings of the 1841 election, the number of supporters for the Tory candidate, mainly from non-voters, exceeded that for the Whig/Liberal and Radical candidates.¹⁴⁰ The Whig/Liberal candidate supported the repeal of Corn Laws. When the Whig/Liberal candidate started to defend the New Poor Law in his speech, the non-voters, mainly Chartists, heckled him by using the phrase, 'bastile'. The Radical candidate also defended the Poor Law, the repeal of Corn Laws, and rejected the Chartist demands for the extension of suffrage. The Tory candidate supported Factory Reform and the Anti-Poor Law, though he rejected repeal of Corn Laws and the extension of the suffrage. When taking a show of hands, one fifth of those present showed support for Woods, the

¹³⁸ *HG* 26 June 1841.

¹³⁹ Table 4. 11 and 4.12 made from the Halifax database.

¹⁴⁰ For speeches and other evidences about the hustings in the Halifax Borough election in 1841, see *HG* 3 July 1841.

Whig/liberal candidate, while another one fifth showed support for Protheroe, the Radical candidate. Four-fifths of those present showed support for Sinclair. However, at the poll, the Whig/Liberal-Radical candidates succeeded in saving their two seats, and Tory candidate failed to win the seat.

In the 1841 election, some of the policies such as repeal of Corn Laws influenced voting patterns of the three candidates (Figure 4.10 and 4.11). 'Anti-Corn Law' was the main platform for the manufacturers and merchant-manufacturers, who supported the Whig/Liberal and Radical alliance, although a small number of them, including Henry Edwards, together with Tory merchants, supported the Tory candidate's economic policy such as rejection of repeal of Corn Laws, and Anti-Poor Law of 1834. The craft, dealing, and distribution and processing groups were also strong supporters of 'repeal of Corn Laws' of the Whig/Liberal-Radical candidates, although the Chartists, by using their 'exclusive dealing', pressured voters from dealing, and distribution and processing groups to poll Tory candidate.¹⁴¹ On the other hand, as in the 1835 and 1837 elections, the commerce group and professionals were strong Tory supporters in the 1841 election. The Whig/Liberals or the Whig/Liberal-Radical alliance also succeeded in attracting specific industrial groups (Figure 4.12 and 4.13). As section 2 in this chapter mentioned already, the textile and cloth manufacturers, and metal and machine tool makers, who were principal supporters of HACLA, were the core supporters of the Whig/Liberal-Radical alliance in the 1841 election. Together with these industrial groups, all dealing groups supported the Whig/Liberal and Radical's policy such as repeal of Corn Laws. In short, in the 1841 election, under the influence of policy of repeal of Corn Laws, middle class voters generally choose Whig/Liberal and Radical candidates.

Nevertheless, according to Benjamin Wilson,¹⁴² the 1841 election was 'the tamest election since the

¹⁴¹ *HG* 26 June 1841.

¹⁴² Wilson, *Struggles*, p. 4.

borough was enfranchised', although popular radicals such as Chartists intended to influence their request to the political parties in Halifax through their political campaigns. Indeed, the turn-out was lower than other elections from 1832 to 1852. Presumably, some voters lost their interests for polling in the 1841 election, due to Whig/Liberal and middle class radicals' ignorance of non-voters' requests, such as universal suffrage and Anti-Poor Law of 1834.

4. Halifax Borough Elections, 1847-1852

The Halifax Borough elections of 1847 and 1852 entered the more critical political phase in Halifax. First, the 1847 election illustrates serious political and religious divisions within the middle classes in Halifax, which one historian has called a 'crossroads'.¹⁴³ If we understand the Halifax Borough elections between the First Reform Act and the Second Reform Act, as usually contested between the Liberal party associated with radical reformers and Tory/Conservative, the 1847 election will be an exceptional case. Secondly, the 1852 election shows the revival of the political partnership between Whig/Liberal and the middle class radicals. The ascendancy of Whig/Liberal and Radicals lasted for two decades. Lastly, from 1847 to 1852, the political partnership between the middle class radicals and popular radicals such as Chartism from non-voters dramatically changed into competitive relationship between them. This change also influenced political strategies of popular political movements in Halifax in 1850s. Thus, the analysis of the Halifax Borough elections in 1847 and 1852 reflects the dynamics of the middle classes and other classes in the political sphere of Halifax.

The 1847 election in Halifax was contested by four candidates: the Whig/Liberal, Charles Wood, the Tory, Henry Edwards, the Radicals, Edward Miall, and the Chartist, Ernest Jones. In this election, there were two political partnerships: Whig/Liberal-Tory and Radical (mainly from Radical

¹⁴³ J.A. Jowitt, 'Crossroads'.

Dissenters) -Chartist. These new complicated partnerships originated from the collapse of the Whig/Liberal and Radical alliance since 1835. As section 2 in this chapter has described already, because of 'voluntarism' of Radical dissenters, which stood for a voluntary educational system against State education,¹⁴⁴ the political partnership between the Whig/Liberal and the middle class radicals were fractured. The Whig/Liberal M.P. and Cabinet Minister, Charles Wood, did not support the 'voluntarism' of Radical dissenters. His election partner, Edward Protheroe, the Radical M.P., stood down in 1847 due to heavy pressure from the Radical dissenter campaign and a personal scandal.

As a result, Edward Miall, a Radical dissenter, whom *the Halifax Guardian* called the 'Cobden of Nonconformity', stood as the Radical candidate of the 1847 Halifax Borough. Miall made a partnership with the Chartist candidate, Ernest Jones.¹⁴⁵ But, the Radical Dissenters and the Chartists in Halifax had originally different political and religious plans. The former took a militant position against the State-Church and strongly believed in the growth of voluntary religious associations to stabilise social order. Their position was an extreme religious and political liberalism. On the other hand, before the formation of the partnership between Radical dissenters and Chartists in 1847, the Chartists had not always accepted 'voluntarism' but supported state education system. Nevertheless, both political groups desired to establish their political power within the existing political system, and to win the seats in the 1847 election. Thus, these two candidates accepted their key aims: Miall acknowledged the Six Points of Chartists; and Jones the anti-state education platform. This political partnership in the 1847 election should be seen as 'tactical'.

Facing the Radical dissenter and Chartist alliance, Wood did not have the opportunity to have

¹⁴⁴ Fraser, 'Voluntarism'; idem, *Politics*, pp. 267-273; G.I.T. Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain 1832 to 1868* (Oxford, 1977), chap. VI.

¹⁴⁵ *HG* 26 June and 17, 24 and 31 July 1847.

political partnership with Radicals. He, instead, intended to set up an partnership with the Tory candidate, Henry Edwards, a merchant and manufacturer from Halifax. Wood and Edwards shared platforms in the benefit of free trade, the retention of income tax, and state education system, although Wood could not agree with Edward's platforms of Anti-Poor Law position and Factory Reform due to his support for Whig government.¹⁴⁶ In this way, the partnership between Whig/Liberal and Tory in the 1847 election was also generally considered to be a 'tactical' way to get the seats.

During the 1847 election campaigns, in contrast to those of 1837 and 1841,¹⁴⁷ the middle class radicals never ignored the political demands from non-voters, and formed a political cooperative relationship between 'voters and non-voters' through political meetings. However, the gap between the Radical dissenters and the Chartists had widened by the day of the 1847 election, due to difference of their political strategies and campaigns. The Chartists targeted the meetings of the rival candidates, especially the Whig/Liberal candidate, and heckled the candidate and his supporters.¹⁴⁸ The placard at the meeting of non-electors declared:¹⁴⁹

We [non electors] deprecate exclusive dealing when brought to bear on persons who conscientiously differ in their political views and opinions; but we fear there are persons who call themselves liberals and liberal dissenters too – persons in trade, and shopkeepers, who will acknowledge they are entrusted with the franchise in order to obtain the greatest good for the greatest number, who, when they come to vote will not only discard this duty, but vote in direct opposition to their own avowed principles. ... We leave you to your choice, as well as those who are inclined to take the crooked path *at the election*, and claim for ourselves the free exercise of our judgement in the selection of our tradesmen

¹⁴⁶ *HG* 17 July 1847; *NS* 29 July 1847; J.R. Vincent, *Pollbooks: How Victorians Voted* (Cambridge, 1968), p. 24.

¹⁴⁷ See section 3 in this chapter.

¹⁴⁸ *HG* 31 July 1847; Hargreaves, 'Methodism and Electoral Politics', p. 151.

¹⁴⁹ *HG* 17 July 1847.

AFTER THE ELECTION. “The poll book will give us the names of those who keep their votes in their pockets, of those who are induced to abscond into some skulking hole till the election is over, of those who remain at home under some sham illness, as well as those who plump or split their votes in opposition to their previous opinions.”

But, the Radical dissenters did not support this violent campaign of Chartists. John Crossley, the chairman of the committee for Edward Miall, the Radical Dissenter candidate, responded to this declaration:¹⁵⁰

That this committee, sincerely anxious that the impending contest in the borough of Halifax may be conducted in such a manner as will least interrupt any social relationships, and leave behind it as little irritation as possible, resolve to prosecute their purpose by those means ONLY, which are consistent with good neighbourhood, and perfect political freedom; and earnestly commend to all parties the desirableness of exemplifying, in the management of the election, a spirit of courtesy and mutual good-will.

Moreover, as Ben Wilson and the *Northern Star* reported,¹⁵¹ the non-voters who supported Chartism pressured the lower middle class voters by threatening their shops through the practice of ‘exclusive dealing’. The Radical Dissenters clearly disliked such action, believing that political and religious freedom for any group was essential. Finally, it seems that the relationship between Radical dissenters and Chartists, and antagonistic relationship between Whig/Liberal and Chartists became worsened by the sudden death of Jonathan Akroyd, influential New Connexion Methodist, at the Whig/Liberal meeting just before the 1847 election.¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ *HG* 17 July 1847.

¹⁵¹ Wilson, *Struggles*, p. 9; *NS* 14 Aug. 1847.

¹⁵² The Chartists went to this meeting and heckled Jonathan Akroyd. See *HG* 31 July 1847; Hargreaves, ‘Methodism and Electoral Politics’, p. 150-152. Although Hargreaves points out political division within Methodist in the 1847 election, it seems that voters from Anglican, Unitarian, Congregationalist and Quaker had different voting patterns in this election. This estimation depended on the record linkage between the 1847 poll book and surviving religious records, which are included in the Halifax database.

The nomination meeting took place at the Piece Hall, where the supporters for Jones and Miall formed the majority.¹⁵³ At the hustings, Wood emphasised his achievement as M.P. of Halifax Borough, and his support for free trade, but not for ‘voluntarism’. Miall declared the importance of the voluntary question, and supported both manhood suffrage and free trade. Jones promised as his platforms as follows: ‘Disestablishment of the Church; voluntary educational provision free of government control; the abolition of capital punishment and of the 1834 Poor Law; the repeal of primogeniture, entail and game law; direct, not indirect, taxation policies; the availability of small holdings to the people; and the pursuance of Free Trade principles’. Henry Edwards emphasised his indigenoussness, praising his ‘grandfather’. He supported free trade and the Ten Hours Bill, and opposed the 1834 Poor Law. Wood, Edwards, and Miall frequently spoke of the ‘religious question’, i.e. voluntarism, but Jones mainly delivered a speech of ‘political reform through the Charter’.¹⁵⁴

Table 4.13 Result of the Halifax Borough Election in 1847¹⁵⁵

	Number
Edwards (Tory)	505
Wood (Whig/Liberal)	507
Miall (Radical)	349
Jones (Chartists)	281

Table 4.14 Voter Behaviour in the 1847 Election

	Number	%
Wood and Edwards	371	37.9%
Wood plumper	60	6.1%
Split Wood and Miall	58	5.9%
Split Wood and Jones	18	1.8%
Edwards plumper	105	10.7%
Split Edwards and Miall	18	1.8%
Split Edwards and Jones ⁷	15	1.5%
Miall and Jones	246	25.1%
Miall plumper	27	2.8%
Jones plumper	2	0.2%
Did not vote	59	6.0%
<i>Total</i>	979	

¹⁵³ NS 7 Aug. 1847.

¹⁵⁴ HG 31 July 1847; NS 7 Aug. 1847; Tiller, ‘Chartism’, p. 314-315; Wilson, *Struggles*, p. 9.

¹⁵⁵ Table 4.13 and 4.14 made from the Halifax database.

According to the *Halifax Guardian*,¹⁵⁶ at the show of hands, ‘for Jones and Miall about three fifths of the audience held up their hands’, then, ‘for Edwards between 2000 and 3000 people held up their hands’, and for Wood ‘only about a hundred hands’ held up. However, the poll turned out that Wood and Edwards got the majority of votes, and Miall and Jones were second. Edwards absorbed 138 votes from his plumper and splitters, and Wood collected 136 votes, though Miall got only 103 and Jones only 35 votes. Those voting patterns in the 1847 election were mainly divided between the Whig/Liberal-Tory alliance, the Radical-Chartist alliance, the Whig/Liberal plumper, and splitters for Whig/Liberal and Radical. The Tory retained the votes of 1841 at the 1847 election.¹⁵⁷ Certainly, as *the Halifax Reformer* scornfully pointed out,¹⁵⁸ Wood’s victory depended on opportunism between the Whig/Liberal and the Tory. Moreover, Edwards would get votes from the supporters for the Factory Reform. Furthermore, after the retirement of Rawdon Briggs, M.P. for Halifax, between 1832 and 1835, it seems that voters as well as non-voters wanted a indigenous M.P. from Halifax. In this respect, it was an advantage that Edwards was a native of Halifax.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ *HG* 31 July 1847. Possibly, number of hands for Edwards was overestimated. *The Northern Star* estimated 500 hands for Edwards. See *NS* 7 Aug. 1847.

¹⁵⁷ For detail information of this, see Appendix 4.

¹⁵⁸ *HR*, 25 Aug. 1847.

¹⁵⁹ *HG* 19 and 31 July 1847; Wilson, *Struggles*, p.9; Thompson, ‘Halifax’.

Figure 4.14 Voting and Occupational Status (Per cent of Major Categories of Voting), 1847¹⁶⁰

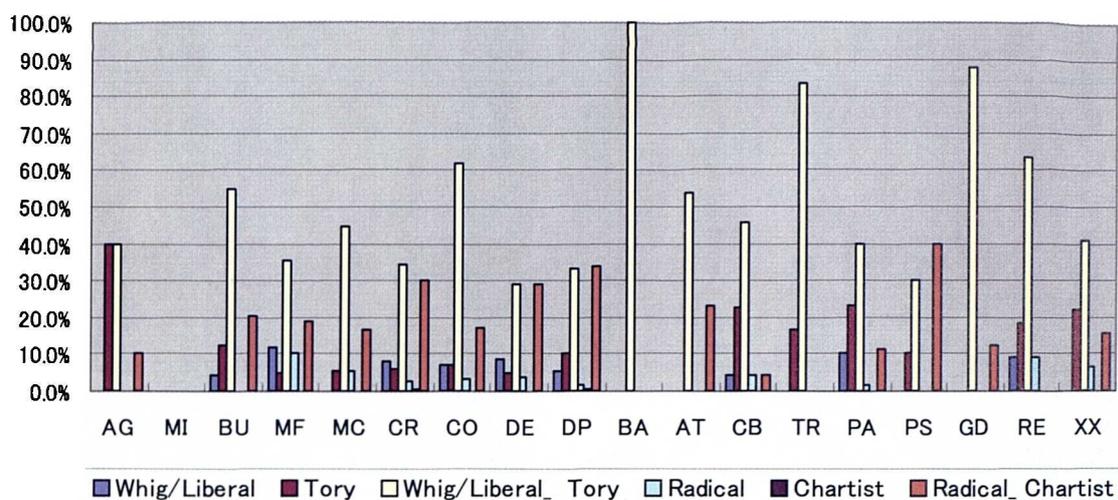
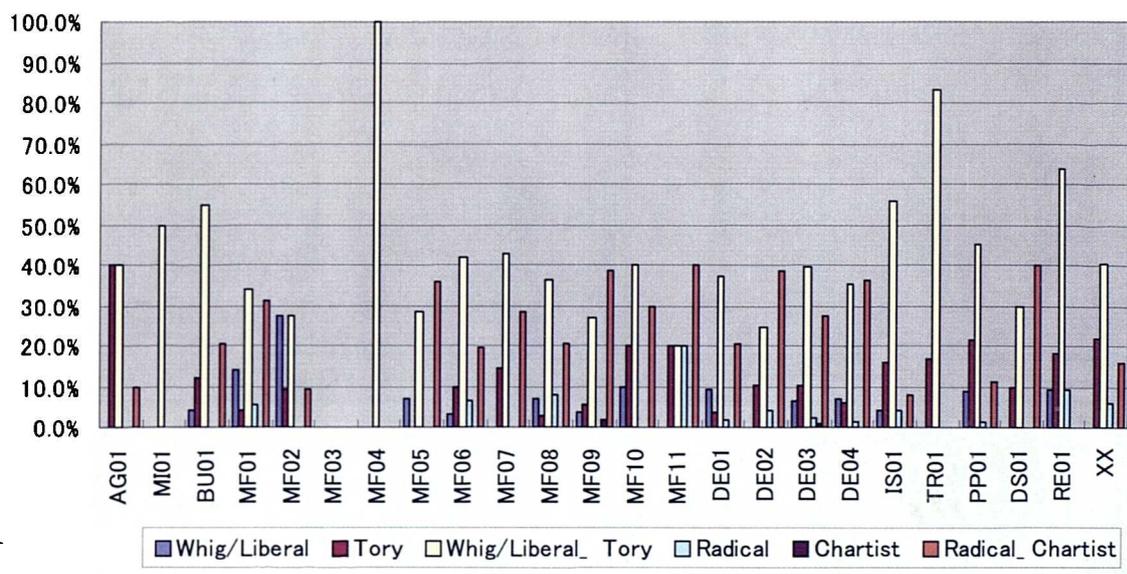


Figure 4.15 Voting and Industrial Interest (Per cent of Major Categories of Voting), 1847



At the 1847 election, two political alliances – Whig/Liberal-Tory, and Radical-Chartists – strongly campaigned to gain the support from the middle class voters.¹⁶¹ As section 2 in this chapter pointed out, supporters for ‘free trade’, a critical policy at this time, were divided by those two

¹⁶⁰ Figure 4.14 and 4.15 made from the Halifax database. Appendix 6 includes tables which these figures are based on.

¹⁶¹ *HG* 17, 24 and 31 July 1847.

alliances. As a result, the voting pattern of many of occupational or industrial groups was diversified (Figure 4.14 and 4.15). Nevertheless, evidence of some occupational groups shows some interesting cases for our analysis. The manufacturer, commerce, professional, banker, and rentier groups strongly supported the Whig/Liberal and Tory alliance,¹⁶² though about one fifth of the manufacturers, including the Crossley brothers, voted for the Radical and Chartist candidates. In general, the upper middle classes supported economic prosperity through 'free trade', and majority of that group opposed the extreme religious and political program of the Chartists, which denied political and religious liberty for all classes of people. In contrast to these upper middle classes, the craft, dealing, and distribution and processing groups were divided between the Whig/Liberal-Tory alliance and the Radical-Chartist alliance. Some lower middle class voters would have a preference for radical religious and political programs. Moreover, the *Northern Star* reported,¹⁶³ that non-voters supporting Chartism were powerful in moves to pressure the lower middle class voters by threatening their shops and the public market. On the other hand, the lower middle classes' customers, business partners, and employers, such as merchants, manufacturers, and professionals, pressured them not to vote for the Radical and Chartist candidates. For instance, the textile manufacturers such as Edward Akroyd, other manufacturers, merchants, and dealers would force their employees, business partners, and customers not to support Chartism.¹⁶⁴ Indeed, as the *Northern Star* accused,¹⁶⁵ after the election of 1847, Akroyds and other manufacturers sacked their employees who supported the Chartist's candidate, though majority of them would be non-voters, and customers exercised 'exclusive dealing' against one butcher supporting Chartist after the 1847 election.

¹⁶² Many voters having no information of trade would belong to rentier group. It seems that the directory in 1845 often omitted occupational information for rentier group or gentlemen and gentlewomen.

¹⁶³ *NS* 14 Aug. 1847. See also Wilson, *Struggles*, p. 9.

¹⁶⁴ Anne Lister supposed the textile manufacturer, Jonathan Akroyd, pressured his watchman not to vote Tory in the 1830s. See Liddington, *Female*, pp. 99, 197.

¹⁶⁵ *NS* 14 Aug. 1847.

Thus, the four political parties tried to acquire more supporters in the Halifax Borough elections in 1847. As a result, economic, political and religious divisions within the middle classes in the 1847 election became more worsened and antagonistic than these in the elections before 1847. The four political parties broke the conventional partnerships among themselves, and formed new partnerships: Tory – Whig/Liberal and Radical – Chartists in the Halifax Borough election in 1847. Two political parties such as Radical dissenters and Chartists had powerful roles in this election. The former group divided the middle class radicals,¹⁶⁶ and the latter, by political cooperation with the middle classes from Radical dissenters, could hold more political influence against the electors in Halifax in 1847 than in 1841.

The election in 1852 shows a striking recovery of Whig/Liberal and Radical partnership. Unlike the 1847 election, as section 2 in this chapter described already, ‘voluntarism’ had not been serious issue for the middle class radicals in Halifax by the early 1850s. Moreover, the middle class radicals could have a common aim to preserve religious and political liberty, liberalism. Thus, the middle class radicals including the Radical dissenters in Halifax finally became united at the 1852 election in order to defend their liberalism. At this election, Charles Wood and Francis Crossley were chosen as the Whig/Liberal candidates. The Tory again selected Henry Edwards as a candidate, while Ernest Jones stood for the Chartists. The personal connection between Francis Crossley and the radical middle class reformers including the Radical dissenters enabled the Whig/Liberal group to revive the Radical and Whig/Liberal partnership. Benjamin Wilson,¹⁶⁷ who compared Crossley with Edward Akroyd, argued that Akroyd was unpopular among the Chartists and the non-voters in the community, and both Akroyd and Crossley were reluctant to accept the Ten-hours movement in the late 1840s, and were strong supporters for free trade. In contrast to

¹⁶⁶ Hargreaves, ‘Methodism and Electoral Politics’, pp. 159-160.

¹⁶⁷ Wilson, *Struggles*, esp. pp. 36, 38.

other manufacturers, the Crossley family did not lay off their employees who were engaged in Chartist activities in the 1840s.¹⁶⁸ They also supported political reforms in Halifax in 1848, and the Anti-State church members after the 1847 election. Francis Crossley explained his radical position at the hustings of the 1852 Halifax Borough election.

I recollect many years ago attending a meeting held in the Odd Fellows' Hall, in the town, when O'Connor and Thomas Acland were pitted against each other. The former, in his speech, told them he would do away the rattle-boxes of factories, and divide the land, allowing five acres to each family, so that every man should have a wife, five children, and five acres of land. ... That was appealing to the passions. I am not surprised that that should meet with a little applause; but I know well, when those men who were in favour of it had gone quietly to their own firesides and thought it over, they would soon see the impossibility of it ...; and therefore, gentlemen, on the question of the franchise, my opinion is not formed from such meetings as this, but from daily coming contact with the working men, from whence I have sprung.¹⁶⁹

Although the Whig/Liberal group initially considered a partnership between Charles Wood and Henry Edwards, the Tory candidate, for the 1852 election, they recognised the Radical background of Francis Crossley to be useful for increasing the support of the middle class radicals.¹⁷⁰ Although James Stansfeld recommended Edward Akroyd to partner Charles Wood in the 1852 election, Akroyd acknowledged his political disadvantage against Crossley, and declined to stand.¹⁷¹

Facing the Whig/Liberal and middle class radical alliance, Ernest Jones and the Chartists in Halifax gave up the political partnership with the latter previously characterised in the 'voter and non-voter' rhetoric in the 1847 election. During the campaign for the Halifax Borough election in 1852, Jones

¹⁶⁸ NS 14 Aug. 1847.

¹⁶⁹ HG 10 July 1852.

¹⁷⁰ Anon, *The Halifax Election; a Whig Melodrame, in Three Acts* (Leeds, 1852) satirised this process. See also Tiller, 'Chartism', pp. 322-323.

¹⁷¹ Jowitt, 'Charles Wood', pp. 57-59.

and the Chartists in Halifax emphasised this opposition against the big capitalist classes, and tried to link the labouring people with the lower middle classes who operated under the tyranny of the big capitalists. Jones insisted on land nationalisation and importance of economic organisations for the labouring people like cooperation to protect consumers of labouring people as well as to intensify the political power for the labouring people.¹⁷²

At the hustings at the Piece Hall,¹⁷³ supporters of Jones and Edwards outnumbered those of Crossley and Wood's. In his speech, Wood emphasised social prosperity through free trade. Crossley followed Wood, but he also spoke of improvement of the political system. Edwards criticised the Whig/Liberal politics, and also accepted free trade, although he declined to set free trade as the principle policy of the government. Jones declared support for universal suffrage, and pointed out the problem for 'the reality of untrammelled competition in home and foreign market'.¹⁷⁴ He also insisted on socialistic policies such as the necessity of land nationalisation, and common economic interests for labouring and the lower middle classes such as shopkeepers.

Table 4.15 Result of the Halifax Borough Election in 1852¹⁷⁵

	Number
Wood (Whig/Liberal)	597
Crossley (Whig/Liberal)	573
Edwards (Tory)	519
Jones (Chartists)	38

¹⁷² *HG* 26 June 1852; *Notes to the People*, vol.2, pp. 793-806; John Saville, *Ernest Jones: Chartist: Selections from the Writings and Speeches of Ernest Jones with Introduction and Notes* (1952), pp. 50-51, 146-148.

¹⁷³ *HG* 3 July 1852.

¹⁷⁴ Tiller, 'Chartism', pp. 323-324.

Table 4.16 Voter Behaviour in the 1852 Election

	Number	%
Wood and Crossley	503	43.2%
Wood plumper	26	2.2%
Crossley plumper	20	1.7%
Split Wood and Edwards	67	5.8%
Split Wood and Jones	1	0.1%
Split Crossley and Edwards	32	2.7%
Split Crossley and Jones	18	1.5%
Edwards plumper	405	34.8%
Split Edwards and Jones	15	1.3%
Jones plumper	4	0.3%
Did not vote	74	6.4%
<i>Total</i>	1165	

Jones and Edwards received the most at the showing of hands, while Wood was fewer than Crossley.¹⁷⁶ But, as Benjamin Wilson predicted, the principal Chartists in Halifax expected the definitive defeat of Jones.¹⁷⁷ Indeed, the Whig/Liberal won two seats in the 1852 election, while the Tory failed to save the seat, and Jones was defeated (Table 4.15). The Whig/Liberal-Radical alliance in the 1852 election got the support from the voters who previously supported Radical and Chartist candidates, plumpers for Radical and Chartist, splitters for Whig/Liberal and Radical or Chartist in the 1847 election. On the other hand, half of voters for Whig/Liberal and Tory candidates, and splitters for Tory and Radical or Chartist shifted to Tory plumpers in 1852.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁵ Table 4.15 and 4.16 made from the Halifax database.

¹⁷⁶ *HG* 3 July 1852.

¹⁷⁷ Wilson, *Struggles*, p. 20.

¹⁷⁸ For detail information about this, see Appendix 4.

Figure 4.16 Voting and Occupational Status (Per cent voting Whig/Liberal and Tory), 1852¹⁷⁹

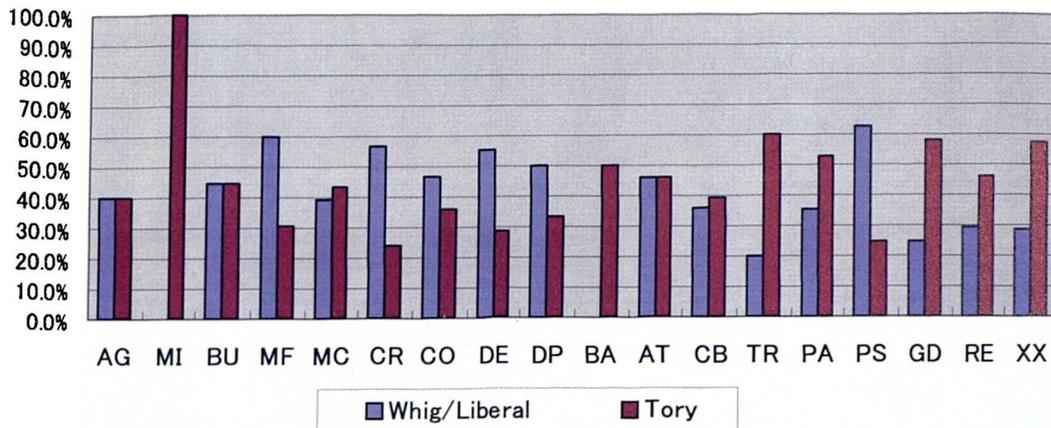
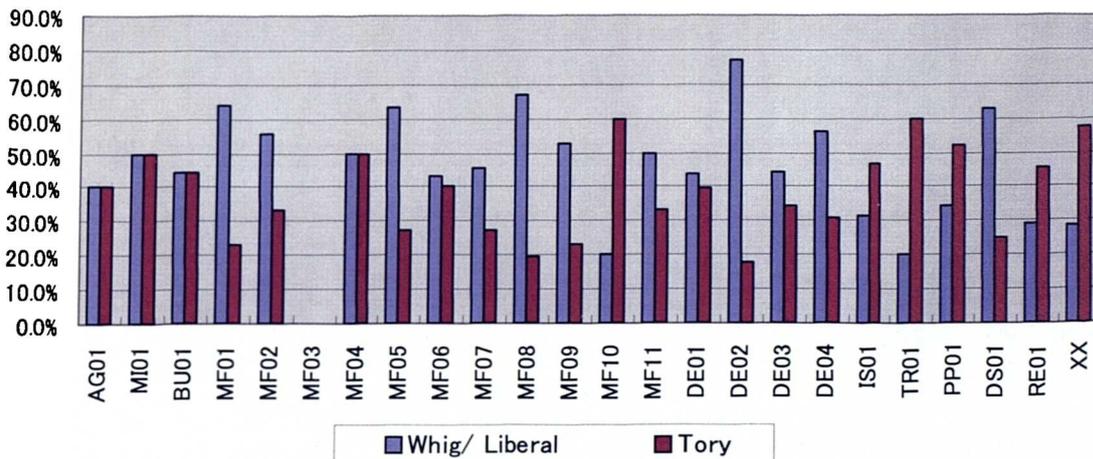


Figure 4.17 Voting and Industrial Interest (Per cent voting Whig/Liberal and Tory), 1852



In the 1852 election, political preference of specific occupational groups clearly appeared. The Whig/Liberal candidates were supported by principal occupational groups of the Halifax Borough voters: manufacturer, craft, commerce, dealing, and distribution and processing, though other groups such as commerce, professionals, and rentier group as well agent and traveller, clerk and bookkeeper, building, and transport groups were divided between Whig/Liberal and Tory (Figure 4.16).¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹ Figure 4.16 and 4.17 made from the Halifax database. Appendix 6 includes tables which these figures based on.

¹⁸⁰ Like the data in the 1847 election, many voters having no trade would be rentier group.

Although voters for Jones were from small manufacturers, dealers, grocers, and innkeepers in the 1852 election, neither majority of wealthy occupational status groups nor many from lesser groups supported Jones's social programmes against the Whig/Liberal programme.¹⁸¹ Specific industrial groups also supported the two Whig/Liberal candidates in the 1852 election (Figure 4.17). Many voters engaged in manufacturing and dealing sectors were strong supporters for the Whig/Liberal. In this way, undoubtedly, the economic policy, 'free trade', and the attitudes towards social improvements promised by two Whig/Liberal candidates influenced the voting pattern.

Although Benjamin Wilson observed bribery through 'bottling' and intimidation by major political parties such as Whig/Liberal in the 1852 Halifax Borough election,¹⁸² there were other principal reasons for the defeat of Chartists and Tory. First, a majority of the middle class voters supported Whig/Liberals' policies such as free trade and social improvements, and did not support Tory and Chartist candidates' reluctance for free trade. Second, the middle class voters rejected Jones's appeal such as the tyranny of capital fostering antagonistic class relationships and the collectivism within the labouring people and lower middle classes. The middle classes had their confidence in liberalism that represented liberty of politics and religion, and morality of free trade by the 1852 election. Such confidence fostered an idea of a harmonic relationship between classes. At the hustings in July 1852, Francis Crossley declared the necessity of the partnership between the working classes and the middle classes.

I have to do something with working men; I have met them daily and conversed with them, talked with them, done business with them, had arrangements to make with them. I have also had to do with the middle class, and I stand here to tell you that I have found as much fair dealing, as much honesty, as much integrity, amongst the working classes of my country, as I have found in higher grades in which I have mixed.¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ From the Halifax database. See also Wilson, *Struggles*, pp. 19-20.

¹⁸² Wilson, *Struggles*, pp. 19-20. See also *HG* 10 July 1852.

¹⁸³ *HG* 10 July 1852.

This rhetoric represented the attempt of the middle classes to overcome antagonistic relationships between voters and non-voters, and between the middle classes and radical political groups such as Chartism. Popular radicals such as Chartists in Halifax were very active to advance their political platform in the 1852 election. However, they could not influence the voting. Benjamin Wilson clearly described that.¹⁸⁴

Working men were of very little use in canvassing, as this was often done by some of the leading gentlemen in the town; small trades men were canvassed by their largest customers, and in many instances great pressure was brought to bear upon them.

The middle classes were significantly influenced by the ascendancy of the Whig/Liberal and Radical partnership in the 1852 Halifax election. When Charles Wood accepted government office after the 1852 election, the by-election opened. Although the Tory candidate, Henry Edwards, challenged Wood again, Wood won Edwards in this election.¹⁸⁵ After that, *the Halifax Courier*, a Liberal-Radical newspaper, supported by the Crossleys in 1853, celebrated ‘the perfect unity of the whole Liberal party in Halifax’ at the Liberal Festival in February of that year. This festival clearly demonstrated ascendancy of liberalism in order to legitimise freedom of religion and politics, and to construct the harmonious relationship between the middle classes and the working classes in the 1850s, as some studies points out.¹⁸⁶ Edward Akroyd, the chairman of the Liberal Festival in 1852, declared that ‘we are all united together like an arch; our interests are identical, and no class ought, or will upraise its interests at the expense of another’.¹⁸⁷ He continued and said, ‘I look with no jealousy upon the non-electors. I know the working men of this country well, and nobody is more anxious than myself to add to the middle class the most independent of that working class’.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁴ Wilson, *Struggles*, p. 20.

¹⁸⁵ Wilson, *Struggles*, pp. 20-21.

¹⁸⁶ Miles Taylor, *The Decline of British Radicalism, 1847-1860* (Oxford, 1995), esp. chap. 1, 2 and 5; Margot C. Finn, *After Chartism: Class and Nation in English Radical Politics, 1848-1874* (Cambridge, 1993), chap. 4.

¹⁸⁷ *HC* 5 Feb. 1853.

¹⁸⁸ *HG* 5 Feb. 1853.

Under the ascendancy of liberalism, as Patrick Joyce describes,¹⁸⁹ class division was often denied in Halifax in the 1850s. One article entitled as ‘Who are the enemies of the Chartists?’ in *the Halifax Courier* in July 1853, criticised the class antagonism and communist theory of Ernest Jones:¹⁹⁰

Mr Jones stated that the Charter itself “would be of no avail if its adoption was not followed by the annihilation of classes”. He divided society into three great classes, the landlords, the manufacturers, and the working people, (as if a manufacturer did not work), and these classes were antagonistic to each other. ... We have said enough to show that those advocates of the Charter, who seek only for themselves that liberty which they are desirous should be possessed by others, should take sure means of showing that they repudiate the communist and destructive theories of Messrs. Jones and Gammage.

In the early 1850s, it was important for the middle classes in Halifax to express political stability by emphasising the harmonic relationship between the middle and working classes. This middle classes’ political ideology, as David Cannadine points out, showed that ‘class’ became important to represent hierarchy in Halifax in the 1850s.¹⁹¹

5. Summary

This chapter analysed the practices and ideologies for the middle classes, and the institutional matrix in the political sphere in Halifax from the later 1820s to the early 1850s by focussing on the Halifax Borough elections from 1832 and major political movements in Halifax. The Halifax Borough elections were one of the central spaces for the political sphere during that period. Three major political parties, Tory, Whig/Liberal and Radical, constructed their own organisations and networks for their activities in Halifax in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. They also tried to

¹⁸⁹ Patrick Joyce, *Visions of the People: Industrial England and the Question of Class 1848-1914* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 54, 62, 64.

¹⁹⁰ *HC* 23 July 1853.

¹⁹¹ David Cannadine, *Class in Britain* (New Haven, 1998), chap. 3; Clark, *Struggle*, p. 269.

retain their political presence in the Halifax Borough elections. Tory and Whig/Liberal elite in Halifax generally confronted each other, and organised their own political alliances except for the 1847 election. Radicals in Halifax appealed their aims to the middle classes including voters and the labouring people from non-voters in the Halifax Borough elections as well as in popular political movements, though tension in the relationship between the middle class radicals and popular radicals from the labouring people gradually developed within Radicals. For example, the middle class radicals initiated the Parliamentary Reform movement before the 1832 Reform Act, and the Anti-Corn Law Campaign by organising HACLA together with Whig/Liberal supporters from the end of the 1830s to the mid of the 1840s. Radical campaigns and the political alliance between Radical and Whig/Liberal critically affected the results of the Halifax Borough elections from 1832 to 1852. Thus, those political parties provided the significant opportunities to relate local political activities of the labouring people including non-voters with the middle classes. The political practices through parties and major political movements vigorously fostered political awareness for the middle and lower classes in the political associations. The Halifax Borough elections from 1832 were not confined to a small political world by the authorised male voters, but extended to the dynamic space where political aims for the middle and other classes were actively disputed and propagandised.

Thus, the political activities by the political organisations in Halifax seriously influenced practices, relationships, and identities not only for the middle classes but also for other classes such as the labouring classes. During that period, class division and the antagonistic relationship between the middle and labouring classes had been recognised by themselves. For instance, at ‘non-voters’ meetings in the Halifax Borough elections from 1835 to 1847, their opinions had often contrasted with the middle classes’. The HACLA from 1839 to 1846 clearly exemplified the middle classes’ aims, which developed national economy, militancy against the landed aristocracy, and leadership

over the labouring classes.¹⁹² Chartism, mainly supported from the labouring classes, had often attacked this middle classes' project such as HACLA, and demanded radical political reforms such as 'universal suffrage' both to the middle classes and the landed aristocracy. Thomas Latimer, who was invited to be an editor of the Liberal–Radical *Halifax Courier* by John Crossley, witnessed this class division of Halifax in 1853.

I found the people at that time divided into two classes, and a bitterness of spirit dividing the capitalist and the workman, which was very painful to witness – the separation was so sharply defined. I said I would rather be hanged in Devon than die a natural death up there.¹⁹³

Nevertheless, political ideologies and strategies of the political parties in Halifax had often affected inter-class relationships between the middle classes and the labouring classes. In the Halifax Borough elections in 1847 and 1852, popular radicals such as Chartists and the middle class radicals reflected the typical case. In the 1847 election, the middle class radicals from Radical dissenters, supporting 'voluntarism', rejected the partnership with Whig/Liberal or Tory candidates. On the other hand, Chartists in Halifax, whose principal aim was 'universal suffrage', also demanded the political partnership with other parties in order to win the 1847 election. Thus, Radical dissenter and Chartist candidates accepted the political aims of each other. Through this political partnership between Radical dissenters and Chartists, in the 1847 election, they could hold significant political influence for electors. On the other hand, in the 1852 Halifax Borough election, liberalism representing moral of free trade, and harmonised relationship between classes strongly influenced the middle classes including Radical dissenters. Chartists did not agree with liberalism of the middle classes and the aim of the harmonised relationship between classes. They emphasised antagonistic relationships between the middle classes and labouring classes through a view of tyranny of capital by the wealthy classes. As a result, in the 1852 election, Chartists failed to make

¹⁹² Annual reports, 1840-1846 in CDA, HAS/B: 11/1.

¹⁹³ Quoted in F.R. Spark, *Memoirs of My Life* (1913), pp. 88-89.

the political partnership with the middle class radicals, and could not get support from almost any middle class voters. Whig/Liberal together with the middle class radicals got two seats through expression of social development sustained by economic, political, and religious liberty, as a liberalism, and harmonic relationships between classes.

Through this research for the Halifax Borough elections from 1832 to 1852 and the major political movements in Halifax, this research emphasises an alternative view against one established work for the middle classes in local politics of the provincial towns. One study for the Leeds middle class, by close analysis of the two Borough elections in 1832 and 1834, created a critical scope for the serious political division of the middle class, which was one of the origins to fracture social order in this town and the middle class consciousness.¹⁹⁴ However, just as Brian Lewis found in his study of the local politics of Lancashire towns,¹⁹⁵ in Halifax in the second quarter of the nineteenth century the middle classes formulated their own political organisations in order to pursue their various political aims. Active political parties, political partnerships constructed by those parties, powerful popular political movements usually launched by non-voters, and political ideologies infiltrated the middle classes and other classes were all the essential mechanism for the middle classes to arrange the divided political aims for themselves. Without this political institutional matrix, the dynamic space in local politics in Halifax would not have been functioned in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

The middle-class world in Halifax in the second quarter of the nineteenth century was not confined to that local political sphere. The middle classes also concerned governance of the public institutions in Halifax during that time. Those institutions were the spaces where the middle

¹⁹⁴ Morris, *Class, Sect and Party*.

¹⁹⁵ Brian Lewis, “‘A Republic of Quakers’: the Radical Bourgeoisie, the State and Stability in Lancashire, 1789-1851”, in A. Kidd and D. Nicholls (eds.), *The Making of the British Middle Class?* (Stroud, 1998), pp. 90-91.

classes not only enjoyed their collective cultural and social programmes, but also regulated the social order. However, the political matrix in Halifax, as this chapter revealed, seriously influenced governance of the public institutions in Halifax in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Chapter 5 will investigate characteristics for governance of those institutions.

Appendix 4 Tables of the Halifax Borough Elections, 1832-1852

Table A4.1 Major Categories of Voting Behaviour in the 1832 Election

	Number	%
Whig/Liberal	159	29.9%
Tory	80	15.1%
Radical	59	11.1%
Split	194	36.5%
Did not vote	39	7.3%
<i>Total</i>	531	

Table A4.2 Major Categories of Voting Behaviour in the 1835 Election

	Number	%
Whig/Liberal	293	45.3%
Tory	233	36.0%
Split	75	11.6%
Did not vote	46	7.1%
<i>Total</i>	647	

Table A4.3 Major Categories of Voting Behaviour in the 1837 Election

	Number	%
Whig/Liberal	485	56.1%
Tory	279	32.3%
Split	29	3.4%
Did not vote	72	8.3%
<i>Total</i>	865	

Table A4.4 Major Categories of Voting Behaviour in the 1841 Election

	Number	%
Whig/Liberal	384	49.6%
Tory	281	36.3%
Split	39	5.0%
Did not vote	70	9.0%
<i>Total</i>	774	

Table A4.5 Major Categories of Voting Behaviour in the 1847 Election

	Number	%
Whig/Liberal	60	6.1%
Tory	105	10.7%
Whig/Liberal and Tory	371	37.9%
Radical	27	2.8%
Chartist	2	0.2%
Radical and Chartist	246	25.1%
Split	109	11.1%
Did not vote	59	6.0%
<i>Total</i>	979	

Table A4.6 Major Categories of Voting Behaviour in the 1852 Election

	Number	%
Whig/Liberal	549	47.1%
Tory	405	34.8%
Chartist	4	0.3%
Split	133	11.4%
Did not vote	74	6.4%
<i>Total</i>	1165	

Table A4.7 Changes in Voting Behaviour between 1832 and 1835¹⁹⁶

1832	Whig/ Liberal		Tory		Radical		Split_Whig/ Liberal_Tory	
1835_Whig/Liberal	100	82.6%	0	0.0%	31	73.8%	4	6.9%
1835_Tory	5	4.1%	65	90.3%	6	14.3%	35	60.3%
1835_Split_Whig/ Liberal_Tory	10	8.3%	4	5.6%	1	2.4%	15	25.9%
1835_Did not vote	6	5.0%	3	4.2%	4	9.5%	4	6.9%
<i>1835_Total</i>	121		72		42		58	

1832	Split_Whig/ Liberal_Radical		Split_Tory_ Radical		Did not vote	
1835_Whig/Liberal	58	69.9%	1	4.5%	6	24.0%
1835_Tory	9	10.8%	17	77.3%	11	44.0%
1835_Split_Whig/ Liberal_Tory	11	13.3%	3	13.6%	6	24.0%
1835_Did not vote	4	4.8%	0	0.0%	2	8.0%
<i>Total</i>	82		21		25	

¹⁹⁶ This table made from the poll book in 1832 related to the poll book in 1835. 1835_Whig/Liberal includes plumper for Whig/Liberal or Radical candidate as well as voter to elect

Table A4.8 Changes in Voting Behaviour between 1835 and 1837¹⁹⁷

	Whig/Liberal		Tory		Split_Whig/ Liberal_Tory		Did not vote	
1837_Whig/Liberal	227	89.0%	6	3.2%	21	32.3%	10	35.7%
1837_Tory	0	0.0%	146	77.7%	21	32.3%	5	17.9%
1837_Split_Whig/ Liberal_Tory	1	0.4%	8	4.3%	11	16.9%	1	3.6%
1837_Did not vote	27	10.6%	28	14.9%	12	18.5%	12	42.9%
<i>Total</i>	255		188		65		28	

Table A4.9 Changes in Voting Behaviour between 1837 and 1841¹⁹⁸

1837	Whig/ Liberal		Tory		Split_Whig/ Liberal_Tory		Did not vote	
1841_Whig/Liberal	257	82.1%	2	1.2%	4	23.5%	25	48.1%
1841_Tory	11	3.5%	153	94.4%	8	47.1%	16	30.8%
1841_Split_Whig/ Liberal_Tory	10	3.2%	4	2.5%	4	23.5%	1	1.9%
1841_Did not vote	35	11.2%	3	1.9%	1	5.9%	10	19.2%
<i>Total</i>	313		162		17		52	

Table A4.10 Changes in Voting Behaviour between 1841 and 1847¹⁹⁹

1841	Whig/ Liberal		Tory		Split_Whig/ Liberal_Tory		Did not vote	
1847_Whig/Liberal	42	15.7%	2	1.2%	1	4.0%	2	4.8%
1847_Tory	2	0.7%	47	28.8%	2	8.0%	0	0.0%
1847_Whig/Liberal_Tory	68	25.4%	98	60.1%	9	36.0%	16	38.1%
1847_Split_Whig/ Liberal_Radical	28	10.4%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	7.1%
1847_Split_Whig/ Liberal_Chartist	9	3.4%	0	0.0%	1	4.0%	1	2.4%
1847_Split_Tory_Radical	0	0.0%	6	3.7%	3	12.0%	0	0.0%
1847_Split_Tory_Chartist	0	0.0%	3	1.8%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
1847_Radical	16	6.0%	0	0.0%	1	4.0%	2	4.8%
1847_Chartist	1	0.4%	0	0.0%	1	4.0%	0	0.0%
1847_Radical_Chartist	85	31.7%	3	1.8%	2	8.0%	11	26.2%
1847_Did not vote	17	6.3%	4	2.5%	5	20.0%	7	16.7%
<i>Total</i>	268		163		25		42	

Whig/Liberal and Radical.

¹⁹⁷ This table made from the poll book in 1835 related to the poll book in 1837. Whig/Liberal in this table include plumper for Whig/Liberal or Radical candidate as well as voter to elect Whig/Liberal and Radical.

¹⁹⁸ This table made from the poll book in 1837 related to the poll book in 1841. Whig/Liberal in this table include plumper for Whig/Liberal or Radical candidate as well as voter to elect Whig/Liberal and Radical.

¹⁹⁹ This table made from the poll book in 1841 related to the poll book in 1847. Whig/Liberal in 1841 include plumper for Whig/Liberal or Radical candidate as well as voter to elect Whig/Liberal and Radical.

Table A4.11 Changes in Voting Behaviour between 1847 and 1852²⁰⁰

1847	Whig/ Liberal		Tory		Whig/ Liberal_Tory		Split_Whig/ Liberal_Radical		Split_Whig/ Liberal_Chartist	
1852_Whig/ Liberal	37	82.2%	1	1.4%	71	28.0%	36	83.7%	11	100.0%
1852_Tory	1	2.2%	68	93.2%	135	53.1%	1	2.3%	0	0.0%
1852_Chartist	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
1852_Split_Whig/ Liberal_Tory	4	8.9%	0	0.0%	33	13.0%	2	4.7%	0	0.0%
1852_Split_Whig/ Liberal_Chartist	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	2.3%	0	0.0%
1852_Split_Tory_ Chartist	0	0.0%	1	1.4%	2	0.8%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
1852_Did not vote	3	6.7%	3	4.1%	13	5.1%	3	7.0%	0	0.0%
<i>Total</i>	45		73		254		43		11	

1847	Split_Tory_ Radical		Split_Tory_ Chartist		Radical		Chartist		Radical_ Chartist		Did not vote	
1852_Whig/Liberal	3	27.3%	1	10.0%	21	95.5%	2	100.0%	134	81.7%	20	55.6%
1852_Tory	6	54.5%	5	50.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	1.8%	7	19.4%
1852_Chartist	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	1.2%	0	0.0%
1852_Split_Whig /Liberal_Tory	1	9.1%	2	20.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	3.0%	2	5.6%
1852_Split_Whig/ Liberal_Chartist	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	6	3.7%	0	0.0%
1852_Split_ Tory_Chartist	1	9.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	7	4.3%	0	0.0%
1852_Did not vote	0	0.0%	1	10.0%	1	4.5%	0	0.0%	6	3.7%	7	19.4%
<i>Total</i>	11		9		22		2		163		36	

²⁰⁰ This table made from the poll book in 1847 related to the poll book in 1852.

Appendix 5 Tables of Occupational or Industrial Structure of Voters in Halifax, 1832-1852²⁰¹

Table A 5.1 Occupational Structure of Voters in 1832 and 1835 and the Commercial Directory in 1830

Year	1830		1832		1835			
	Directory		Linkage_D1830		Poll book		Linkage_D1830	
AG	12	0.9%	1	0.3%	12	1.9%	2	0.5%
MI	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
BU	89	6.9%	24	6.2%	38	5.9%	28	6.9%
MF	104	8.1%	21	5.4%	40	6.2%	24	6.0%
MC	12	0.9%	5	1.3%	1	0.2%	3	0.7%
CR	417	32.4%	94	24.1%	159	24.6%	105	26.1%
CO	75	5.8%	22	5.6%	34	5.3%	27	6.7%
DE	92	7.2%	36	9.2%	65	10.0%	42	10.4%
DP	259	20.1%	113	29.0%	117	18.1%	88	21.8%
BA	6	0.5%	3	0.8%	4	0.6%	4	1.0%
AT	9	0.7%	4	1.0%	3	0.5%	1	0.2%
CB	14	1.1%	6	1.5%	25	3.9%	12	3.0%
TR	6	0.5%	2	0.5%	7	1.1%	2	0.5%
PA	94	7.3%	43	11.0%	57	8.8%	42	10.4%
PS	13	1.0%	2	0.5%	6	0.9%	2	0.5%
GD	20	1.6%	4	1.0%	3	0.5%	4	1.0%
RE	25	1.9%	7	1.8%	28	4.3%	17	4.2%
XX	39	3.0%	3	0.8%	48	7.4%	0	0.0%
<i>Total</i>	1286		390		647		403	

Directory (1830): the directory in 1830.

Linkage_D1830 (1832): record linkage between the poll book in 1832 and the commercial directory.

Matching up these data by this record linkage is 73.3 per cent of the poll book.

Poll book (1835): the poll book in 1835.

Linkage_D1830 (1835): record linkage between the poll book in 1835 and the commercial directory.

Matching up these data by this record linkage is 62.1 per cent of the poll book in 1835.

²⁰¹ See list of abbreviations of occupational classification, p. xv. All tables in Appendix 5 are derived from the Halifax database. In the tables of Appendix 5, the data set of commercial directories in 1830, 1837, 1845 only include male individuals in Halifax, Northowram and Southowram townships, and the data set in 1850 only includes male individuals in Halifax Municipal Borough.

Table A 5.2 Occupational Structure of Voters in 1837 and 1841 and the Commercial Directories in 1837 and 1845

Year	1837		1837		1841		1845			
	Directory		Poll book		Linkage_ D1837		Linkage_D1845	Directory		
AG	73	4.6%	23	2.7%	16	2.8%	12	2.0%	190	8.1%
MI	0	0.0%	3	0.3%	1	0.2%	0	0.0%	2	0.1%
BU	98	6.2%	49	5.7%	33	5.7%	30	5.1%	129	5.5%
MF	132	8.3%	53	6.1%	30	5.2%	39	6.6%	120	5.1%
MC	8	0.5%	1	0.1%	9	1.6%	33	5.6%	67	2.9%
CR	462	29.2%	253	29.2%	192	33.4%	140	23.7%	616	26.4%
CO	59	3.7%	44	5.1%	29	5.0%	22	3.7%	80	3.4%
DE	129	8.1%	77	8.9%	56	9.7%	61	10.3%	181	7.7%
DP	406	25.6%	140	16.2%	130	22.6%	121	20.5%	532	22.8%
BA	7	0.4%	4	0.5%	4	0.7%	2	0.3%	3	0.1%
AT	25	1.6%	4	0.5%	3	0.5%	12	2.0%	29	1.2%
CB	0	0.0%	23	2.7%	6	1.0%	11	1.9%	45	1.9%
TR	0	0.0%	12	1.4%	2	0.3%	6	1.0%	33	1.4%
PA	89	5.6%	50	5.8%	44	7.7%	53	9.0%	147	6.3%
PS	18	1.1%	11	1.3%	8	1.4%	7	1.2%	24	1.0%
GD	4	0.3%	3	0.3%	2	0.3%	6	1.0%	34	1.5%
RE	66	4.2%	43	5.0%	9	1.6%	0	0.0%	5	0.2%
XX	7	0.4%	72	8.3%	1	0.2%	35	5.9%	99	4.2%
<i>Total</i>	1583		865		575		590		2336	

Directory (1837): the directory in 1837.

Poll book (1837): the poll book in 1837.

Linkage_D1837 (1837): record linkage between the poll book in 1837 and the commercial directory in 1837. Matching up these data is 61.2 per cent of the poll book in 1837.

Linkage_D1845 (1841): record linkage between the poll book in 1841 and the commercial directory in 1845. Matching up these data is 68.9 per cent of the poll book in 1841.

Directory (1845): the directory in 1845.

Table A 5.3 Occupational Structure of Voters in 1847 and 1852 and the Commercial Directories in 1845 and 1850

Year	1845		1847		Linkage_D1845		1850		1852		Linkage_D1850	
	Directory		Poll book		Directory		Directory		Directory		Directory	
AG	190	8.1%	11	1.1%	10	1.2%	11	0.6%	5	0.6%		
MI	2	0.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	0.1%	1	0.1%		
BU	129	5.5%	39	4.0%	49	5.9%	111	6.0%	47	5.7%		
MF	120	5.1%	50	5.1%	59	7.2%	124	6.8%	55	6.6%		
MC	67	2.9%	1	0.1%	18	2.2%	39	2.1%	23	2.8%		
CR	616	26.4%	185	18.9%	205	24.9%	492	26.8%	202	24.3%		
CO	80	3.4%	23	2.3%	29	3.5%	56	3.1%	28	3.4%		
DE	181	7.7%	56	5.7%	82	10.0%	188	10.2%	76	9.2%		
DP	532	22.8%	167	17.1%	198	24.0%	435	23.7%	205	24.7%		
BA	3	0.1%	1	0.1%	2	0.2%	7	0.4%	4	0.5%		
AT	29	1.2%	7	0.7%	13	1.6%	38	2.1%	13	1.6%		
CB	45	1.9%	2	0.2%	22	2.7%	45	2.5%	28	3.4%		
TR	33	1.4%	1	0.1%	6	0.7%	18	1.0%	5	0.6%		
PA	147	6.3%	50	5.1%	70	8.5%	141	7.7%	87	10.5%		
PS	24	1.0%	10	1.0%	10	1.2%	27	1.5%	8	1.0%		
GD	34	1.5%	5	0.5%	8	1.0%	27	1.5%	12	1.4%		
RE	5	0.2%	12	1.2%	11	1.3%	50	2.7%	24	2.9%		
XX	99	4.2%	359	36.7%	32	3.9%	24	1.3%	7	0.8%		
<i>Total</i>	2336		979		824		1835		830			

Directory (1845): the directory in 1845.

Poll book (1850): the poll book in 1847.

Linkage_D1845 (1847): record linkage between poll book in 1847 and commercial directory in 1845. Matching up these data is 83.8 per cent of the poll book in 1847.

Directory (1850): the directory in 1850.

Linkage_D1850 (1852): record linkage between the poll book in 1852 and the commercial directory in 1850. Matching up these data is 71 per cent of the poll book in 1852.

Table A 5.4 Industrial Structure of Voters in 1832 and 1835 and the Commercial Directory in 1830²⁰²

Year	1830		1832		1835		1835	
	Directory		Linkage_D1830		Poll book		Linkage_D1830	
AG01	12	0.9%	1	0.3%	12	1.9%	2	0.5%
MI01	29	2.3%	1	0.3%	1	0.2%	0	0.0%
BU01	89	6.9%	24	6.2%	38	5.9%	28	6.9%
MF01	146	11.4%	33	8.5%	50	7.7%	36	8.9%
MF02	16	1.2%	4	1.0%	7	1.1%	7	1.7%
MF03	5	0.4%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
MF04	8	0.6%	4	1.0%	4	0.6%	4	1.0%
MF05	15	1.2%	9	2.3%	7	1.1%	5	1.2%
MF06	45	3.5%	19	4.9%	22	3.4%	15	3.7%
MF07	6	0.5%	2	0.5%	6	0.9%	4	1.0%
MF08	131	10.2%	31	7.9%	49	7.6%	31	7.7%
MF09	143	11.1%	13	3.3%	34	5.3%	22	5.5%
MF10	17	1.3%	5	1.3%	10	1.5%	8	2.0%
MF11	4	0.3%	0	0.0%	13	2.0%	0	0.0%
DE01	67	5.2%	29	7.4%	49	7.6%	36	8.9%
DE02	59	4.6%	28	7.2%	27	4.2%	25	6.2%
DE03	181	14.1%	80	20.5%	94	14.5%	69	17.1%
DE04	96	7.5%	36	9.2%	47	7.3%	28	6.9%
IS01	19	1.5%	8	2.1%	29	4.5%	15	3.7%
TR01	6	0.5%	2	0.5%	7	1.1%	2	0.5%
PP01	115	8.9%	49	12.6%	60	9.3%	47	11.7%
DS01	13	1.0%	2	0.5%	5	0.8%	2	0.5%
RE01	25	1.9%	7	1.8%	28	4.3%	17	4.2%
XX	39	3.0%	3	0.8%	48	7.4%	0	0.0%
<i>Total</i>	1286		390		647		403	

Directory (1830): the directory in 1830.

Linkage_D1830 (1832): record linkage between the poll book in 1832 and the commercial directory.

Matching up these data by this record linkage is 73.3 per cent of the poll book.

Poll book (1835): the poll book in 1835.

Linkage_D1830 (1835): record linkage between the poll book in 1835 and the commercial directory.

Matching up these data by this record linkage is 62.1 per cent of the poll book in 1835.

²⁰² For abbreviations of industrial classification, see pp. xiii-xiv.

Table A 5.5 Industrial Structure of Voters in 1837 and 1841 and the Commercial Directories in 1837 and 1845

Year	1837				1841				1845	
	Directory		Poll book		Linkage_D1837		Linkage_D1845		Directory	
AG01	73	4.6%	23	2.7%	16	2.8%	12	2.0%	190	8.1%
MI01	2	0.1%	5	0.6%	2	0.3%	3	0.5%	39	1.7%
BU01	98	6.2%	49	5.7%	33	5.7%	30	5.1%	129	5.5%
MF01	164	10.4%	87	10.1%	65	11.3%	52	8.8%	186	8.0%
MF02	19	1.2%	9	1.0%	9	1.6%	10	1.7%	22	0.9%
MF03	2	0.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	0.0%
MF04	5	0.3%	7	0.8%	7	1.2%	4	0.7%	9	0.4%
MF05	17	1.1%	10	1.2%	9	1.6%	9	1.5%	37	1.6%
MF06	61	3.9%	32	3.7%	32	5.6%	19	3.2%	74	3.2%
MF07	5	0.3%	9	1.0%	6	1.0%	10	1.7%	28	1.2%
MF08	131	8.3%	75	8.7%	35	6.1%	55	9.3%	171	7.3%
MF09	166	10.5%	55	6.4%	47	8.2%	36	6.1%	230	9.8%
MF10	24	1.5%	5	0.6%	5	0.9%	5	0.8%	21	0.9%
MF11	0	0.0%	18	2.1%	8	1.4%	4	0.7%	17	0.7%
DE01	77	4.9%	57	6.6%	41	7.1%	40	6.8%	102	4.4%
DE02	65	4.1%	29	3.4%	36	6.3%	39	6.6%	102	4.4%
DE03	352	22.2%	102	11.8%	103	17.9%	93	15.8%	369	15.8%
DE04	108	6.8%	74	8.6%	43	7.5%	44	7.5%	214	9.2%
IS01	30	1.9%	28	3.2%	12	2.1%	17	2.9%	44	1.9%
TR01	0	0.0%	12	1.4%	2	0.3%	6	1.0%	33	1.4%
PP01	93	5.9%	55	6.4%	47	8.2%	60	10.2%	190	8.1%
DS01	18	1.1%	9	1.0%	7	1.2%	7	1.2%	24	1.0%
RE01	66	4.2%	43	5.0%	9	1.6%	0	0.0%	5	0.2%
XX	7	0.4%	72	8.3%	1	0.2%	35	5.9%	99	4.2%
<i>Total</i>	1583		865		575		590		2336	

Directory (1837): the directory in 1837.

Poll book (1837): the poll book in 1837.

Linkage_D1837 (1837): record linkage between the poll book in 1837 and the commercial directory in 1837. Matching up these data is 61.2 per cent of the poll book in 1837.

Linkage_D1845 (1841): record linkage between the poll book in 1841 and the commercial directory in 1845. Matching up these data is 68.9 per cent of the poll book in 1841.

Directory (1845): the directory in 1845.

Table A 5.6 Industrial Structure of Voters in 1847 and 1852 and the Commercial Directories in 1845 and 1850

Year	1845		1847		Linkage_D1845		1850		1852	
	Directory		Poll book				Directory		Linkage_1850	
AG01	190	8.1%	11	1.1%	10	1.2%	11	0.6%	5	0.6%
MI01	39	1.7%	1	0.1%	2	0.2%	9	0.5%	2	0.2%
BU01	129	5.5%	39	4.0%	49	5.9%	111	6.0%	47	5.7%
MF01	186	8.0%	53	5.4%	71	8.6%	145	7.9%	61	7.3%
MF02	22	0.9%	11	1.1%	11	1.3%	18	1.0%	9	1.1%
MF03	1	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
MF04	9	0.4%	2	0.2%	2	0.2%	7	0.4%	2	0.2%
MF05	37	1.6%	15	1.5%	14	1.7%	24	1.3%	11	1.3%
MF06	74	3.2%	28	2.9%	31	3.8%	66	3.6%	37	4.5%
MF07	28	1.2%	10	1.0%	7	0.8%	20	1.1%	11	1.3%
MF08	171	7.3%	28	2.9%	74	9.0%	155	8.4%	66	8.0%
MF09	230	9.8%	47	4.8%	52	6.3%	186	10.1%	61	7.3%
MF10	21	0.9%	11	1.1%	10	1.2%	20	1.1%	10	1.2%
MF11	17	0.7%	31	3.2%	5	0.6%	18	1.0%	12	1.4%
DE01	102	4.4%	35	3.6%	54	6.6%	106	5.8%	48	5.8%
DE02	102	4.4%	36	3.7%	49	5.9%	73	4.0%	39	4.7%
DE03	369	15.8%	107	10.9%	134	16.3%	389	21.2%	166	20.0%
DE04	214	9.2%	71	7.3%	85	10.3%	127	6.9%	62	7.5%
IS01	44	1.9%	5	0.5%	25	3.0%	51	2.8%	32	3.9%
TR01	33	1.4%	1	0.1%	6	0.7%	19	1.0%	5	0.6%
PP01	190	8.1%	56	5.7%	80	9.7%	179	9.8%	105	12.7%
DS01	24	1.0%	10	1.0%	10	1.2%	27	1.5%	8	1.0%
RE01	5	0.2%	12	1.2%	11	1.3%	50	2.7%	24	2.9%
XX	99	4.2%	359	36.7%	32	3.9%	24	1.3%	7	0.8%
<i>Total</i>	2336		979		824		1835		830	

Directory (1845): the directory in 1845.

Poll book (1850): the poll book in 1847.

Linkage_D1845 (1847): record linkage between poll book in 1847 and commercial directory in 1845. Matching up these data is 83.8 per cent of the poll book in 1847.

Directory (1850): the directory in 1850.

Linkage_D1850 (1852): record linkage between the poll book in 1852 and the commercial directory in 1850. Matching up these data is 71 per cent of the poll book in 1852.

Appendix 6 Tables of Voting and Occupational Status or Industrial Interest in Halifax, 1832-1852²⁰³

Table A 6.1 Voting and Occupational Status, 1832²⁰⁴

	Whig/Liberal		Tory		Radical		Split		Did not vote		Total
AG	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	0.0%	0	0.0%	1
MI	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0
BU	8	33.3%	1	4.2%	3	12.5%	6	25.0%	6	25.0%	24
MF	11	52.4%	4	19.0%	1	4.8%	5	23.8%	0	0.0%	21
MC	3	60.0%	1	20.0%	0	0.0%	1	20.0%	0	0.0%	5
CR	25	26.6%	7	7.4%	19	20.2%	38	40.4%	5	5.3%	94
CO	4	18.2%	12	54.5%	0	0.0%	5	22.7%	1	4.5%	22
DE	11	30.6%	6	16.7%	3	8.3%	15	41.7%	1	2.8%	36
DP	39	34.5%	7	6.2%	12	10.6%	49	43.4%	6	5.3%	113
BA	2	66.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	33.3%	0	0.0%	3
AT	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	25.0%	2	50.0%	1	25.0%	4
CB	0	0.0%	2	33.3%	0	0.0%	2	33.3%	2	33.3%	6
TR	0	0.0%	1	50.0%	0	0.0%	1	50.0%	0	0.0%	2
PA	14	32.6%	10	23.3%	3	7.0%	13	30.2%	3	7.0%	43
PS	1	50.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	50.0%	0	0.0%	2
GD	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	25.0%	0	0.0%	3	75.0%	4
RE	1	14.3%	1	14.3%	1	14.3%	3	42.9%	1	14.3%	7
XX	1	33.3%	1	33.3%	1	33.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3
<i>Total</i>	120	30.8%	53	13.6%	45	11.5%	143	36.7%	29	7.4%	390

²⁰³ All tables in Appendix 6 are derived from the Halifax database. The percentage in the tables in Appendix 6 shows the per cent of the total number of voters in each occupational or industrial category.

Table A 6.2 Voting and Industrial Interest, 1832²⁰⁵

	Whig/Liberal		Tory		Radical		Split		Did not vote		Total
AG01	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%	0	0.0%	1
MI01	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%	0	0.0%	1
BU01	8	33.3%	1	4.2%	3	12.5%	6	25.0%	6	25.0%	24
MF01	10	30.3%	3	9.1%	5	15.2%	15	45.5%	0	0.0%	33
MF02	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	50.0%	2	50.0%	4
MF03	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0
MF04	0	0.0%	2	50.0%	2	50.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4
MF05	4	44.4%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	55.6%	0	0.0%	9
MF06	2	10.5%	1	5.3%	5	26.3%	9	47.4%	2	10.5%	19
MF07	0	0.0%	1	50.0%	0	0.0%	1	50.0%	0	0.0%	2
MF08	16	51.6%	3	9.7%	2	6.5%	9	29.0%	1	3.2%	31
MF09	4	30.8%	2	15.4%	5	38.5%	2	15.4%	0	0.0%	13
MF10	3	60.0%	0	0.0%	1	20.0%	1	20.0%	0	0.0%	5
MF11	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0
DE01	6	20.7%	6	20.7%	2	6.9%	13	44.8%	2	6.9%	29
DE02	9	32.1%	4	14.3%	3	10.7%	12	42.9%	0	0.0%	28
DE03	25	31.3%	9	11.3%	7	8.8%	34	42.5%	5	6.3%	80
DE04	14	38.9%	6	16.7%	4	11.1%	10	27.8%	2	5.6%	36
IS01	2	25.0%	2	25.0%	0	0.0%	3	37.5%	1	12.5%	8
TR01	0	0.0%	1	50.0%	0	0.0%	1	50.0%	0	0.0%	2
PP01	14	28.6%	10	20.4%	4	8.2%	14	28.6%	7	14.3%	49
DS01	1	50.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	50.0%	0	0.0%	2
RE01	1	14.3%	1	14.3%	1	14.3%	3	42.9%	1	14.3%	7
XX	1	33.3%	1	33.3%	1	33.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3
<i>Total</i>	120	30.8%	53	13.6%	45	11.5%	143	36.7%	29	7.4%	390

²⁰⁴ This table is derived from the poll book in 1832 related to the directory in 1830.

²⁰⁵ This table is derived from the poll book in 1832 related to the directory in 1830.

Table A 6.3 Voting and Occupational Status, 1835²⁰⁶

	Whig/Liberal		Tory		Split		Did not vote		Total
AG	0	0.0%	2	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2
MI	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0
BU	9	32.1%	8	28.6%	9	32.1%	2	7.1%	28
MF	15	62.5%	8	33.3%	1	4.2%	0	0.0%	24
MC	1	33.3%	1	33.3%	1	33.3%	0	0.0%	3
CR	58	55.2%	27	25.7%	16	15.2%	4	3.8%	105
CO	8	29.6%	18	66.7%	0	0.0%	1	3.7%	27
DE	23	54.8%	14	33.3%	4	9.5%	1	2.4%	42
DP	54	61.4%	24	27.3%	6	6.8%	4	4.5%	88
BA	3	75.0%	1	25.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4
AT	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%	0	0.0%	1
CB	2	16.7%	8	66.7%	1	8.3%	1	8.3%	12
TR	2	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2
PA	17	40.5%	20	47.6%	3	7.1%	2	4.8%	42
PS	1	50.0%	0	0.0%	1	50.0%	0	0.0%	2
GD	0	0.0%	1	25.0%	1	25.0%	2	50.0%	4
RE	7	41.2%	5	29.4%	3	17.6%	2	11.8%	17
XX	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0
<i>Total</i>	200	49.6%	137	34.0%	47	11.7%	19	4.7%	403

Table A 6.4 Voting and Industrial Interest, 1835²⁰⁷

	Whig/Liberal		Tory		Split		Did not vote		Total
AG01	0	0.0%	2	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2
MI01	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0
BU01	9	32.1%	8	28.6%	9	32.1%	2	7.1%	28
MF01	22	61.1%	12	33.3%	2	5.6%	0	0.0%	36
MF02	4	57.1%	2	28.6%	1	14.3%	0	0.0%	7
MF03	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0
MF04	3	75.0%	1	25.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4
MF05	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5
MF06	3	20.0%	7	46.7%	4	26.7%	1	6.7%	15
MF07	1	25.0%	2	50.0%	1	25.0%	0	0.0%	4
MF08	15	48.4%	7	22.6%	7	22.6%	2	6.5%	31
MF09	15	68.2%	3	13.6%	3	13.6%	1	4.5%	22
MF10	6	75.0%	2	25.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	8
MF11	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0
DE01	17	47.2%	15	41.7%	3	8.3%	1	2.8%	36
DE02	16	64.0%	7	28.0%	1	4.0%	1	4.0%	25
DE03	34	49.3%	27	39.1%	5	7.2%	3	4.3%	69
DE04	18	64.3%	7	25.0%	2	7.1%	1	3.6%	28
IS01	5	33.3%	8	53.3%	1	6.7%	1	6.7%	15
TR01	2	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2
PP01	17	36.2%	22	46.8%	4	8.5%	4	8.5%	47
DS01	1	50.0%	0	0.0%	1	50.0%	0	0.0%	2
RE01	7	41.2%	5	29.4%	3	17.6%	2	11.8%	17
XX	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0
<i>Total</i>	200	49.6%	137	34.0%	47	11.7%	19	4.7%	403

²⁰⁶ This table is derived from the poll book in 1835 related to the directory in 1830.

²⁰⁷ This table is derived from the poll book in 1835 related to the directory in 1830.

Table A 6.5 Voting and Occupational Status, 1837²⁰⁸

	Whig/Liberal		Tory		Split		Did not vote		Total
AG	4	25.0%	7	43.8%	1	6.3%	4	25.0%	16
MI	1	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1
BU	15	45.5%	12	36.4%	3	9.1%	3	9.1%	33
MF	21	70.0%	5	16.7%	0	0.0%	4	13.3%	30
MC	3	33.3%	3	33.3%	1	11.1%	2	22.2%	9
CR	124	64.6%	43	22.4%	10	5.2%	15	7.8%	192
CO	6	20.7%	16	55.2%	1	3.4%	6	20.7%	29
DE	37	66.1%	11	19.6%	0	0.0%	8	14.3%	56
DP	84	64.6%	30	23.1%	4	3.1%	12	9.2%	130
BA	0	0.0%	2	50.0%	0	0.0%	2	50.0%	4
AT	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	33.3%	2	66.7%	3
CB	2	33.3%	4	66.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	6
TR	1	50.0%	1	50.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2
PA	16	36.4%	19	43.2%	1	2.3%	8	18.2%	44
PS	5	62.5%	2	25.0%	0	0.0%	1	12.5%	8
GD	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	100.0%	2
RE	4	44.4%	5	55.6%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	9
XX	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%	1
<i>Total</i>	323	56.2%	160	27.8%	22	3.8%	70	12.2%	575

Table A 6.6 Voting and Industrial Interest, 1837²⁰⁹

	Whig/Liberal		Tory		Split		Did not vote		Total
AG01	4	25.0%	7	43.8%	1	6.3%	4	25.0%	16
MI01	2	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2
BU01	15	45.5%	12	36.4%	3	9.1%	3	9.1%	33
MF01	41	63.1%	13	20.0%	6	9.2%	5	7.7%	65
MF02	6	66.7%	2	22.2%	1	11.1%	0	0.0%	9
MF03	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0
MF04	3	42.9%	3	42.9%	0	0.0%	1	14.3%	7
MF05	7	77.8%	2	22.2%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	9
MF06	14	43.8%	12	37.5%	3	9.4%	3	9.4%	32
MF07	3	50.0%	3	50.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	6
MF08	28	80.0%	5	14.3%	0	0.0%	2	5.7%	35
MF09	33	70.2%	7	14.9%	0	0.0%	7	14.9%	47
MF10	2	40.0%	2	40.0%	0	0.0%	1	20.0%	5
MF11	8	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	8
DE01	24	58.5%	11	26.8%	0	0.0%	6	14.6%	41
DE02	23	63.9%	8	22.2%	1	2.8%	4	11.1%	36
DE03	57	55.3%	29	28.2%	4	3.9%	13	12.6%	103
DE04	24	55.8%	12	27.9%	2	4.7%	5	11.6%	43
IS01	2	16.7%	6	50.0%	0	0.0%	4	33.3%	12
TR01	1	50.0%	1	50.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2
PP01	16	34.0%	20	42.6%	1	2.1%	10	21.3%	47
DS01	5	71.4%	1	14.3%	0	0.0%	1	14.3%	7
RE01	4	44.4%	5	55.6%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	9
XX	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%	1
<i>Total</i>	322	56.0%	161	28.0%	22	3.8%	70	12.2%	575

²⁰⁸ This table is derived from the poll book in 1837 related to the directory in 1837.

²⁰⁹ This table is derived from the poll book in 1837 related to the directory in 1837.

Table A 6.7 Voting and Occupational Status, 1841²¹⁰

	Whig/Liberal		Tory		Split		Did not vote		Total
AG	4	33.3%	6	50.0%	1	8.3%	1	8.3%	12
MI	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0
BU	12	40.0%	15	50.0%	2	6.7%	1	3.3%	30
MF	28	71.8%	6	15.4%	2	5.1%	3	7.7%	39
MC	17	51.5%	14	42.4%	1	3.0%	1	3.0%	33
CR	77	55.0%	38	27.1%	9	6.4%	16	11.4%	140
CO	9	40.9%	12	54.5%	0	0.0%	1	4.5%	22
DE	37	60.7%	14	23.0%	3	4.9%	7	11.5%	61
DP	65	53.7%	46	38.0%	4	3.3%	6	5.0%	121
BA	1	50.0%	1	50.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2
AT	4	33.3%	5	41.7%	0	0.0%	3	25.0%	12
CB	3	27.3%	8	72.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	11
TR	1	16.7%	3	50.0%	2	33.3%	0	0.0%	6
PA	20	37.7%	25	47.2%	2	3.8%	6	11.3%	53
PS	4	57.1%	1	14.3%	1	14.3%	1	14.3%	7
GD	1	16.7%	3	50.0%	0	0.0%	2	33.3%	6
RE	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0
XX	14	40.0%	17	48.6%	2	5.7%	2	5.7%	35
<i>Total</i>	297	50.3%	214	36.3%	29	4.9%	50	8.5%	590

Table A 6.8 Voting and Industrial Interest, 1841²¹¹

	Whig/Liberal		Tory		Split		Did not vote		Total
AG01	4	33.3%	6	50.0%	1	8.3%	1	8.3%	12
MI01	0	0.0%	3	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3
BU01	12	40.0%	15	50.0%	2	6.7%	1	3.3%	30
MF01	34	65.4%	9	17.3%	3	5.8%	6	11.5%	52
MF02	7	70.0%	3	30.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	10
MF03	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0
MF04	2	50.0%	1	25.0%	0	0.0%	1	25.0%	4
MF05	7	77.8%	2	22.2%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	9
MF06	4	21.1%	9	47.4%	2	10.5%	4	21.1%	19
MF07	4	40.0%	6	60.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	10
MF08	41	74.5%	9	16.4%	3	5.5%	2	3.6%	55
MF09	17	47.2%	9	25.0%	4	11.1%	6	16.7%	36
MF10	2	40.0%	3	60.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5
MF11	2	50.0%	2	50.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4
DE01	24	60.0%	11	27.5%	0	0.0%	5	12.5%	40
DE02	23	59.0%	11	28.2%	2	5.1%	3	7.7%	39
DE03	47	50.5%	39	41.9%	3	3.2%	4	4.3%	93
DE04	22	50.0%	15	34.1%	2	4.5%	5	11.4%	44
IS01	5	29.4%	11	64.7%	0	0.0%	1	5.9%	17
TR01	1	16.7%	3	50.0%	2	33.3%	0	0.0%	6
PP01	21	35.0%	29	48.3%	2	3.3%	8	13.3%	60
DS01	4	57.1%	1	14.3%	1	14.3%	1	14.3%	7
RE01	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0
XX	14	40.0%	17	48.6%	2	5.7%	2	5.7%	35
<i>Total</i>	297	50.3%	214	36.3%	29	4.9%	50	8.5%	590

²¹⁰ This table is derived from the poll book in 1841 related to the directory in 1845.

²¹¹ This table is derived from the poll book in 1841 related to the directory in 1845.

Table A 6.9 Voting and Occupational Status, 1847²¹²

	Whig/Liberal		Tory		Whig/Liberal_Tory	
AG	0	0.0%	4	40.0%	4	40.0%
MI	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
BU	2	4.1%	6	12.2%	27	55.1%
MF	7	11.9%	3	5.1%	21	35.6%
MC	0	0.0%	1	5.6%	8	44.4%
CR	16	7.8%	12	5.9%	70	34.1%
CO	2	6.9%	2	6.9%	18	62.1%
DE	7	8.5%	4	4.9%	24	29.3%
DP	11	5.6%	20	10.1%	66	33.3%
BA	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	100.0%
AT	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	7	53.8%
CB	1	4.5%	5	22.7%	10	45.5%
TR	0	0.0%	1	16.7%	5	83.3%
PA	7	10.0%	16	22.9%	28	40.0%
PS	0	0.0%	1	10.0%	3	30.0%
GD	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	7	87.5%
RE	1	9.1%	2	18.2%	7	63.6%
XX	0	0.0%	7	21.9%	13	40.6%
<i>Total</i>	54	6.6%	84	10.2%	320	38.8%

	Radical		Chartist		Radical_Chartist		Split		Did not vote		Total
AG	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	10.0%	0	0.0%	1	10.0%	10
MI	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0
BU	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	10	20.4%	3	6.1%	1	2.0%	49
MF	6	10.2%	0	0.0%	11	18.6%	7	11.9%	4	6.8%	59
MC	1	5.6%	0	0.0%	3	16.7%	3	16.7%	2	11.1%	18
CR	6	2.9%	1	0.5%	62	30.2%	30	14.6%	8	3.9%	205
CO	1	3.4%	0	0.0%	5	17.2%	0	0.0%	1	3.4%	29
DE	3	3.7%	0	0.0%	24	29.3%	14	17.1%	6	7.3%	82
DP	3	1.5%	1	0.5%	67	33.8%	20	10.1%	10	5.1%	198
BA	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2
AT	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	23.1%	2	15.4%	1	7.7%	13
CB	1	4.5%	0	0.0%	1	4.5%	3	13.6%	1	4.5%	22
TR	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	6
PA	1	1.4%	0	0.0%	8	11.4%	5	7.1%	5	7.1%	70
PS	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	40.0%	2	20.0%	0	0.0%	10
GD	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	12.5%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	8
RE	1	9.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	11
XX	2	6.3%	0	0.0%	5	15.6%	2	6.3%	3	9.4%	32
<i>Total</i>	25	3.0%	2	0.2%	205	24.9%	91	11.0%	43	5.2%	824

²¹² This table is derived from the poll book in 1847 related to the directory in 1845.

Table A 6.10 Voting and Industrial Interest, 1847²¹³

	Whig/Liberal		Tory		Whig/Liberal_Tory	
AG01	0	0.0%	4	40.0%	4	40.0%
MI01	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	50.0%
BU01	2	4.1%	6	12.2%	27	55.1%
MF01	10	14.1%	3	4.2%	24	33.8%
MF02	3	27.3%	1	9.1%	3	27.3%
MF03	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
MF04	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	100.0%
MF05	1	7.1%	0	0.0%	4	28.6%
MF06	1	3.2%	3	9.7%	13	41.9%
MF07	0	0.0%	1	14.3%	3	42.9%
MF08	5	6.8%	2	2.7%	27	36.5%
MF09	2	3.8%	3	5.8%	14	26.9%
MF10	1	10.0%	2	20.0%	4	40.0%
MF11	0	0.0%	1	20.0%	1	20.0%
DE01	5	9.3%	2	3.7%	20	37.0%
DE02	0	0.0%	5	10.2%	12	24.5%
DE03	9	6.7%	14	10.4%	53	39.6%
DE04	6	7.1%	5	5.9%	30	35.3%
IS01	1	4.0%	4	16.0%	14	56.0%
TR01	0	0.0%	1	16.7%	5	83.3%
PP01	7	8.8%	17	21.3%	36	45.0%
DS01	0	0.0%	1	10.0%	3	30.0%
RE01	1	9.1%	2	18.2%	7	63.6%
XX	0	0.0%	7	21.9%	13	40.6%
<i>Total</i>	54	6.6%	84	10.2%	320	38.8%

Continued next page.

	Radical		Chartist		Radical_Chartist		Split		Did not vote		Total
AG01	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	10.0%	0	0.0%	1	10.0%	10
MI01	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	50.0%	2
BU01	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	10	20.4%	3	6.1%	1	2.0%	49
MF01	4	5.6%	0	0.0%	22	31.0%	7	9.9%	1	1.4%	71
MF02	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	9.1%	2	18.2%	1	9.1%	11
MF03	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0
MF04	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2
MF05	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	35.7%	3	21.4%	1	7.1%	14
MF06	2	6.5%	0	0.0%	6	19.4%	5	16.1%	1	3.2%	31
MF07	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	28.6%	1	14.3%	0	0.0%	7
MF08	6	8.1%	0	0.0%	15	20.3%	11	14.9%	8	10.8%	74
MF09	0	0.0%	1	1.9%	20	38.5%	10	19.2%	2	3.8%	52
MF10	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	30.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	10
MF11	1	20.0%	0	0.0%	2	40.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5
DE01	1	1.9%	0	0.0%	11	20.4%	10	18.5%	5	9.3%	54
DE02	2	4.1%	0	0.0%	19	38.8%	7	14.3%	4	8.2%	49
DE03	3	2.2%	1	0.7%	37	27.6%	12	9.0%	5	3.7%	134
DE04	1	1.2%	0	0.0%	31	36.5%	9	10.6%	3	3.5%	85
IS01	1	4.0%	0	0.0%	2	8.0%	2	8.0%	1	4.0%	25
TR01	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	6
PP01	1	1.3%	0	0.0%	9	11.3%	5	6.3%	5	6.3%	80
DS01	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	40.0%	2	20.0%	0	0.0%	10
RE01	1	9.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	11
XX	2	6.3%	0	0.0%	5	15.6%	2	6.3%	3	9.4%	32
<i>Total</i>	25	3.0%	2	0.2%	205	24.9%	91	11.0%	43	5.2%	824

²¹³ This table is derived from the poll book in 1847 related to the directory in 1845.

Table A 6.11 Voting and Occupational Status, 1852²¹⁴

	Whig/Liberal		Tory		Chartist		Split		Did not vote		Total
AG	2	40.0%	2	40.0%	0	0.0%	1	20.0%	0	0.0%	5
MI	0	0.0%	1	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1
BU	21	44.7%	21	44.7%	0	0.0%	3	6.4%	2	4.3%	47
MF	33	60.0%	17	30.9%	0	0.0%	2	3.6%	3	5.5%	55
MC	9	39.1%	10	43.5%	0	0.0%	1	4.3%	3	13.0%	23
CR	115	56.9%	49	24.3%	0	0.0%	28	13.9%	10	5.0%	202
CO	13	46.4%	10	35.7%	0	0.0%	4	14.3%	1	3.6%	28
DE	42	55.3%	22	28.9%	0	0.0%	7	9.2%	5	6.6%	76
DP	102	49.8%	68	33.2%	2	1.0%	26	12.7%	7	3.4%	205
BA	0	0.0%	2	50.0%	0	0.0%	2	50.0%	0	0.0%	4
AT	6	46.2%	6	46.2%	0	0.0%	1	7.7%	0	0.0%	13
CB	10	35.7%	11	39.3%	0	0.0%	2	7.1%	5	17.9%	28
TR	1	20.0%	3	60.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	20.0%	5
PA	31	35.6%	46	52.9%	0	0.0%	7	8.0%	3	3.4%	87
PS	5	62.5%	2	25.0%	0	0.0%	1	12.5%	0	0.0%	8
GD	3	25.0%	7	58.3%	0	0.0%	1	8.3%	1	8.3%	12
RE	7	29.2%	11	45.8%	0	0.0%	3	12.5%	3	12.5%	24
XX	2	28.6%	4	57.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	14.3%	7
<i>Total</i>	402	48.4%	292	35.2%	2	0.2%	89	10.7%	45	5.4%	830

Table A 6.12 Voting and Industrial Interest, 1852²¹⁵

	Whig/Liberal		Tory		Chartist		Split		Did not vote		Total
AG01	2	40.0%	2	40.0%	0	0.0%	1	20.0%	0	0.0%	5
MI01	1	50.0%	1	50.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2
BU01	21	44.7%	21	44.7%	0	0.0%	3	6.4%	2	4.3%	47
MF01	39	63.9%	14	23.0%	0	0.0%	6	9.8%	2	3.3%	61
MF02	5	55.6%	3	33.3%	0	0.0%	1	11.1%	0	0.0%	9
MF03	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0
MF04	1	50.0%	1	50.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2
MF05	7	63.6%	3	27.3%	0	0.0%	1	9.1%	0	0.0%	11
MF06	16	43.2%	15	40.5%	0	0.0%	4	10.8%	2	5.4%	37
MF07	5	45.5%	3	27.3%	0	0.0%	1	9.1%	2	18.2%	11
MF08	44	66.7%	13	19.7%	0	0.0%	6	9.1%	3	4.5%	66
MF09	32	52.5%	14	23.0%	0	0.0%	10	16.4%	5	8.2%	61
MF10	2	20.0%	6	60.0%	0	0.0%	1	10.0%	1	10.0%	10
MF11	6	50.0%	4	33.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	16.7%	12
DE01	21	43.8%	19	39.6%	0	0.0%	3	6.3%	5	10.4%	48
DE02	30	76.9%	7	17.9%	0	0.0%	1	2.6%	1	2.6%	39
DE03	74	44.6%	57	34.3%	1	0.6%	29	17.5%	5	3.0%	166
DE04	35	56.5%	19	30.6%	1	1.6%	5	8.1%	2	3.2%	62
IS01	10	31.3%	15	46.9%	0	0.0%	4	12.5%	3	9.4%	32
TR01	1	20.0%	3	60.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	20.0%	5
PP01	36	34.3%	55	52.4%	0	0.0%	9	8.6%	5	4.8%	105
DS01	5	62.5%	2	25.0%	0	0.0%	1	12.5%	0	0.0%	8
RE01	7	29.2%	11	45.8%	0	0.0%	3	12.5%	3	12.5%	24
XX	2	28.6%	4	57.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	14.3%	7
<i>Total</i>	402	48.4%	292	35.2%	2	0.2%	88	10.6%	45	5.4%	830

²¹⁴ This table is derived from the poll book in 1852 related to the directory in 1850.

²¹⁵ This table is derived from the poll book in 1852 related to the directory in 1850.

Chapter 5 Public Institutions in Halifax, 1820-1850

Public life in Halifax from 1820 to 1850 entered a critical phase. First, some significant organisations were established during that period. The new administrative organisations such as the Halifax Borough Corporation were set up in 1848. Some new voluntary societies such as the Halifax Mechanics' Institutes and the Halifax Literary and Philosophical Society were also formed, while various voluntary societies proliferated. What these organisations commonly shared was that they had a close relationship with the middle classes in Halifax and with their public awareness. Secondly, as chapter 4 described, political awareness of middle and lower classes were developed in Halifax during that period due to the growth of activities in political parties, and this awareness influenced actors in public institutions in Halifax seriously. Thus, 'political issues' are one of the principal matters for the actors governed the local administrative bodies and voluntary societies. Thirdly, although various ideologies in local administrative bodies and voluntary societies had often emerged from the 1820s to the 1850s, some specific ideologies were shaped to synthesise diversified ideologies in public institutions by the early 1850s. All three matters were critical factors for governance of public institutions in Halifax from the 1820s to the 1850s. In this chapter, the first section investigates the social composition of public institutions in Halifax, and evaluates agency of these institutions by focussing on some organisations. The second section will examine the governance of public institutions by focussing on 'political issues' and ideologies formed in these institutions.

1. The Governance of Public Institutions: Structure and Agency

The local administrative bodies from the 1820s to the 1850s concentrated on policing social order and on the maintenance of social environment, by carrying out specific social policies such as improvement of urban environment and by collecting local rates. Before the establishment of the

Halifax Corporation in 1848, the Town Trustees were one of the central local administrative bodies in Halifax. The annual meetings or general meetings of this body were regularly and sufficiently flexible to deal with the various social problems of Halifax. These meetings were also important events at which the local administrative bodies confirmed their accounts. In Town Trustees, 'the regular fortnightly meetings of the whole body of the Trustees were replaced by quarterly meetings, and an executive committee, 'the General Committee', undertook the responsibility for the day-to-day affairs' after 1840.¹ As G.R. Dalby identifies 24 active members of Town Trustees in the 1840s,² these persons belonged to different committees of Town Trustees such as general, watch, and water. Additionally, specialised committees became more important by the 1840s. For instance, the Night Watch was appointed by the Watch Committee, one of the committees of Town Trustees, together with Constables and Deputy Constables in Halifax Township, which kept day and night order in this urban society.

The political right to join local administrative bodies in Halifax during that period was explicitly defined by the real property in Halifax and gender differences. The qualification for the membership of the Town Trustees, restricted by Improvement Act in 1823, was adult male (over 21 years old), inhabitant of the Halifax Township and owning (either in his own right or in the right of his wife) land or property in the township of the annual value of £40, or occupying property of the similar annual rental.³ This regulation for the membership required a higher amount of property than the franchise in the Halifax Borough by the Parliamentary Reform Act in 1832. But, the craft, and distribution and processing groups occupied the majority of the membership of the Town

¹ G.R. Dalby, 'The Halifax Town Trustees', *THAS* (1957), p. 97.

² These were 6 dealing, 4 commerce, 3 distribution and processing, craft and manufacturer, and one banking, building, professional (engaged in medicine) and rentier. Dalby, 'The Halifax Town Trustees', p.100 and idem, 'The Work of the Halifax Town Trustees from the Passing of the Improvement Act of 1823 to the Incorporation of the Borough in 1848', unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Leeds (1953), Appendix B.

³ Dalby, 'The Work of the Halifax Town Trustees', p. 53; 4 George IV, c.90. An Act for paving, lighting, cleaning, watching and improving the Township of Halifax, and for supplying the same with water (1823).

Trustees in the 1830s, while the professional, commerce, and dealing groups shared each 10 per cent in Town Trustee membership; but manufacturers were not the majority of Town Trustees in the 1830s.⁴ Women were excluded from membership of that local administrative body. While the Town Trustees did not even admit female proprietors into membership at all, the husband of a female proprietor passed the qualification for Town Trustees and was permitted to be a member. Similarly, women did not act as Churchwardens, Overseers of the Poor, Constables or members of the Board of Guardians in Halifax in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. However, despite those restrictions existed in those local administrative bodies, some women had enough property to become proprietors of pew rents in the Parish Church and in other chapels of Halifax, of shares of Halifax New Market, of shares in the Halifax Gas Company established in 1822, and of shares in the Calder and Hebble Navigation in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, the surviving deeds of the Halifax Joint Stock Banking Company in 1829 include at least four female shareholders in a total of 231, while those of the Halifax and Huddersfield Union Banking Company in 1836 include 10 female shareholders out of total of 404.⁵ Their evidence suggests that women were connected with some public organisations in Halifax as investors in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.⁶

After a short campaign in 1838 by the Liberal-Radical *Halifax and Huddersfield Express*, to establish a municipal borough in Halifax,⁷ the movement was vigorously revived in 1847. Unlike Bradford,⁸ this campaign was passionately supported not only by Whig/Liberals and Radicals, most notably, John and Francis Crossley, carpet manufacturer, and Edward Akroyd, worsted manufacturer,

⁴ From the Halifax database. Cf. The vestry in Halifax opened parish office holding to the lower middle classes with relatively less capital such as the craft, distribution and processing, and dealing groups.

⁵ From the Halifax database.

⁶ Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850* (1987), chap. 4.

⁷ *HHE*, 31 March 1838.

⁸ Theodore Koditschek, *Class Formation and Urban Industrial Society: Bradford, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 531-543.

but also by the Tories such as J.U. Walker, publisher of the Tory *Halifax Guardian*, though some Tories were concerned about whether local rates should be raised, accompanied with the establishment of this municipal borough corporation.⁹ As the article on the meeting to petition the Halifax Corporation showed,¹⁰ these leading supporters, which mainly consisted of the elite in Halifax, had also strong motivation to construct civic space for all parties and sects in public institutions. The resolution read by John Abbot clearly demonstrated that aim.

That it is desirable there should be an alteration in the existing local government of the town of Halifax, whereby its affairs may be conducted and managed by persons responsible to and under the control of the ratepayers. And that the populous parts of the parliamentary Borough of Halifax not coming under the authority, nor entitled to the benefit of the provisions of the existing act of parliament, imperatively call for the adoption of a more extended and efficient system of local government.

Moreover, civic pride motivated the middle classes to join the movement of incorporation of the Halifax Borough since 1847. At the meeting, John Abbot asserted 'when they found other towns obtaining a charter, and Huddersfield and Wakefield trying to do so, he knew well, from the public spirit of Halifax, that they would not be content till they had accomplished the object also'. At the same meeting, Edward Akroyd said that 'the manufacturing towns in West Riding had outgrown their institutions.' He continued his remarks as follows: 'when they considered the increase of population around them, it seemed as if Halifax had become something like a growing lad, thrusting his arms beyond his sleeves and his legs out at his trowsers bottoms, and putting out an arm at Haley Hill and a foot at Caddy Field'.¹¹

⁹ H.W. Harwood, *Centenary Story 1848-1948* (Halifax, 1948), pp. 9-10; J.J. Murloy (ed.), *Story of the Town that Bred US* (Halifax, 1947), pp. 16-19.

¹⁰ *HG* 8 May 1847.

¹¹ For this quotation, see also chap. 2, esp. p. 57.

Finally, the Halifax Municipal Borough Corporation was established in 1848 due to the significant support from the middle classes, and the power of the Town Trustees to manage the urban environment and public order was transferred to it. At least 28 out of 41 councillors, the aldermen and the mayor came from the Town Trustees.¹² The foundation of a Municipal Borough Corporation provided a new opportunity for the inhabitants to extend the sphere of their movement and their influence over local politics, as the local elite in Halifax appealed at the meeting for petition to Parliament in 1847. Consequently, the right to vote for councillors in this borough was extended to all male ratepayers, although, as in the case of Town Trustees, female ratepayers were still not eligible for the election of councillors or aldermen of the Halifax Municipal Borough Corporation in the mid-nineteenth century. The majority of councillors and aldermen of the municipal corporation in 1848 were supplied from the lower middle classes: 24 members came from this group. Although the upper middle classes such as manufacturer, commerce and rentier groups were only 16 members of this corporation, these groups shared more than half of the total number of aldermen.¹³ At this time, governance of the Halifax Corporation was principally in the hands of the male middle classes.

The councillors and aldermen turned their attention to social programmes for urban improvement and public order rather than political party struggles, though the corporation was initially influenced by request from popular political movements in 1848.¹⁴ Since its establishment in 1848, the municipal borough corporation tried to create many specialised committees. Finance and watch committees were newly formed soon after the election of councillors and aldermen. Additional committees - general purposes, water, improvement, health/sanitary, and board of works – were

¹² Dalby, 'The Halifax Town Trustees', p. 98.

¹³ From the Halifax database. It seems that during a decade after 1848 change of occupational structure for councillors and aldermen did not happen dramatically. According to the record linkage between the nominal list of councillors and aldermen from 1848 to 1870 and the 1850 directory, distribution and processing, craft, and dealing groups were dominant in the corporation, though some active aldermen and mayors were from manufacture, commerce, and rentier groups.

¹⁴ See section 2 in this chapter.

established by the end of the 1840s. Committees of markets and fairs, parks, town hall and cemetery were added to the lists of committees in the 1850s.¹⁵

The local rate was critical for the Halifax Municipal Borough Corporation in defining the political right of citizens as well as carrying out local administration. When the Halifax Borough Corporation was established, it soon initiated the levy of a local rate for its administrative works. At the outset, this corporation accidentally made an error in opening their annual meeting in the morning of 9 November 1848, several hours earlier than the officially announced time of noon.¹⁶ This mistaken time caused a controversy over the validity of the levy of the local rate. After an attack from *the Halifax Guardian*, the Corporation confirmed their power to levy the borough rate in January 1849. Moreover, although the vestry opposed the abandonment of the overseer's power to levy a local rate, it had lost power for their local rate by 1849, leaving the Corporation as the only administrative body having power to levy a Borough rate.¹⁷

In this way, the Corporation undertook reforms of social programmes, and consequently the Halifax borough was recognised as a central body of public institutions by the middle classes. One of the impressive cases is that some established voluntary societies in Halifax began to invite the officers of the Halifax borough corporation when they opened their ceremonies. The HMI and the Halifax Chess Club usually invited the mayor or the members of the Corporation to their annual, general meetings, or 'soiree' in order to raise their public profile.¹⁸ Through the mutual relationship over ceremonies between the corporation and other societies, public collective awareness in Halifax

¹⁵ The evidence from CDA, Halifax Borough Minutes, 1848-1849, HXM: 3; Halifax Borough Minutes, 1849, HXM: 4; Halifax Borough Minutes, 1849-1857, HXM: 5; Murloy, *Story*, pp. 20-28.

¹⁶ 'By statute Mayor's Day should begin at 12:00 noon'. Eric Webster, "'Cradled in Strife': the Incorporation of the Borough of Halifax, 1848", *THAS*, New ser., 7 (1999), pp. 114-115.

¹⁷ WAH, Halifax St John the Baptist Parish Church, Vestry Minute Book, 1816-1899, D53/6/1, 1849-1851.

¹⁸ CDA, Halifax Chess Club, Minute and Record Book, 1840-1853, MISC: 6/109/1; CDA, Halifax Mechanics' Institutes Minutes Book, 1847-1854, HMI: 2, 1849 and passim.

became more developed in the 1850s. Thus, by the early 1850s, the Halifax Borough Corporation not only became the central local body to improve urban environment and maintain social order in Halifax but also a critical civic space for the middle classes to intensify cooperative civic pride.

From the 1820s to the 1850s, specific voluntary societies in Halifax also met public demands on the middle classes. As chapter 2 outlined, there were various types of voluntary societies in Halifax during that period, which shared the critical roles of public institutions. This chapter mainly focuses on two types of organisations: social policy societies to subscribe for the improvement of urban conditions and for the relief of the poor or unemployed; and cultural and learned societies such as the Halifax Literary and Philosophical Society, and the Halifax Mechanics Institutes. These two types represented critical characteristics in structure and agency of public institutions of Halifax in this period. First, activities of these societies essentially sustained agency to maintain social living and social order well as to cultivate intellectual and educational environment in Halifax. Secondly, through activities in those societies, the principal actors, usually from the middle classes, constructed relationships between themselves and with other classes.

Certainly the working classes did not join the activities of voluntary societies except friendly societies in Halifax during that period. Friendly societies had an important role in sustaining public institutions through their function of mutual help between the members. Indeed, the growth in number of friendly societies in Britain in the first half of the nineteenth century¹⁹ depended rather on the growth of affiliated orders such as Oddfellows and Foresters than on local friendly societies such as the Loyal Georgian Society and the Cross Pipes Society²⁰ in Halifax. The number of the members, the occupational structure of the members and purposes for joining membership in

¹⁹ P.H.J.G. Gosden, *The Friendly Societies in England 1815-1875* (Manchester, 1961).

²⁰ By the mid-nineteenth century, the name, 'Cross Pipes Friendly Society' had changed to the 'Old Cock Friendly Society'. See section 1 in chapter 3.

friendly societies were varied in Halifax between the 1820s and the 1850s, when the societies in Halifax were divided into these for males and those for females. Some societies were less than 50 in membership, while others had more than 100 (Figure 5.1). The majority of the affiliated orders in Halifax were occupied by the craft and building group, who were mainly from the labouring classes.²¹ In contrast to this pattern, the Loyal Georgian Society,²² which required new subscribers to earn more than £40 per annum²³, was occupied not only by merchants, manufacturers and professional people but also by the craft group and the distribution and processing groups, who would be from the middle classes. This society had originally included some wealthy merchants and manufacturers, like the giant manufacturer, Jonathan Akroyd, his son, Edward Akroyd, and Francis Crossley, and wealthy merchants, John Waterhouse and his sons, John and Samuel Waterhouse. Thus, the Loyal Georgian Society had a unique character of a local friendly society as well as of the local club²⁴ used for dining and to demonstrate at patriotic events, where the local elite and the lower middle classes assembled for dinner and ceremony.

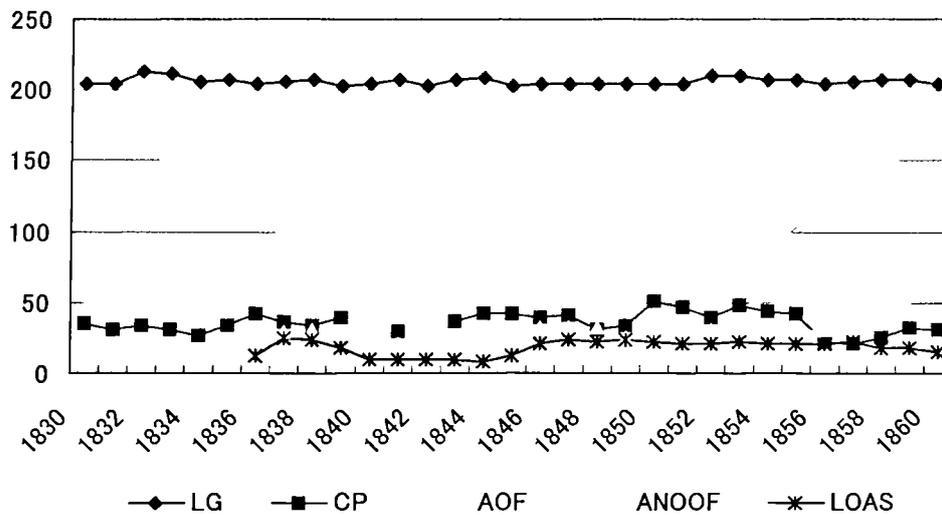
²¹ From the Halifax database.

²² Anon., 'The Loyal Georgians: an Ancient Halifax Society', in *The Halifax Guardian Historical Almanack, 1909* (Halifax, 1908).

²³ CDA, Rules and Regulations of the Loyal Georgian Society, 1793, LG: 22/1

²⁴ G. Kitson Clark, 'The Leeds Elite', *The University of Leeds Review*, 17 (1975); Alan P. White, 'Formation and Development of Middle-Class Urban Culture and Politics', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Leeds (1990).

Figure 5.1 Number of the members of the Friendly Societies in Halifax, 1830-1860²⁵



In addition to the case of the Loyal Georgian Society, other friendly societies also had an important role for the ritualistic ceremonies such as public processions in Halifax in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The friendly societies usually involved those ceremonies together with the Masonic Lodge in order to celebrate specific public societies. For example, at the ceremony to lay the foundation stone of the Halifax Infirmary in 1836, the beadle, the deputy constables, firemen, the architect, two masons, members of the Masonic Lodge, many friendly societies and philanthropic societies gathered in order to join the procession for this ceremony.²⁶ Like other provincial towns,²⁷ those ritualistic events were one of the highlights to demonstrate cooperation between

²⁵ This figure made from the Halifax database. LG: the Loyal Georgian Society; CP: the Cross Pipes Friendly Society; AOF: Ancient Order of Forresters, Court Three Marys, Halifax district; ANOOF: Ancient Order of Oddfellows (Bolton Unity), Halifax district; LOAS: Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds (Ashton Unity), Halifax.

²⁶ *HG* 24 Sep. 1836. The Masonic Lodge was never a secret and closed society in Halifax in the 1830s. The most important evidence is the commercial directory in 1830 which carried 'the Masonic Lodge' as one of the public institutions. The urban elite in Halifax joining the Masonic Lodge did not fear to disclose membership of the Masonic Lodge. For example, in local history of Halifax in 1836, Christopher Rawson, the first president of the Halifax Literary and Philosophical Society (HLPS), was described as 'the worthy mason' when the author explained his activities in the HLPS in the 1830s. John Crabtree, *A Concise History of the Parish and Vicarage of Halifax in the Country of York* (Halifax, 1836), p.353.

²⁷ Martin Gorsky, 'Mutual Aid and Civil Society: Friendly Societies in Nineteenth-century Bristol', *Urban History*, 25 (1998), pp. 310-322.

various voluntary societies and local administrative bodies in Halifax. Those activities in Halifax intensified the participants' cooperative public awareness for the middle as well as the labouring classes. So, friendly societies provided an opportunity for the labouring classes to join collective activities in public life in Halifax.

Nevertheless, voluntary societies depended on the fund for relief of the poor such as subscriptions or donations from the middle classes, and consequently the societies had a significant presence in public institutions in Halifax. These voluntary societies eagerly endeavoured to provide relief for a large number of the labouring poor and to stabilise social life through the support of the middle classes. The function of these voluntary societies was a critical agency both for welfare and maintenance of social order in Halifax, whereas the mutual benefit societies such as friendly societies did not have that function. Moreover, the labouring people often joined local friendly societies or the societies of affiliated orders in the first half of the nineteenth century, as R.J. Morris suggests, and did not enter the public voluntary societies, except the mutual and improvement societies as later discussed.²⁸ Their income constraint in terms of paying subscriptions made it difficult for the labouring people to join the cultural, educational, or social policy societies. The middle classes often subscribed to more than two different voluntary societies at the same time in the first half of the nineteenth century. The co-existence of various voluntary societies in Halifax was an essential factor for the middle classes to enjoy their collective actions as well as to regulate their actions and public awareness. Indeed, voluntary societies for social policy had always been active not only alone but also with other societies. For instance, cooperation between cultural and learned societies, and social policy societies had sometimes appeared in Halifax. In order to collect charity subscriptions for the Halifax General Dispensary, the music festival using the organ of the Halifax Parish Church was held in 1830 under the strong leadership of Christopher Rawson and

²⁸ R.J. Morris, 'Voluntary Societies and British Urban Elites 1780-1850: an Analysis', *Historical Journal*, 26 (1983), p. 96.

Vicar of Halifax Parish, Charles Musgrave.²⁹ Furthermore, the Halifax Mechanics Institutes, the Halifax Literary and Philosophical Society, and the Halifax General Infirmary (ex-Dispensary) tried jointly to open an exhibition in 1840. This exhibition ‘was conducted for the joint benefit of three societies’, and ‘the Committee of management consisted of thirty-six gentlemen, - twelve having been appointed by each of the three Institutions; and the labours of that Committee extended over a period of more than twelve months.’ *The Report of the Yorkshire Union of the Mechanics Institutes* in 1841 expressed their success of cooperation of three societies.³⁰

The Exhibition was far from proving a failure. The beneficial influence of the moral and intellectual improvement derived from the opening to the public, at a very moderate charge, of so extensive, so valuable, and so varied a collection of the works of nature and the productions of art, can not have been inconsiderable.

The economic power of the middle classes supported not only the activities of social policy societies for the relief of the poor but also various voluntary societies in Halifax. The increase in opportunities of subscription and donation for the middle classes along the development of voluntary societies widened the gap between the middle classes and the labouring people in public life.

²⁹ J.W. Houseman, ‘History of the Halifax Parish Church Organs’, *THAS* (1928), pp. 90-94.

³⁰ All quotation about the exhibition from *RYUMI* (1841), p. 19.

Figure 5.2 Number of Subscribers and Amount of Subscription to the Board of Health in Halifax (BHH) in 1831-2 (Per cent of Total)³¹

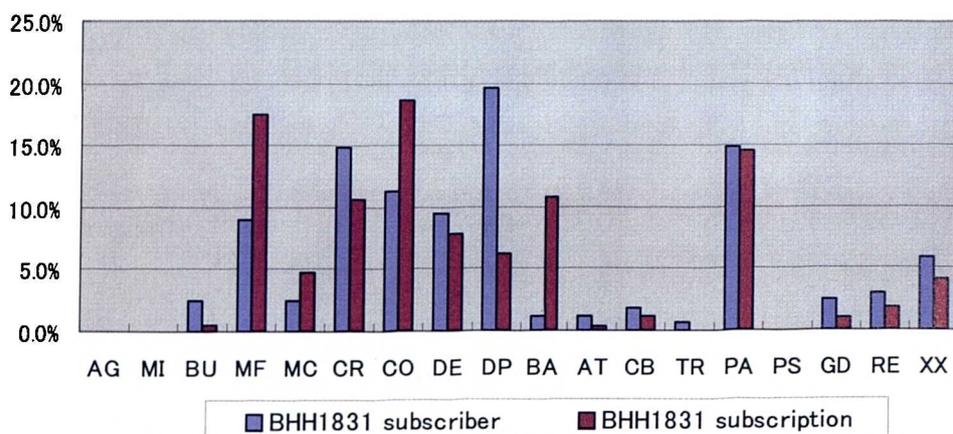
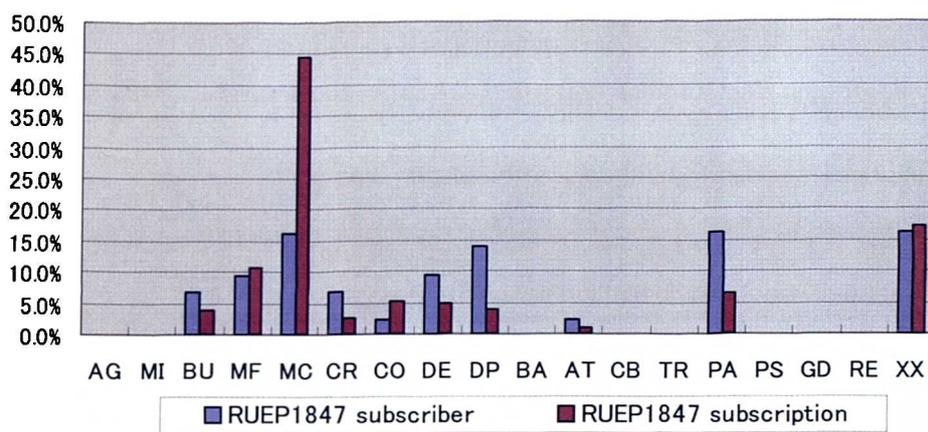


Figure 5.3 Number of Subscribers and Amount of Subscription to the Relief of Unemployed Operative (RUEP) in 1847 (Per cent of Total)³²



In order to analyse structure and agency of voluntary subscriptions or donations for social policy, the Board of Health (BHH) in 1831 and 1832, and the relief of unemployed operatives (RUEP) in 1847

³¹ See list of abbreviations of occupational classification, p. xv. This figure made from the subscription list of BHH in 1831-1832 related to the directory in 1830. Total number of subscriber in this figure is 168, which is 64 per cent of total subscriber (261). Total amount of subscription in this figure is £418, which is 74 per cent of total amount of subscription (£569).

³² This figure made from the subscription list of RUEP in 1847 related to the directory in 1845. Total number of subscriber in this figure is 43, which is 68 per cent of total subscriber (63). Total amount of subscription in this figure is £935, which is 75 per cent of total amount of subscription (£1240).

can provide the valuable evidence. Unlike the example of the Halifax General Dispensary in 1807, which received subscriptions and donations from the middle classes in Halifax as well as local gentry or landed aristocracy around Halifax,³³ BHH and RUEP were clearly managed only by subscriptions or donations of the middle classes in Halifax. Thus, BHH and RUEP demonstrated how the middle classes in Halifax engaged in the improvement of social problems through subscribing to these societies. Uneven amounts of subscriptions or donations consolidated a hierarchical structure within each society (Figure 5.2 and 5.3). For instance, BHH received a large number of small subscriptions from various occupational groups and a small number of big subscribers from bankers, merchants, manufacturers and professionals. In other words, people from the lower middle classes such as craft, dealing and distribution and processing relatively paid small amounts of subscription but formed the majority of subscribers in BHH. The number of subscribers in RUEP was smaller than that of BHH, but RUEP had relatively higher average amount of subscriptions than BHH. Indeed, RUEP was occupied with big subscribers such as manufacturers and merchant-manufacturers. Unlike local administrative bodies, women were able to join social policy voluntary societies such as charity organisations and philanthropic societies.³⁴ For instance, 40 women subscribed £48 for BHH in Halifax in 1831, while total subscribers were 261 and total amount was £569.³⁵

The purposes and strategies of both societies were affected not only by the economic condition of subscribers, but also by their social context. BHH was exposed to the social crisis of the Cholera epidemic from 1831 to 1832. As R.J. Morris points out,³⁶ in the face of the threat of Cholera,

³³ See section 1 and 2 in chapter 3.

³⁴ F.K. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-century England* (Oxford, 1980).

³⁵ Women were also able to become subscribers of the British School for the children from the lower classes in Halifax during that period. The subscription list of the British School in 1823 includes at least 35 female subscribers out of total 168, and these women paid £24 out of total £101. However, in 1852 the number of female subscribers for the British School had fallen to only three and amount of subscription was £3, while total number of subscribers was 114 and total amount of subscription was £81. From the Halifax database.

³⁶ R.J. Morris, *Cholera 1832: the Social Response to an Epidemic* (1976), esp. chap. 6 and 7.

evangelicalism generally became a strong ideology in provincial public institutions; BHH included. The strategy of BHH was the stabilisation of urban society to improve the conditions of the poor. Between 1831 and 1832, BHH consolidated the distinction between the poor and the middle classes as subscribers. Within BHH the substantial subscribers such as wealthy bankers, merchants and manufacturers undertook the leadership of management of BHH, while medical professionals expressed their power through their skills and knowledge within BHH, and the Anglican clergy and Nonconformist ministers legitimised its activities by insisting on evangelicalism.³⁷

RUEP was affected by the economic depression in 1847 and the antagonistic class relationship between employers and employees. Before a public meeting of RUEP, a large number of unemployed workers opened their own public meeting at Skircoat Moor, where the principal Chartists in Halifax joined them, and pushed their distress 'with the Chartists notions and suggestions of some of the speakers'.³⁸ RUEP quickly responded to such workers' demonstrations and discontent, and attempted to maintain social order to assist the life of the unemployed, and also to diminish militant class relationships within this local community.³⁹ Like the case of Leeds,⁴⁰ some manufacturers and merchant-manufacturers, especially the Akroyds, wanted to institutionalise hierarchical and paternalistic relationship between the wealthy and pitying employers and the unemployed within RUEP. On the other hand, other manufacturers such as the Crossleys, active Congregationalists, preferred to relieve the difficult social condition of the unemployed, expressing their religious duty of pity for the poor and insisting on a harmonious society of all classes.⁴¹ In short, subscriptions to voluntary societies solving social problems such as the poor and the

³⁷ From the Halifax database and *HHE* 12 Nov. 1831.

³⁸ *HG* 6 Nov. 1847.

³⁹ *HG* 27 Nov. 1847.

⁴⁰ R.J. Morris, *Class, Sect and Party. The Making of the British Middle Class: Leeds, 1820-1850* (Manchester, 1990), pp. 214-225.

⁴¹ For comparison of the Akroyds and the Crossleys, see S.J. Daniels, 'Moral Order and the Industrial Environment in the Woollen Textile District of West Yorkshire, 1780-1880', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London (1980), chap. 7 and 8.

unemployed expressed the duty and beliefs of the middle classes in public life in Halifax. Those societies formalised class relationships between the middle classes as subscribers and the lower classes, mainly including the labouring classes. Moreover, a hierarchical structure of subscribers was constructed in these societies, specific ideologies such as evangelicalism, paternalism, and the harmonic society of all classes succeeded in legitimising their activities and hierarchical structure.

Cultural and learned societies were other critical organisations expressing the cultural and social consciousness of the middle classes in Halifax. The success of a public life based on voluntary societies depending on subscriptions consolidated their belief in associational life. In 1823, the chairman of the Halifax Convivial Society,⁴² which was active in the 1820s, proudly declared the advantage for associational life.

We should f[i]nd that Men in all civilised countries have found the benefit arising from association & union in every cause & in every pursuit whether they have investigated Nature & her laws with a philosophic eye, or have wandered through the many labyrinth of science ... [Man] has been raised from the most wretched ignorance & all its concomitant evils to that distinction in the universe for which he was originally designed by the Great Author of all. If then such be the advantages that have resulted & are still the consequences of association & cooperation in literary & scientific pursuits, if the mind of the person engaged becomes enlarged if his understanding be improved if (the condition of mankind) knowledge becomes more diffused amongst mankind by such an union, it surely is incumbent upon every friend to man to promote to the utmost of his power such societies.⁴³

⁴² CDA, Halifax Convivial Society, Minutes Book, 1824-1827, MISC: 125; A. Porrit, '18th and 19th Century Clubs and Societies in Halifax', *THAS* (1964), pp. 69-71.

⁴³ BDA, Family papers relating to the Brown and Hopkinson families ... 1802-1985, Notes made by Thomas Brown (1803-186?), re lectures given to the Halifax Convivial Society, 53D91/1/4.

The middle classes strongly believed that their associational life was an agency to regulate collective actions for themselves in Halifax in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

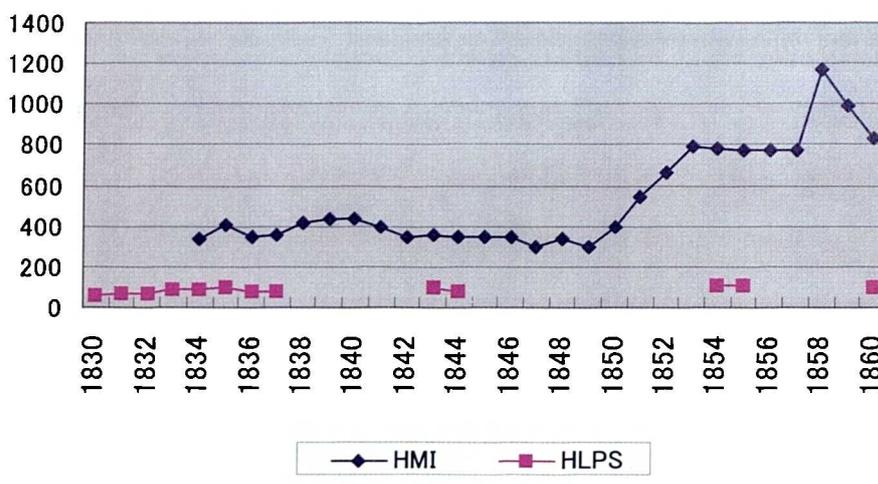
Two principal societies, the Halifax Literary and Philosophical Society (HLPS) and the Halifax Mechanics' Institute (HMI), emerged in Halifax during that period. The HLPS and the HMI had different strategies for management, membership, and the nature of their programmes.⁴⁴ The HLPS was an intellectual organisation creating the spirit of enlightenment and cultivating awareness of public culture in this local community. At the time of laying the foundation stone of the new building of the HLPS Hall in 1834, Christopher Rawson, the president of the Halifax Literary and Philosophical Society, declared as follows: ⁴⁵

[T]he superstructure to be raised thereon, may to the present and succeeding generations, ever prove a scene and source of intellectual enjoyment and moral improvement: and that its walls may be ever strangers to any sentiments and opinions which do not inculcate universal philanthropy and brotherly love...

⁴⁴ Despite difference of aims and membership, the co-operation between the HLPS and the HMI to establish public events in Halifax emerged from the 1830s. In the 1830s HMI tried to forge close links with the HLPS, to attend both lectures and the new museum of the HLPS. By selling lecture tickets for the HMI and the HLPS and visiting the museum for the HLPS, interrelationship in cultural life in Halifax developed in the 1830s. See CDA, *Halifax Mechanics' Institutes Minutes Book, 1825-1839*, HMI: 1.

⁴⁵ Crabtree, *History*, p. 353.

Figure 5.4 Number of Members of the Halifax Literary and Philosophical Society (HLPS) and the Halifax Mechanics' Institute (HMI), 1830-1860⁴⁶



The HLPS was a relatively smaller group than the HMI (Figure 5.4). The number of HLPS members was 55 when this society was established in 1830; membership gently increased in 1835, and decreased gradually afterwards. During the 1840s, according to *the Halifax Guardian*⁴⁷ the HLPS was not lively. But, after about 1850, it was revived by some active members, especially John Waterhouse, and membership of the HLPS peaked in the 1870s. While the HLPS used a system of selection of new members by the central committee, it distinguished the regular membership (admission fees £3 and annual subscription £2) from annual subscribers who paid £1. The HLPS attracted inhabitants in Halifax or near Halifax Township by constructing the museum in the mid-1830s and by holding some open scientific or literary lectures. When seeking to construct their museum, the HLPS expected their subscribers to be able to pay more than £50.⁴⁸ This big subscription for the HLPS was mainly paid by the urban elite in Halifax. The amount of subscription was far larger than that of other educational and cultural societies. For example,

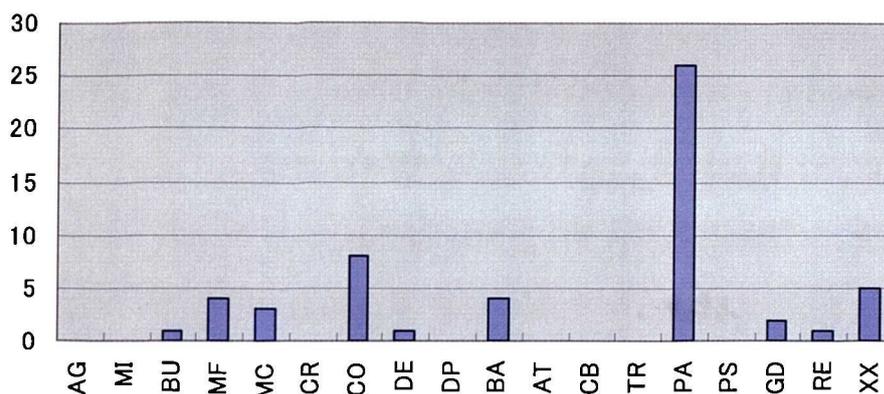
⁴⁶ The sources of number of the HLPS and the HMI, see anon., *Halifax Literary and Philosophical Society, 1830-1930* (Halifax, 1930); *RYUMI*, 1838-1860; CDA, HMI: 1; CDA, HMI: 2; CDA, *Halifax Mechanics' Institutes Minutes Book, 1854-1859*, HMI: 3.

⁴⁷ *HG* 11 Dec. 1847 and 23 Feb. 1850.

⁴⁸ CDA, *Halifax Literary and Philosophical Society, Minute Book, 1830-1839*, MISC: 49/7; *Halifax Literary and Philosophical Society, Transactions, 1831-1839*, MISC: 49/14.

subscribers of the British School paid less than £2 annually, though the donors to this school, like Charles Wood, M.P. of Halifax, John Crossley, Richard K. Lumb, and G.B. Browne provided more than £20 to this school sometime after 1825.⁴⁹

Figure 5.5 Occupational Structure of the HLPS in 1830⁵⁰



The HLPS was dominated mainly by the upper middle classes - legal, medical and religious professionals, bankers, merchants, and manufacturers. Unlike other provincial literary and philosophical societies,⁵¹ the landed aristocracy or local gentry around Halifax were not generally active supporters for the HLPS, apart from the local female landed owner, Anne Lister.⁵² The urban elite, such as bankers, Rawsons and Briggs, and the merchant, Waterhouse, were essentially the principal supporters or donors for the HLPS in the 1830s. This urban elite and the Vicar, Charles Musgrave, enjoyed not only cultural and learned societies and leisure in the spa, assembly room, and concerts in Halifax but also their life style at their mansions in the suburbs of Halifax and hunted like 'local gentry' in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.⁵³ The occupational

⁴⁹ From the Halifax database. For this school, see section 1 in chapter 3.

⁵⁰ Number of the data set of the HLPS when this established in 1830 is 55

⁵¹ Morris, *Class, Sect and Party*, chap. 9; Ian Inkster, *Scientific Culture and Urbanisation in Industrialising Britain* (Aldershot, 1997).

⁵² Jill Liddington, *Female Fortune. Land, Gender and Authority: The Anne Lister Diaries and Other Writings, 1833-36* (1998), pp. 44-45, 105.

⁵³ H.P. Kendall, 'Halifax Hunts and Huntsmen', *THAS* (1928); John A. Hargreaves, *Halifax*

structure of membership for the HLPS in 1830 had not dramatically changed by the end of the 1830s. One manuscript membership list of the HLPS in 1835 was linked to the commercial directory in 1837 and shows members or subscribers for the HLPS: 16 professionals, 6 commerce, 4 manufacturers, 4 distribution and processing, 3 bankers, and one craft. Women could join some cultural and societies in Halifax such as the HLPS in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.⁵⁴ Anne Lister, a landowner at Shibden Hall in Southowram, was a member of the HLPS and one of the subscribers to the museum of the HLPS.⁵⁵ In addition to Anne Lister, the manuscript membership list of the HLPS in 1835 shows there were some other female subscribers in its society.⁵⁶ In the second quarter of the nineteenth century, some women mainly from the middle classes, as subscriptions for several voluntary societies show, became members and could participate a public life of Halifax.⁵⁷ In short, the HLPS contributed to shape belief to the middle classes in their public life through the lectures and exhibitions, and activities in the HLPS fostered sociability among the middle classes, especially the upper middle classes, in Halifax in the 1830s. The movements in the HLPS entirely helped the middle classes to foster intra-class relationships, and intensify their cooperative cultural awareness rather than to cultivate distinct cultural awareness against other classes such as the labouring classes.

The project in the HMI had a wide scope enough to improve the intellectual environment in Halifax since its establishment of 1825. When the HMI was established by the skilled workers as well as the middle classes, which included the lower middle classes such as the craft, dealing, and distribution and processing groups, and some of the local wealthy elite from the upper middle classes, notably John Waterhouse and William Turner. One poster for the announcement of the

(Edinburgh, 1999), pp. 77-86.

⁵⁴ CDA, MISC: 49/7, October 1831; MISC: 49/14, September and October 1831.

⁵⁵ Liddington, *Female Fortune*, pp. 45, 199-200.

⁵⁶ From the Halifax database.

⁵⁷ For this see Amanda Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History', *Historical Journal*, 36 (1993).

public meeting to establish the HMI on 3 May 1825 well-represented the cooperative relationship between the artisans and the local elite.⁵⁸

I take the Liberty to address you in behalf of a small Number of Operative Mechanics, ... who, feeling desirous of seeing, and participating in, the Establishment of a Mechanics' Institution in this Town, similar in its Plan and Objects to those already formed in various other Manufacturing Towns ... we were sensible, that without the Countenance and Support of Gentlemen of Property and Influence in the Neighbourhood, we could only expect to succeed in our Attempts with great Delay and Difficulty...

When the HMI was established in 1825, the total number of members of the HMI was 90; in 1835 the number of members was 412; it increased four-fold from 1825 to the mid-1830s. From the mid-1830s to the end of the 1840s, the HMI membership decreased due to the economic depression according to *Report of the Yorkshire Union of the Mechanics Institutes*.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, after the early 1850s when the HMI merged with the Halifax Mutual Improvement Society established in the later 1840s, the HMI membership dramatically increased again, doubling between 1850 and 1853 alone.

The HMI was sustained by the skilled workers and the middle classes from its establishment. According to the record linkage between the subscription list in 1825 and the commercial directory in 1830, the middle classes in the HMI consisted of the craft, dealing and distribution and processing groups as well as small number of manufacturers, merchants and professionals.⁶⁰ From the end of 1830s to the later 1840s, membership for the HMI had also been occupied by the skilled workers as

⁵⁸ CDA, HMI: 1, 1825.

⁵⁹ *RYUMI*, 1838-1850; Linda J. Parr, 'The Library of Halifax Mechanics' Institution 1825-1857', *Library History*, 7 (1987), pp. 180-181.

⁶⁰ From the Halifax database. 43 members are found by the record linkage between the nominal list of HMI in 1825 and the 1830 directory, when total member is 90. Number of craft group by the record linkage is 12, dealing is 5, distribution and processing is 5, while that of professionals is 6, manufacturer is 4, and commerce is 3.

well as the lower and upper middle classes, while the former group would have been the majority of the HMI.⁶¹

In contrast to the HLPS, the HMI was reluctant to recruit the women members. At the launch of the HMI, there were no female names on its membership. In *the Report of the Yorkshire Union of the Mechanics Institutes* in 1844, the HMI reported the follows: ‘No Lady-members as before; instead of which, each Member is allowed to introduce two ladies to the Lectures gratis.’⁶² The HMI seems to have been strongly influenced by an ideology of gender division such as ‘separate sphere’⁶³ in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. However, despite the restriction on its female membership, the HMI ironically promoted two lectures, ‘the Moral and Intellectual Influence of Women on Society’ and ‘the Obligation of English Literature to Female Writers’, by Mrs. C.L. Balfour in June 1847.⁶⁴ Then, the HMI eventually opened their facilities and services to women in Halifax in the 1850s. The existence of female classes in the HMI can be confirmed by the HMI in *Report of the Yorkshire Union of the Mechanics Institutes* in 1851.⁶⁵

The Members of the Female Classes are at present 50, and the average attendance from 15 to 20 per night. We would gladly see these numbers increased, because we consider this a very valuable department of the Institution, and capable of being made still more so. We earnestly recommend it to those ladies who take an interest in the objects for which the Institution was founded. There are few ways in which they could contribute more essentially to the promotion of these objects, than by affording to the Female Classes the

⁶¹ *RYUMI*, 1840, 1842 and 1847.

⁶² *RYUMI* (1844), p. 23. For instance, the ‘tabular view of the institutes’ from *RYUMI* in 1839 showed ‘25 ladies, paying 4 s. per annum for the privilege of attending lectures’. Although Mabel Tylecote suggested that the female class existed in HMI in 1844, I can not confirm this evidence in the note of her book and any other documents. Mabel Tylecote, *The Mechanics’ Institutes of Lancashire and Yorkshire before 1851* (Manchester, 1957), p. 233.

⁶³ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, esp. chap. 10.

⁶⁴ CDA, HMI: 2, 18 June 1847 and 27 October 1847. We can discover two same female lectures giving these lectures at the Bradford Mechanics’ Institute in the 1840s. Koditschek, *Class Formation*, p. 313.

⁶⁵ *RYUMI* (1851), p. 44.

benefit of their encouragement, advice, and personal superintendence.

In general the members of the HMI consisted of two groups.⁶⁶ The first group was 'donor or honorary member' who donated ten pounds in money or the same value of books. Moreover, by every additional five pounds donation, that member could 'have the power of conferring upon any person he may select, all the privileges of a half-yearly subscribers'. Furthermore, if the donation amounts to 20 pounds, that member could 'further be entitled to admission to, and a vote at, all the meetings of the Directors.' This first group was unequivocally from the wealthy middle classes in Halifax. The second group was 'half-yearly subscribers' who paid five shillings, or 'quarterly subscribers' who paid two shillings and six pence. Additionally, for 'apprentices', the HMI offered the special rate, five shillings per annum, and they were admitted subscribers. This second group had 'no share in the property of the society nor vote at any of its meetings', and was usually from the skilled workers as well as the lower middle classes.

Since its foundation in 1825, the HMI had been managed by the wealthy middle classes as well as the artisans, under a democratic rule 'twenty-four members, one-self of them from the class of working men, shall be elected by ballot at each annual meeting, as Directors of the affairs of the Institution for the ensuing year'. But, when the HMI suffered from the economic recession in the early 1830s, the leadership of the HMI shifted from the artisan and the lower middle classes to the wealthy merchant, professional and manufacturer. In this way, the democratic system to elect directors was changed in 1832 and the organisation was dominated by the voice of the well-off members. 'The number of directors was reduced from twenty-four to twelve, of whom eight were to be chosen from the Members (who paid 1 pounds deposit and 8 shilling per. Annum) and four from the Subscribers (i.e. the working-class members who paid 4 shilling per half-year), thus

⁶⁶ CDA, HMI: 1, 1825.

abolishing the earlier provision for an effective measure of artisan control'.⁶⁷ The upper middle classes consolidated their leadership of management in the HMI through their economic power under the system of unequal subscription and donation in the 1830s.⁶⁸

Active members of the HMI especially from the upper middle classes felt a strong sense of confidence and duty towards enhancing moral and useful knowledge for the labouring classes. The middle classes tried to use their 'education' to solve the 'disorder' of the lower classes in specific voluntary societies such as the HMI. John Crabtree expressed a typical demand of the middle classes to solve the uncivilised manners of the lower classes.

However rapid may be the "march of intellect" elsewhere, it certainly "ascends but slowly up these mountain valleys". I am free to admit, that under any circumstances we are not to look for a high state of cultivation in districts of the description here alluded to, far from it, that can only be expected in large cities and towns; and even then it is but partial; this holds good in every civilized state ...⁶⁹

This awareness related to other voluntary societies in Halifax. When the Temperance Society was established in Halifax under the initiative of the dissenters, especially the Methodists, they emphasised that their society 'benefited communities'. The member of that society believed that 'society was capable of improvement to an extent almost indefinite' and that 'the sphere of knowledge might be enlarged to an extent not at present to be imagined'.⁷⁰

Under the belief in their leadership over, and duty to educate the lower classes, the middle classes proudly expressed their determination of Halifax. The annual report of the HMI in September

⁶⁷ CDA, HMI: 1, 1825-1832; J.F.C. Harrison, *Learning and Living, 1790-1960: a Study in the History of the English Adult Education Movement* (1961), p. 70.

⁶⁸ For example, during the 1830s, the surviving annual report of HMI shows some donors, like Charles Wood, Michael Stocks and other representative of the urban elite, acting to improve the financial condition of HMI. CDA, HMI: 1.

⁶⁹ Crabtree, *History*, p. 19.

⁷⁰ *HHE* 21 Jan. 1832.

1837 asserted:

The Directors have the greatest pleasure in seeing those advantages duly estimated and earnestly sought by the youth of town, whose intellectual and moral improvement they are happy to find men of all classes uniting to secure. And they regard it as not the least pleasing feature of the Institution and sign of times, that the friends of learning, laying aside all political distinction and sectarian views, can meet together on common ground principle, "Knowledge is power", and to hasten as true patriots, the arrival of that desired era, in which "Knowledge shall be the surest pledge for the stability of our times".⁷¹

The central strategy of the HMI was justified by a specific ideology, 'useful knowledge is power'. The middle classes believed that their cultural strategy would preserve social order in Halifax through the education of the lower classes. An interesting point here is that their rhetoric in the HMI denied antagonistic class relationships but expressed a trans-class intellectual strategy for the local community. Activities of the HMI in the 1830s were clearly for a project to create inter-class relationship between the middle classes and the lower classes mainly from the skilled workers.

In contrast to the aim of the HMI, the labouring people had established their own learned society in the later 1840s. 'The first Mutual, as distinct from a Debating Society, appears to have begun its work at Square [church], Halifax, in 1845. The next year saw another, not connected with any church', as John Naylor explained,⁷² 'the cause of the formation of this Mutual was a desire to save the expense of attending the Mechanics' Institute. Hence their aim was to teach one another, without fee, such subjects as were taught at the Mechanics' by paid teachers'. The Halifax Mutual Improvement Society established in 1846, as Naylor mentioned, became the main learned society in Halifax for the labouring people. This society succeeded in acquiring financial help from Charles

⁷¹ CDA, HMI: 1, 1837.

⁷² John Naylor, *Some Factors in the Making of the Soul in Halifax Parish* (Halifax, 1911), p. 13; Parr, 'Library', pp. 182-183.

Wood and Henry Edwards, M.Ps. of Halifax, and James Stansfeld.⁷³ While the Tory *Halifax Guardian* advocated the Ten Hours Bill, it hoped the labouring people would spend their time effectively in these learned societies.

To that class the enactment of a Ten Hours Bill will bring opportunities for self-improvement, of which, we trust, all will promptly avail themselves. And we would urge upon the *practical* friends of education – the true friends of the Factory workers – to render all the assistance in their power to this work of improvement. The Ten Hours Bill will give an impetus to every charitable and social work by widening the platform of its operations. The Bible Society, the Town Mission, the pastoral visitations of the clergy, Mutual Improvement Societies, and Mechanics' Institutes, can all do more than they have hitherto been enabled to do.⁷⁴

Through participating in these mutual and improvement societies, 'the working classes' shaped self-confidence in their public life in Halifax in the later 1840s.⁷⁵

However, for the 'Old Muffs', as John Naylor called, the mutual societies in the later 1840s,⁷⁶ it was difficult to maintain their organisations and services only on the basis of the labouring people. These societies faced problems for their lack of sufficient financial background. Furthermore, the emergence of the mutual societies strongly motivated the leading members of the HMI, mainly the directors, to unite both societies in order to keep their leadership in the intellectual space of Halifax.⁷⁷

Therefore, the amalgamation of the HMI and the Halifax Mutual Improvement Society in 1849 influenced the management of the HMI in the 1850s, and, as mentioned already, the number of

⁷³ *HG* 2 Oct. 1847 and 30 Dec. 1848.

⁷⁴ *HG* 24 Apr. 1847.

⁷⁵ *HG* 30 Dec. 1848.

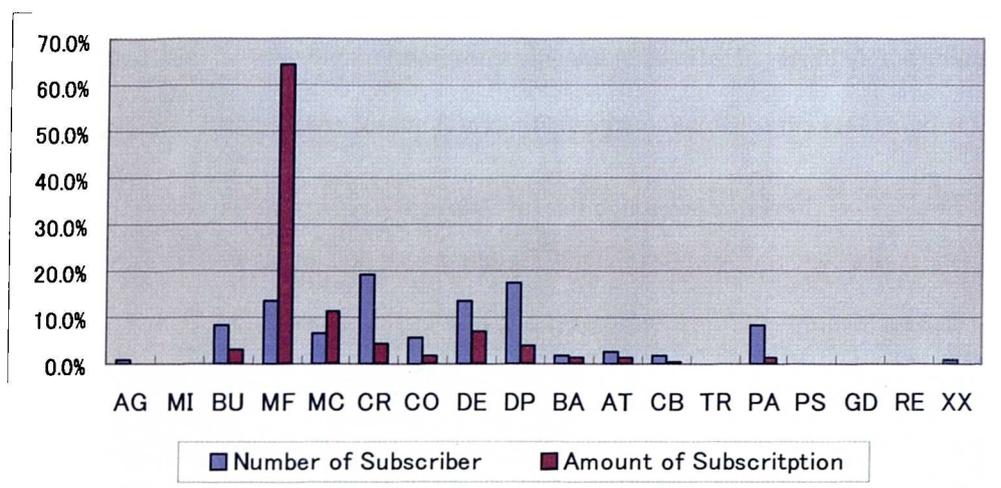
⁷⁶ Naylor, *Some Factors*, p. 13.

⁷⁷ CDA, HMI: 2, Jan. 1849-Jan. 1850.

members in the HMI rapidly rose after 1851 (Figure 5.4). For instance, the principal directors from the middle classes and the group from the labouring people sometimes conflicted with each other, when the plan of a new building was designed in the HMI. In 1851, the shortage of physical spaces became a serious issue for the HMI. Thus, the directors of the HMI tried actively to discuss the plan of a new building at this time. There were two plans for the location of the new building in the HMI: in North Parade; and Swan Coppice in the city centre which John Crossley, the president of the HMI and giant carpet manufacturer, owned. The limited number supporting the North Parade plan wanted the HMI to become the labouring people's own educational organisation, while the majority of the directors preferred to the Swan Coppice plan. Henry Martin, one of the directors, defended the plan of Swan Coppice. His main defence was that Swan Coppice was the best place for a Newsroom, and this facility was the *most important in the HMI in order to cultivate* active arguments among the members, and, as John Naylor suggests,⁷⁸ 'the newspaper at least br[oke] down insulation, it open[ed] the eyes of the mind to the events happenings on the wide stage of the world, it br[ought] to the reader the keen stimulus of freshness, and ma[de] him a contemporary thinker, fighter, and helper in all sorts of causes.' At the special general meeting in June 1853, the plan for Swan Coppice was defeated. However, at the following directors' meeting Henry Martin and his supporters tried to annul the plan for North Parade. He and his followers insisted on resignation because their proposal to reconsider the former plan at the last general meeting would not pass at the directors' meeting. In the end, Martin and his followers successfully reconsidered the decision at a special general meeting in June 1853. In this respect, the principal directors in the HMI had never intended their leadership to transfer to the labouring people in the HMI in the 1850s.

⁷⁸ Naylor, *Some Factors*, p. 9.

Figure 5.6 Number of Subscribers and Amount of Subscriptions for New Building of the HMI, 1857 (Per cent of Total)⁷⁹



Due to financial circumstances, proceedings with the plan for the new building of the HMI was delayed; the new building was finally completed at Swan Coppice in 1857 under the leadership of the members of the middle classes.⁸⁰ Its construction depended heavily upon the financial support of the upper middle classes especially manufacturers (Figure 5.6). There were some big subscribers paying more than £100 in the HMI, from the urban elite such as the Crossleys, while a large number of small subscribers consisted of the lower middle classes such as craft, dealing and distribution and processing groups and so on. The financial fortunes of the HMI had depended on support of the wealthy middle classes from the 1830s to the 1850s. It shows that the objectives of the wealthy middle classes were one of the decisive factors to decide the strategies of the HMI. In sum, the HMI was the characteristic project for the middle classes in Halifax from the 1820s to the 1850s. It seemed not only to construct a distinct social relationship between the middle classes and other classes, usually from the skilled workers, but also to intensify the belief in their leadership in cultural and learned life of Halifax through the subscription system and the ideology for the middle

⁷⁹ This figure made from the subscription list of HMI in 1857 related to the directory in 1853. Total number of subscriber of this figure is 110, which is 45 per cent of total subscriber (245), and total amount of subscription of this figure is £2814 which is 78 per cent of total amount of subscription (£3587).

⁸⁰ CDA, HMI: 3, 1857.

classes to stabilise the intellectual space for all classes through the promotion of ‘useful knowledge’.

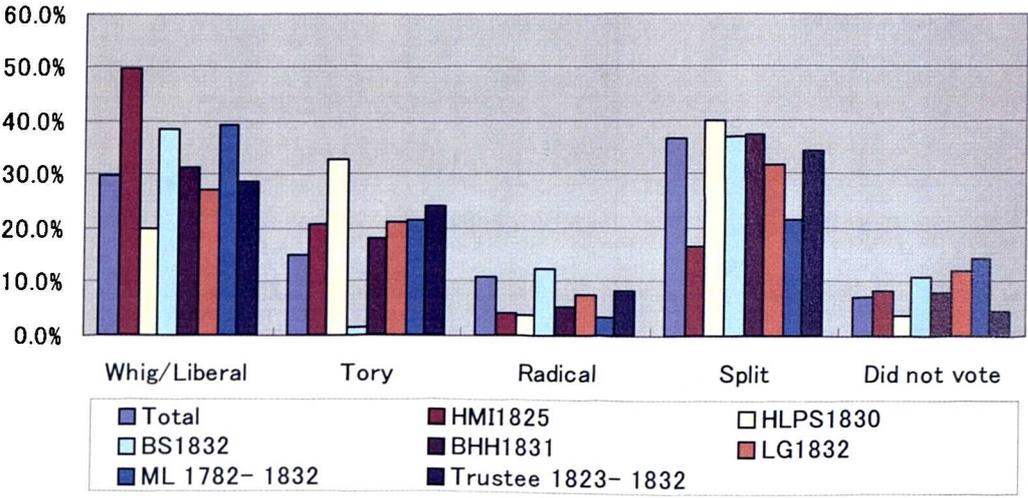
Specific municipal administrative body and voluntary societies in Halifax represented much of the characteristic structures and agency of public institutions from the 1820s to the 1850s. These institutions were dominated by the middle classes, making the use of their economic and social power such as subscription system. Intra-relationships within the middle classes as well as inter-relationship between the middle classes and the lower people were dynamically constructed in public institutions. Their firm belief in leadership and strategies against other classes were also formed in those institutions. However, as John Garrard suggests,⁸¹ this phenomenon demonstrated not a simple single attitude of the middle classes but their driving and multiple activities in public institutions.

2. The Governance of Public Institutions: Political Issues and Ideologies

Public institutions in Halifax provided the framework for the middle classes to construct social relationships not only between themselves and but also between themselves and other classes from the 1820s to the 1850s. However, these relationships were not always stable in Halifax in the second quarter of the nineteenth century because of disputes of ‘politics’ in local administrative bodies and voluntary societies. As chapter 4 described, the political awareness of the middle classes in Halifax grew out of the activities of political organisations in the Halifax borough elections and major political movements from the later 1820s to the early 1850s. According to the record linkage between the poll books of the Halifax Borough in 1832, 1847, and 1852, and surviving nominal lists in public institutions in Halifax (Figure 5.7, 5.8. and 5.9), it suggests that political preference of members of these public institutions was diversified, though some societies demonstrated strong political predilections among its members or subscribers.

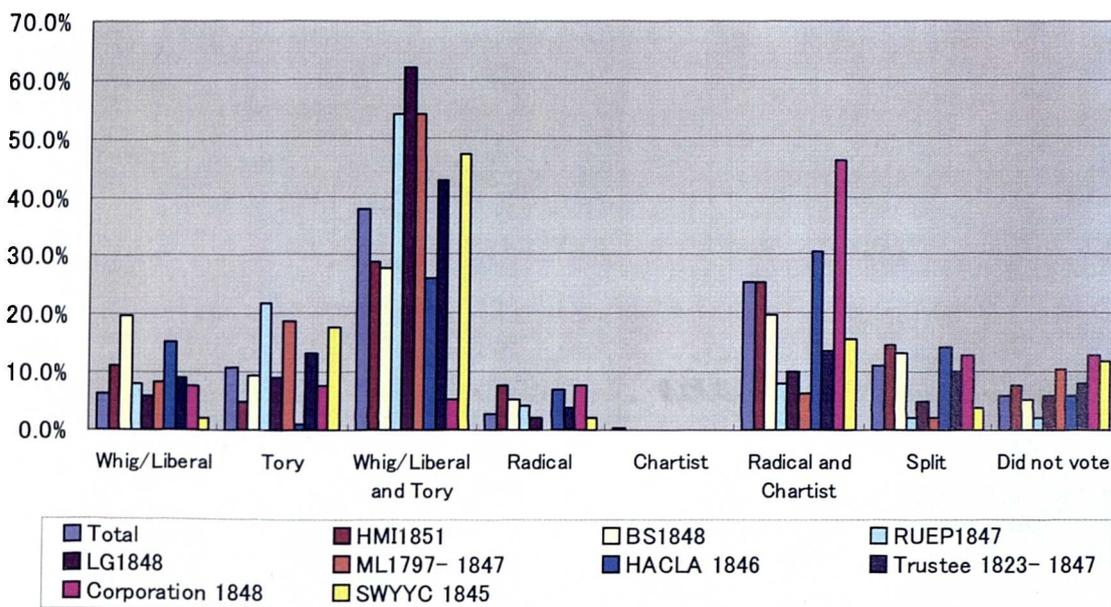
⁸¹ John Garrard, *Leadership and Power in Victorian Industrial Towns, 1830-80* (Manchester, 1983).

Figure 5.7 Voting Behaviour and Public Institutions in the Halifax Borough Election in 1832 (Per cent of Major Categories of Voting)⁸²



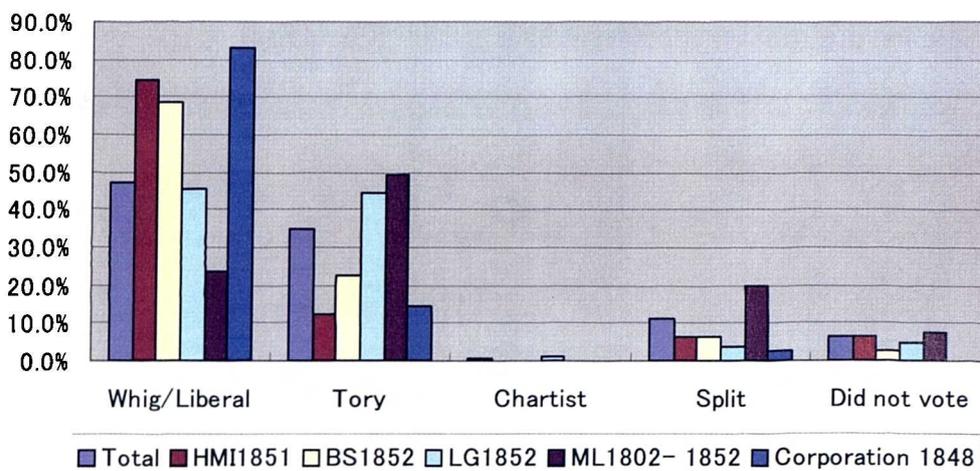
⁸² This figure made from the Halifax Database. All nominal lists of the public institutions related to the 1832 poll book. Total: all voters in the 1832 poll book; HMI1825: List of subscribers and donors of HMI in 1825; HLPS1830: Membership list of the HLPS in 1830; BS1832: Subscription list of the British School in Halifax in 1832; BHH1831: Subscription list of the Board of Health in Halifax in 1831-2; LG1832: Membership list of Loyal Georgian Society in 1832; ML1782-1832: List of new member of Masonic Lodge from 1782 to 1832; Trustees1823-1832: List of the people under Improvement Act in 1823 from 1823 to 1832.

Figure 5.8 Voting Behaviour and Public Institutions in the Halifax Borough Election in 1847 (Per cent of Major Categories of Voting)⁸³



⁸³ This figure made from the Halifax Database. All nominal lists of the public institutions related to the 1847 poll book. Total: All voters in the 1847 poll book; HMI1851: Membership list of the Halifax Mechanics' Institute in 1851; BS1848: Subscription list of the British School in Halifax in 1848; RUEP1847; Subscription list of the Relief of Unemployed Operatives in 1847; LG1848: Membership list of Loyal Georgian Society in 1848; ML1797-1847: List of new member of Masonic Lodge from 1797 to 1847; HACLA1846: Subscription list of the Halifax Anti-Corn Law Association in 1846; Trustees1823-1847: List of the people under Improvement Act in 1823 from 1823 to 1847; Corporation1848: List of councillors and aldermen of the Halifax Municipal Borough Corporation in 1848; SWYYC1845: List of Second West York Yeomanry Cavalry in 1845.

Figure 5.9 Voting Behaviour and Public Institutions in the Halifax Borough Elections in 1852 (Per cent of Major Categories of Voting)⁸⁴



Moreover, the diversity of political predilection often triggered religious issues and vice versa. That political issue in local administrative bodies and voluntary societies had never been ignored by the middle classes. It was observed that the middle classes in Halifax were strongly motivated to regulate such diverse political or religious awareness by using the rules of public institutions. The voluntary societies especially tried to preserve the neutral intellectual space. Except for specific political clubs and political organisations in Halifax,⁸⁵ it seems that the policy of ‘no politics and no religion’ within societies was accepted by many voluntary societies. For instance, officers of social policy voluntary societies avoided advocating the cause of specific political or religious groups. Charles Musgrave, president of the Halifax General Dispensary, declared that it would give benefit to all classes in all denominations in this local community in 1836, when the ceremony for the first stone to construct the new Halifax Infirmary Building was held.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ This figure made from the Halifax Database. All nominal lists of the public institutions related to the 1852 poll book. Total: All voters in the 1852 poll book; HMI1851: Membership list of the Halifax Mechanics’ Institute in 1851; BS1852: Subscription list of the British School in Halifax in 1852; LG1852: Membership list of Loyal Georgian Society in 1852; ML1802-1852: List of new member of Masonic Lodge from 1802 to 1852; Corporation1848: List of councillors and aldermen of the Halifax Municipal Borough Corporation in 1848.

⁸⁵ Porrit, ‘Clubs’, p. 73 and passim.

⁸⁶ *HG* 24 Sep. 1836.

Nevertheless, the 'political issue' in public institutions sometimes appeared in specific local administrative bodies and voluntary societies. First, the local administrative bodies in Halifax faced campaigns of popular political movements in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. For example, the selection of township officers like churchwardens, overseers and local constables provoked party awareness. The Tory Anglican group tried to interfere with the appointment of Justice of the Peace of Michael Stocks, who had Radical and Whig/Liberal connections.⁸⁷ In the 1830s meetings to choose officers in this parish, like the Vestry, were subjected to the people's strong radical political feelings, their anti-Tory consciousness and their hostility to the Church rate. The Town trustees established by the Local Improvement Act of 1823 were requested by the Radicals in the 1830s to manage their budget and to improve conducts of the night watch officers.⁸⁸ The most serious case was the newly established Board of Guardians. When this board opened in Halifax in 1837, its members, composed mainly of manufacturers and Whig/Liberal supporters, encountered the hostility of popular agitators.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, unlike Leeds and other provincial towns,⁹⁰ the popular radical movements and party conflicts within the local administrative bodies did not seriously disturb authority and business for the Halifax vestry and Town Trustees.⁹¹ The Board of Guardians had not also faced serious popular disturbance after 1837, and tried to found the new union workhouse in Halifax, though, as chapter 4 showed, popular radicals such as Chartism had remained hostile to the Board.

⁸⁷ D. Warrington, 'The Stocks Family of Upper Shibden Hall', *THAS* (1971), pp. 68-77.

⁸⁸ J.A. Hargreaves, 'Religion and Society in the Parish of Halifax c. 1740-1914', unpublished thesis, the Council for National Academic Awards (Huddersfield Polytechnic) (1991), pp. 229-234; J.W. Houseman, 'The Development of Local Government in the Parish of Halifax, 1760-1848', *THAS* (1929), pp. 170-172; J.R. Sanders, 'Working-class Movements in the West Riding Textile District, 1829-1839', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Manchester (1984), pp. 517-528.

⁸⁹ *HG* 4 Feb. 1837; *HHE* 1 Feb. 1837.

⁹⁰ Derek Fraser, *Urban Politics in Victorian England: the Structure of Politics in Victorian Cities* (Leicester, 1976), chap. 2 and 4.

⁹¹ Dalby, 'The Work of the Halifax Town Trustees', chap. VII and VIII.

When the campaigns for establishing the Halifax Borough Corporation started in 1847, political conflict between parties was considered to be one of the central issues in the future Corporation. In regard to that anxiety, at the public meeting in favour of a charter of incorporation in May 1847, Edward Akroyd 'would say that the evil which attended the division of the community into two classes was not a slight one'. However, he told that he was 'of a different opinion to some; for he believed this a neutral ground on which all parties might meet'.⁹² *The Halifax Guardian* welcomed Akroyd's remarks: 'town councils should not be the arenas of political strife, but the centre of municipal activity and social reform'.⁹³

However, after the active political campaigns in the Halifax Borough election in July in 1847, the Halifax Borough Corporation faced serious political movements. Especially, the first election of council members in that corporation in 1848 was largely influenced by popular political movements such as Chartism and dissenting middle class radicals. At the election, Edward Akroyd and his brother, Henry Akroyd, and Samuel Waterhouse were defeated presumably due to anti-Tory and anti-Whig/Liberal consciousness as well as anti-manufacturing sentiments spread among the people.⁹⁴ As a result, in the first election of the Halifax Corporation, council members were principally dominated by Radicals, Whig/Liberals, and Chartist supporters. One estimate is that there were 18 radical councillors, 7 Whig/Liberal councillors, 4 Chartist councillors and 3 Tory councillors.⁹⁵ Another estimate of the record linkage between the mayor, aldermen, and councillors, and the poll book of the 1847 Halifax Borough election, illustrates the vast support of the aldermen and councillors for Radicals and Chartists in the 1847 election. 4 aldermen and 14 councillors voted for the Radical and Chartist candidates, 1 alderman and 2 councillors voted

⁹² *HG* 8 May 1847.

⁹³ *HG* 15 May 1847.

⁹⁴ *HG* 29 Apr. and 6, 13, 20 and 27 May 1848; *HR* 17 May 1848. See also section 4 in Chapter 4.

⁹⁵ This estimation is based on the evidence that 'the right hand column following each candidate's name appears only in pencil in the surviving copy' of *Halifax Reformer* 17 May 1848. See Webster, 'Cradled', p. 109.

Radical, 2 aldermen and 2 councillors voted Radical and Whig/Liberal, 1 councillor voted Chartist and Whig/Liberal, 1 alderman and 1 councillor voted Whig/Liberal, 1 alderman and 1 councillor voted Whig/Liberal and Tory, and 3 councillors voted for the Tory candidate (Figure 5.8).⁹⁶

The objective of the local elite in keeping the neutral space in Halifax was denied by the popular political campaigns. It seems that some local elite joining the campaigns for the incorporation movements in Halifax in 1847 would be less supportive to the operation of the Corporation in 1848 compared with the meeting in May 1847. The Tory *Halifax Guardian* keenly pointed out that perception of reluctance.

We have, from the very commencement of the agitation for a charter of incorporation, and especially after it was granted, urged an abandonment of all party or political feeling in the election of councillors. That advice has not been acted upon, and we have now only fervently to hope that the opinion expressed by one of the aldermen, when he first took the declaration as councillor, will not prove correct, and the charter turn out to be “one of the greatest curses that ever came to Halifax”.⁹⁷

As a result, presumably, some members of the Halifax elite became reluctant to accept the offers of jobs of alderman and mayor of the Halifax Borough Corporation, and they preferred to pay fine after actual appointment. Indeed, some among the local elite in Halifax declined to become the first mayor of the Halifax Corporation, despite the strong recommendation of other members, and consequently the Halifax Borough Corporation could not select the mayor at their first meeting.⁹⁸

In June 1848, this Corporation together with some local Chartist leaders petitioned for the reform of Parliament. The corporation did not support ‘the Charter’, but was not satisfied with the current

⁹⁶ From the Halifax database.

⁹⁷ *HG* 3 June 1848. See also *HG* 29 Apr. and 6, 13, 20 and 27 May 1848.

⁹⁸ *HG* 3 June 1848 described the first meeting of the Halifax Corporation. See also Houseman, ‘Local Government’, pp. 176-177, 196; Harwood, *Centenary Story*, pp. 10-13.

franchise system.⁹⁹ However, after this event, the Halifax Corporation was not affected by popular political movements. The Corporation began to concentrate on their own business for the improvements of the urban environment and the stabilisation of social order. The Corporation, interest in governing local administration, such as management of its limited budget and maintenance of social order, became more important for the councillors, aldermen, and mayors than party loyalty and support for political movements. What was a critical matter in the Corporation was the dispute over the Watch Committee. The councillors and aldermen were no longer influenced by political party loyalty. They were divided into two interest groups in the Corporation: the first group to keep low expenses without raising local rate, and the second group to advance further urban improvement based on the higher tax.¹⁰⁰ The later group won its dispute, and *the Halifax Guardian* raised an objection against the management of the Corporation.

The Watch Committee also appeared to have done their work in a very proper manner. ... But we are a little surprised to find many men who were elected, on the express plea of economy, and particularly in reference to the police force, voting in favour of the report. It is never *too* late to mend but it *is* driving repentance rather too far, to stand a contest on the ground of economy, and when elected, to do the very thing which the defeated candidates were accused of thinking about.¹⁰¹

By 1852, the majority of the councillors and aldermen in the Corporation were principally occupied by the Whig/Liberals and the middle class radicals¹⁰² due to the partnership between the Whig/Liberal group and middle class radicals and dissenters; the reflection of the partnership which was successful in the 1852 Halifax Borough election. Yet, the Corporation was not the political space for the party struggles but for two interest groups: the economically rationalists for low expense and taxation and the supporters of social improvement.

⁹⁹ *HR* 21 June 1848; Dorothy and E.P. Thompson, 'Halifax as a Chartist Centre', unpublished typescript, Halifax Reference Library (n.d. [1950s]).

¹⁰⁰ This evidence from the Halifax database and CDA, HXM: 3, 1848.

¹⁰¹ *HG* 19 Aug. 1848.

¹⁰² From the Halifax database.

In the second quarter of the nineteenth century, voluntary cultural and learned societies in Halifax usually banned discussions on any political and theological matters by their rules in order to eliminate conflicts of parties and sects within these societies. However, the HMI provides crucial evidence that disputes over political issues existed in these voluntary societies during that period. The annual report of the HMI in 1831 explained:¹⁰³

The Directors wish to avail themselves of the present opportunity, to correct an erroneous impression, which seems to exist in the minds of some respecting the objects which this Institution is designed to promote; - they allude to the opinion, that certain peculiar Doctrines on Religion, and Politics, are here propagated; an opinion, founded on misrepresentation and error; and so far from the truth, that not one Book, on Party Politics or Party Polemics, is to be found in the Library; and not one expression, or sentiment, bearing in the remotest degree upon either of these subjects, has, on any occasion, been entertained by this Society since its formation.

At the annual meeting of 1833 some radical members distributed a published broad sheet among members of the HMI seeking to hold a class for the study of political economy, as this radical group believed that 'political economy' could be used as one of the fundamental ideological tools for the progress of civilisation. However, this plan faced some problems in the HMI. It did not conform to the rule of the HMI; 'no politics and religion'. It was rather the aim of the radical group, who tried to introduce political economy classes to the HMI. They aimed for the lower middle classes and artisans to have intellectual knowledge in political economy classes without initiative of the elite of the upper middle classes in the HMI. One entry in the minutes of the HMI explained for the utility of political economy and the close relationship between political economy and the aim of the HMI.

¹⁰³ CDA, HMI: 1, 1831.

If there be any one topic of human interest and concern, which is more important in itself, or more mighty in its influences upon society than another, it is the *Science of Political Economy*; - the economy or right management of the affairs of the body politics – the national weal. ... The broad principles which regulate the accumulation and distribution of *capital* – the rates of *profit* and *wages* – the principles of *rent* and *taxation* – and the *price* of all exchangeable articles, are above all other subjects, *those* which concern the productive classes of society, especially operative classes, for it is by their ignorance of them, that their situation is rendered more hard to endure, and more difficult to alleviate. This, therefore, would be *the most* useful of all kinds of knowledge for the working classes.¹⁰⁴

The intention of the radical group would change the relationship between the elite of the upper middle classes, and the middle and labouring classes in the HMI.

However, at the annual meeting, the intention of the radical group was not fully examined. The elite in the HMI rather confined their arguments on the problem of political economy classes to the rule of the HMI, 'no politics and religion'. The chairman said 'that [by no means] political economy was necessarily connected with party politics: but the doctrines of this science were far from settled; opposite opinions were entertained on points of great importance; controversies on those points were carried on with much bitterness and on those points were carried on with much bitterness and animosity; and it was to be feared that, it discussed in this society, similar feelings might be produced. Besides, such discussion involved the conduct of different legislators, or ministers, in founding their measures on certain doctrines of this science; and hence party politics hardly be avoided'.¹⁰⁵ Clearly, the problem in this dispute was that 'political economy' was considered to foster specific political awareness and party feeling. So the majority of the members

¹⁰⁴ CDA, HMI: 1, 1833. *HHE* 12 Jan. 1833 and *HG* 12 Jan. 1833 carried the article of this meeting and the summary of this sheet. See also Harrison, *Learning and Living*, pp. 81-82.

¹⁰⁵ *HG* 12 Jan. 1833.

of the HMI recognised that the establishment of ‘political economy’ classes would be an origin of political conflicts within the HMI. But, more importantly, the elite from the wealthy upper middle classes worried about the changes of the relationship between them, and the lower middle classes and artisans, as the latter group tried to have their own intellectual strategies in the HMI by studying ‘political economy’. By using the rule of the HMI, ‘no politics and religion’, the leading group in the HMI abolished the intention of the radical groups and defended their leadership in the HMI.

As a result of the issue of ‘politics’ in the HMI, relationships among the members of the HMI also entered a tense phase in the end of the 1840s. At this time, the radical group of the middle class dissenters like Henry Martin and William Turner tried to take the leadership in the HMI. In fact, according to the record linkage between the nominal list of the HMI and the poll book of 1847 Halifax Borough election, it seems that the HMI had the firm supporters for Radicals and Chartists at this time (Figure 5.8).¹⁰⁶ As the middle class dissenters had sometimes tried to cooperate with popular political movements such as Chartism after 1847, this group now considered that they could cooperate with the labouring people in the HMI. The radical dissenter group thought it necessary to repeal the ‘no politics and no religion’ rule, which was initially aimed to create an intellectual neutral space in the HMI. This radical group in the HMI strongly recognised that they needed to provide the HMI members with political, religious, and social programmes in order to establish their presence in the cultural and learned institutions in Halifax.¹⁰⁷

After the strong campaign over the abolition of its rule, the radical group mainly from the dissenters succeeded in nullifying the clause of ‘no politics and no religion’ in 1849.¹⁰⁸ Subsequently, especially after the amalgamation of the HMI and the Halifax Mutual Improvement Society, some members criticised other points in the HMI: the room for reading newspapers in HMI and the

¹⁰⁶ From the Halifax database.

¹⁰⁷ Harrison, *Learning and Living*, pp. 148-151.

¹⁰⁸ CDA: HMI: 2, Jan.-July 1849.

political predilection especially for the dissenters. Edward Holyroyd, the secretary of the HMI, replied to that criticism with the opinion that the HMI responded to majority of members' demands with the caution.¹⁰⁹ Such a reply from the HMI also expressed in *the Report of the Yorkshire Union of the Mechanics Institutes* as follows:¹¹⁰

Among the alterations lately made in our rules is the repeal of the clause which excludes controversial divinity and party politics. The obvious motive for this exclusion was an apprehension that the introduction of topics on which the passions are apt to be excited, might lead to unpleasant jealous and disputes among the members; but there is reason to hope that the danger is exaggerated, at all events it is thought advisable to run the risk for the sake of preponderating advantages.

At the 'soiree' of the HMI in January 1851, some members who hoped to preserve an intellectual neutral space in their public life countered the new regulation in the HMI.¹¹¹ The Dean of Ripon, as one of the guest speakers, who was an active supporter of Mechanics' Institutes in Yorkshire, criticised the annulment of the clause of 'no religion and no politics'. For him, the elimination of the clause shattered the intellectual space where intensive 'knowledge' could be cultivated to cushion 'social upheaval' and bring 'social harmony'. In contrast to the Dean, G.L. Banks from Manchester supported the new policy of the HMI, and criticised the Dean's remark. He rejected the 'social harmony' that seemingly permitted all classes of people both to acquire knowledge and express their diversified opinions, as he thought that the diversification of the people by class, politics, and religion was inevitable, and that 'the social harmony', declared by the Dean of Ripon, in fact, would represent undue deference to the authority and the upper class, and break liberty of religion and politics for the middle and lower classes. He asserted that 'the upper classes of society thought more of their hounds or their horses, than the wants of the lower classes'. As a result, at

¹⁰⁹ *HG* 19 and 26 Jan., and 2, 9 and 16 Feb. 1850.

¹¹⁰ *RYUMI* (1850), p. 35.

¹¹¹ All quotation of the 'soiree' of HMI in 1851, *HG* 1 Feb. 1851.

the 'soiree', the conflicts between the radical dissenters and the group supporting the Dean of Ripon remained unsettled.

Yet, the advice of the Dean of Ripon and other speakers to preserve the intellectual neutral space in the HMI succeeded in making the directors of the HMI reconsider the new policy. After the 'soiree', the directors began to re-consider whether the HMI should allow discussions on party and theology from February to April 1851. Then, at a special general meeting in May in 1851, the new policy of 1849 was repealed, and the principle, 'no politics and no religion' in the HMI restored.¹¹² Therefore, the middle class dissenters ended their attempt 'to capture the mechanics' institute and use it as a means of furthering their own political and social programme and checking the spread of an independent working-class movement' such as mutual improvement societies and other various voluntary societies.¹¹³ In this way from the 1830s to the 1850s the middle classes in the HMI dealt with political issues 'negotiating each other and with the social classes around them'.¹¹⁴

Between the 1820s and the 1850s, the middle classes usually aimed to keep the political and religious neutral space by prohibiting any activities of parties and sects in the HMI. But, this aim was frequently hampered by serious political campaigns both from the middle class radicals and the popular radicals such as Chartism. Thus, the middle classes turned to negotiate their different political and religious interests in public institutions in Halifax. The attempt of the middle classes to cooperate with parties and sects in public institutions formulated their distinct identity for governance of public institutions. It was the desire for the middle classes to stabilise social relationships within the middle classes as well as class-relationships between them and other classes.

¹¹² CDA, HMI: 2, Jan.-May 1851.

¹¹³ Harrison, *Learning and Living*, p. 151.

¹¹⁴ Morris, *Class, sect and Party*, p. 245.

From the 1820s to the 1850s, like other provincial towns, various ideologies such as ‘evangelicalism’, ‘political economy’, ‘a faith in progress’, ‘a sense of hierarchy’ and ‘paternalistic responsibility’,¹¹⁵ had been formed from the middle class practices in public institutions especially in the voluntary societies in Halifax. In the early 1850s, those diversified ideologies became synthesised in public institutions in Halifax into specific ideologies: liberalism, social harmony of all classes, and social improvement.

First, liberalism was essential to maintain the liberty of politics and religion as well as sustain economic prosperity. In the 1850s, the principle of ‘free trade’ became the crucial element for economic and social prosperity in Halifax. After the repeal of the Corn Laws, confidence in ‘free trade’ strengthened liberalism for the middle classes in Halifax. However, confidence in ‘free trade’ did not necessarily mean dogmatic laissez-faire. In Halifax, the case of the Akroyds¹¹⁶ shows such tendency of manufacturers’ philosophy on economics from the 1820s to the 1850s. According to E.P. Thompson, in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, Jonathan Akroyd, a worsted manufacturer in Bowling Dyke in Halifax and a New Connexion Methodist, was a factory owner willing ‘to organise his moral machinery on equally sound principles with his mechanical’, in order to overcome “‘the main difficulty’ of the factory system ... in the ‘distribution of the different members of the apparatus into one cooperative body’”, and, above all, “in training human beings to renounce their desultory habits of work, and to identify themselves with the unvarying regularity of the complex automaton”.¹¹⁷ But, his son, Edward Akroyd,¹¹⁸ recognised difficult conditions such as antagonistic class relationships in Halifax by the 1850s. In *Transactions of the*

¹¹⁵ Morris, *Class, Sect and Party*, p. 167.

¹¹⁶ Anon., *History of the Firm of James Akroyd & Son, Limited, Halifax* (Leeds, 1874).

¹¹⁷ E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, Penguin books ed. (Harmondsworth, 1980), pp. 395 and 397 (emphasis in the original).

¹¹⁸ Daniels, ‘Moral Order’, chap. 7; R. Bretton, ‘Colonel Edward Akroyd’, *THAS* (1948); Eric Webster, ‘Edward Akroyd (1810-1887): also a Brief History of James Akroyd & Son’, *THAS* (1987).

National Association for the Promotion of Social Science,¹¹⁹ he pointed out the problem of ‘antagonistic class relationships’.

A social war is raging amongst us. Masters and workmen, employers and employed, are placed in battle array against each other – class against class. The causes of these intestine feuds, and the wounds which they inflict upon the body politic need to be searched into and carefully probed. ... Political economy will not help us to avoid strikes and their attendant evils. ... [W]hen the hard maxims of political economy afford no relief, social science steps in, and lights our path to a peaceful adjustment of the question. I mean the only true social science, based upon Christianity, and teaching us to do unto others as we would they should do unto us.¹²⁰

The strategy of Edward Akroyd in the 1850s was to use the morality of ‘Christianity’ to keep a harmonic relationship between labour and capital. In this respect, he gradually approached traditional Whig-Anglicanism from the later 1840s. This strategy was the most effective in getting support from his employees and higher profits from his factory.¹²¹ Thus, it was not surprising that he converted to Anglicanism from the Methodist New Connexion in the 1850s in order to insist on the importance of ‘Christianity’ as a source of social stability and morality for the labouring people.¹²²

Liberalism in the 1850s intensified the meritocratic principle by emphasising social possibilities of economic and social success for all classes of the people. As R.J. Morris points out,¹²³ individual

¹¹⁹ For close relationship between the National Association for the Promotion of the Social Science and the middle classes, see Lawrence Goldman, ‘The Social Science Association, 1857-1886: a Context for Mid-Victorian Liberalism’, *English Historical Review*, 101 (1986); Mary Poovey, *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation 1830-1864* (Chicago, 1995), p. 97; Eileen J. Yeo, *The Contest for Social Science: Relations and Representations of Gender and Class* (1996), chap. 6.

¹²⁰ *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, 1859*, p.720.

¹²¹ Robert Gray, *The Factory Question and Industrial England, 1830-1860* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 219-229; G.R. Searle, *Morality and the Market in Victorian Britain* (Oxford, 1998), pp.268-273.

¹²² For political attitude of Akroyd after 1850, see Edward Akroyd, *On the Present Attitudes of Political Parties* (1874).

¹²³ R.J. Morris, ‘Samuel Smiles and the Genesis of Self-Help: the Retreat to a Petit Bourgeois

morality, endeavour, and self-help cultivated through movements to pursue knowledge and skills were significant meritocratic principles for the lower middle classes in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The leading elite in the HMI had the confidence that practices in the HMI could provide the lower middle classes and artisans with opportunities to improve their skills and knowledge. The successful examples of Edward Akroyd, and John, Joseph, and Francis Crossley in Halifax also consolidated confidence about the social success of the middle classes in the mid-Victorian period.¹²⁴ Although recent studies doubt the thesis that these examples of successful self-made entrepreneurs were typical in the nineteenth century Britain,¹²⁵ self-help, hard-working, thrift, and accumulation of knowledge were unanimously recognised as the sources of the success for the middle classes. The origins of the social success also applied to the labouring people. In order to carry out thrift and self-help, people from the labouring classes increasingly felt the need of economic institutions such as savings banks, friendly societies, life insurances and co-operations. Joining learned and cultural societies like the HMI to develop their skills and knowledge was also an important step in the social strata. The labouring people appropriated the respectability of the middle classes, and then created their own societies to realise self-help and thrift in Halifax in the third quarter of the nineteenth century.¹²⁶ Thus, despite the different form of appropriation of this respectability, liberalism was instilled with all classes as a critical ideology in public institutions in Halifax in the 1850s.

The ideology of 'social improvement' closely associated with another ideology, the social harmony of all classes, had also been accepted by the middle classes in Halifax in the 1850s. Edward

Utopia', *Historical Journal*, 24 (1981).

¹²⁴ For example, see Samuel Smiles, *Thrift* (1875), chap. X and XI; Harrison, *Learning and Living*, pp. 203-218.

¹²⁵ Katrina Honeyman, *Origins of Enterprise: Business Leadership in the Industrial Revolution* (Manchester, 1982); François Crouzet, *The First Industrialists: the Problem of Origins* (Cambridge, 1985).

¹²⁶ Kathleen Tiller, 'Working Class Attitudes and Organisation in Three Industrial Towns, 1850-1875', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Birmingham (1975), pp. 151-153, 164-166, 169-170, 186-199, 209-227.

Akroyd, and John, Joseph, and Francis Crossley began to create model villages in Halifax to encourage social harmony for all classes from the end of the 1840s. Unlike Saltaire, the famous factory village in Shipley,¹²⁷ their plans did not dramatically change the overall urban physical environment, but the construction of these two model villages was enough to make the people in Halifax recognise that these giant manufacturers were committed to social improvement by realisation of the harmonic society of all classes.¹²⁸ Furthermore, Edward Akroyd improved financial institutions for the middling and labouring people by establishing a savings bank and a building society. On the other hand, Francis Crossley tried to create a public open space in his 'People's Park' where the people of all classes could gather. His trip to the USA in 1855 motivated him to construct a 'public park'. After that trip, Francis Crossley lectured on 'Canada and the United States' at the Oddfellows' Hall in Halifax in 1856. He said 'since the world stood, we have never heard of a nation serving God in sincerity and in truth that did not rise to civilisation and prosperity; and on the other hand, we never or heard of a people falling from greatness who had not, also, forgotten to serve the God to whom they owed all things.'¹²⁹ At the opening of the People's Park in Halifax, Francis Crossley mentioned his mother's words: 'if the Lord does bless us at this place, the poor shall taste of it...'¹³⁰ He was worried that 'his appreciation of landscape was diminished by his moral alienation from workers and their [appreciation of landscape was diminished] by their spiritual alienation from Gods'.¹³¹

¹²⁷ Jack Reynolds, *The Great Paternalist: Titus Salt and the Growth of Nineteenth-century Bradford* (1983). 'The village of Saltaire was completed in effect between 1851 and 1871.' 'The building of the works began in 1851 and the original scheme was completed by 1853'. Quotation is from Jack Reynolds, *Saltire: an Introduction to the Village of Sir Titus Salt* (Bradford, 1976), pp. 12, 18.

¹²⁸ J.A. Jowitt, 'Copley, Akroydon and West Hill Park: Moral Reform and Social Improvement in Halifax', in J.A. Jowitt (ed.), *Model Industrial Communities in Mid-Nineteenth Century Yorkshire* (Bradford, 1986), pp. 76-84; Daniels, 'Moral Order', chap. 7 and 8; Alan Dingsdale, 'Yorkshire Mill Town: a Study of the Spatial Patterns and Processes of Urban Industrial Growth and the Evolution of Spatial Structure in Halifax, 1801-1901', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Leeds (1974), esp. pp. 113-131; S.J.D. Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline. Organisation and Experience in Industrial Yorkshire, 1870-1920* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 71-84.

¹²⁹ Frank Crossley, *Canada and the United States* (Halifax, 1856), p. 39.

¹³⁰ Anon., 'The Crossleys of Halifax', in *Fortunes Made in Business*, vol. 3., (1887), pp. 266-267.

¹³¹ Daniels, 'Moral Order', p.206.

Unlike the case of Leeds,¹³² these manufacturers in Halifax took strong leadership in building public parks by donating the lands to the Municipal Borough. Their activities intensified not only the ideologies of social improvement and harmonised society for all classes but also the people's consciousness towards the leadership of these giant manufacturers in public institutions. Edward Akroyd proudly expressed his contribution to the better life of the labouring people in Halifax in the 1850s.

In detailing my own exertions to improve the intellectual, moral and physical condition of my workpeople, numbering 5000, I must premise that I am not singular in these efforts, nor do I take credit to myself for all that has been done in my establishment.¹³³

As a recent study points out,¹³⁴ the ideology of 'social improvement' in urban public institutions in Halifax was also justified by utilitarianism. The ideology of social improvement motivated the middle classes to expand public facilities no matter how much they cost. *The Halifax Guardian* had already noticed that awareness in 1847 during the campaign for incorporating the Halifax Borough.

The Town councillor would find himself in an assembly of his equals, all equally linked in welfare of the town, and feeling a common responsibility to their fellow-townsmen for the efficient discharge of their duties.¹³⁵

On the other hand, as Michael Winstanley suggests,¹³⁶ taxpayers had always pressured the local administrative bodies such as the Borough Corporation to have fair and open management and

¹³² John Graham Branston, 'The Development of Public Open Spaces in Leeds during the Nineteenth Century', unpublished M.Phil. thesis, University of Leeds (1972).

¹³³ *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, 1857*, p. 527.

¹³⁴ R.J. Morris, 'Governance: Two Centuries of Urban Growth', in R.J. Morris and R.H. Trainor (eds.), *Urban Governance* (Aldershot, 2000), p. 8.

¹³⁵ *HG* 1 May 1847.

¹³⁶ Michael Winstanley, 'Oldham Radicalism and the Origins of Popular Liberalism, 1830-52', *Historical Journal* 36 (1993), pp. 623-624, 627-628, 639-640, 642-643.

reduce the costs of administration. Moreover, as in other provincial towns,¹³⁷ the petite bourgeoisie as small urban property owners who returned some councillors to the Corporation were hostile towards high taxes and active social reforms based on high taxes. Thus, the aim of social improvement sometimes provoked conflicts between utilitarians and economic rationalists about whether urban improvement was necessary. The Halifax Corporation often faced criticisms against the burden of the local rate and inefficient businesses for social policies, while the aldermen and councillors of Halifax Municipal Borough Corporation managed with its limited budget.¹³⁸ Indeed, such criticisms appeared in *the Halifax Guardian*, after the watch committee established in 1848.¹³⁹ To refute such criticisms William Ranger's *Report to the General Board of Health ... on Halifax* defended the improvement of the environment in Halifax regardless the costs as follows.

The *costliness* of neglecting sanitary measures is too little *considered or estimated, even* by those who are perhaps, the principal sufferers ... because the tax ...is necessarily uncertain and indirect, and, it may be, levied on those who are the creators of no nuisance. I have, however, already shown, that although its visible results may not appear to affect the wealthy, its final effects are experienced more or less by all classes of the community.'¹⁴⁰

In this way, those three ideologies were interwoven and effectively helped governance of public institutions by the middle classes in the 1850s. In 1857, Henry Martin precisely pointed out that 'all classes' had to gather at public open space, like public parks, and open intellectual spaces, such

¹³⁷ Geoffrey Crossick, 'The Petite Bourgeoisie in Nineteenth-century Britain: the Urban and Liberal Case', in Geoffrey Crossick and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt (eds.), *Shopkeepers and Master Artisans in Nineteenth-century Europe* (1984), pp. 71-81, 87-88; Ann Day, 'A Spirit of Improvement: Improvement Commissioners, Board of Health and Central-Local Relations in Portsea', in R.J. Morris and R.H. Trainor (eds.), *Urban Governance* (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 105, 111-112.

¹³⁸ CDA, HXM: 3, 1848 and passim.

¹³⁹ HG 2 Sep. 1848.

¹⁴⁰ William Ranger, *Report to the General Board of Health, on a Preliminary Inquiry as to the Sewerage, Drainage and Supply of Water, and the Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of the Town of Halifax in the Country of York* (1851), p.52.

as the HMI. He still believed the HMI was the principal society in Halifax to make possible cooperation between the middle and lower classes.

“[T]he rich and the poor meet together”, and all classes, without reference to social rank, enjoy the same privileges, the same rights, and the same pleasures. The Peoples’ Park is one of these places; and, within its spacious walks, all may alike partake of the fresh air, the beautiful scenery, and the many other gratifications there afforded. I should like to see the Mechanics’ Institution made, as much as possible, a sense of equal rights, equal privileges, an equal payments, for all classes.¹⁴¹

Although hierarchy in public institutions in Halifax in the 1850s expressed distinction of the classes of the people, for the middle classes in Halifax, like Martin, the matter of ‘class’ was not an object to be denied but rather the object to be governed through the dominant ideologies: liberalism, harmonic society for all classes, and social improvement.

3. Conclusion

This chapter has investigated the structure and agency of local administrative bodies and voluntary societies, and observed that the middle classes constructed their social relationships, identities and ideologies through practices in specific local administrative body and voluntary societies. The Halifax Borough Corporation fostered the civic awareness among the middle classes, while the qualification for voters and officers in that corporation were confined to male local rate payers. The voluntary societies for relief of the poor or the unemployed aimed to stabilise social order and relationships in Halifax. They also widened a gap between subscribers from the middle classes and non-subscribers from other classes, while the hierarchical system associated with subscription closely intensified the authority of big subscribers of the upper middle classes as in the cases of BHH and RUEP. Specific cultural and learned voluntary societies with the belief in associational

¹⁴¹ *HC* 12 Dec. 1857.

life formed the close relationships within the middle classes as well as between them and other classes. While the HLPS constructed cultural awareness for the middle classes, the HMI built the definite relationship between the wealthy middle classes and the labouring people mainly of the skilled workers through the uneven subscription and donation system. Through activities in the HMI, the middle classes exercised their leadership to supply the intellectual space for all classes in Halifax.

Clearly, like other provincial towns,¹⁴² the public institutions in Halifax benefited the middle classes in creating their power, relationships and identities from the 1820s to the 1850s. In order to govern the local administrative bodies and voluntary societies, it was necessary for the middle classes not only to formalise the social distinction between them and other classes within them, but also to clarify their leadership in those organisations. Qualifications of voters and officers and subscription system in public institutions intensified class-relationships between the middle classes and lower classes. Moreover, when they had sometimes faced the 'political issues' and ideological conflicts within the local administrative bodies and voluntary societies, the middle classes began to have strong motivation to stabilise their social relationships. For instance, the middle classes eagerly tried to form their common civic space through the establishment of the Halifax Borough Corporation on one hand, and to create neutrality in cultural and learned societies on the other hand, though those projects were not always successful. Furthermore, specific ideologies, liberalism, social improvement, and harmonious society for all classes, provided the middle classes with their strong belief to govern the local administrative body and voluntary societies in Halifax from the later 1840s to the 1850s. These ideologies were the sources to carry out further improvement and development of those organisations. Thus, governance of public institutions in Halifax heavily

¹⁴² R.J. Morris, 'Structure, Culture and Society in British Towns', in Martin Daunton (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain: Volume III 1840-1950* (Cambridge), pp. 398-399; idem, 'The Middle Class and British Towns and Cities of the Industrial Revolution 1780-1870', in Derek Fraser and Anthony Sutcliffe (eds.), *The Pursuit of Urban History* (1983), p. 304.

depended on the middle classes' capitals and ideologies.

Finally, this research provides the critical perspective for the nature of the elite¹⁴³ and the governance of public institutions in provincial towns from the 1820s to the 1850s. Recent studies reconsider the 'dominance of the manufacturer' thesis, in which the manufacturers occupied the critical group among the urban elite in nineteenth century public institutions due to the economic interest and power of economic and social capital.¹⁴⁴ Indeed, manufacturers did not form the majority of the upper middle classes in Halifax in the first half of the nineteenth century. Merchants, professionals, bankers, and publishers were also important within the financial hierarchy and in maintaining the intellectual environment of the public institutions.

On the other hand, like the traditional thesis, this study illustrates that the manufacturers in Halifax as in Bradford, Manchester, and some industrial towns in Lancashire¹⁴⁵ played a significant role in public institutions between the 1830s and 1850s. In the first place, the manufacturers such as Edward Akroyd, and John, Joseph, and Francis Crossley became the biggest financial supporters of many Halifax public institutions by the 1850s. For instance, according to one description of Edward Akroyd at the Bankfield Museum in Halifax¹⁴⁶ where he lived in the mid-nineteenth century, he joined more than twenty voluntary societies in Halifax and in West Yorkshire including the Yorkshire Penny Bank, the Leeds, Bradford and Halifax Railway co., the Halifax Chamber of Commerce, and the Halifax Literary and Philosophical Society. Unlike Sheffield, Leeds, and Bradford, there were no local clubs for intensifying the connection of 'the urban elite' by the

¹⁴³ Richard H. Trainor, 'Urban Elites in Victorian Britain', *Urban History Yearbook* (1985); John Smith, 'Urban Elite c. 1830-1930 and Urban History', *Urban History* 27 (2000).

¹⁴⁴ Stana Nenadic, 'Businessmen, the Urban Middle Classes, and the "Dominance" of Manufacturers in Nineteenth-century Britain', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., 44 (1991), esp. pp. 74-83; Morris, *Class, Sect and Party*, esp. chap. 13.

¹⁴⁵ Garrard, *Leadership*; Simon Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and authority in the English Industrial City 1840-1914* (Manchester, 2000), chap. 1; Anthony Howe, *The Cotton Masters, 1830-1860* (Oxford, 1984); Koditschek, *Class Formation*.

¹⁴⁶ For this museum, Hargreaves, *Halifax*, pp. 82-82, 222.

1850s.¹⁴⁷ However, the urban elite in Halifax such as Akroyd and Crossleys exercised their leadership in public institutions by their economic and cultural capital in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, the manufacturers' activities were related to these institutions by specific critical ideologies such as liberalism, social harmony for all classes, and social improvement. They 'represented a significant moment in the construction of the mid-Victorian political nation and the articulation of a national liberal culture.'¹⁴⁸ Although Edward Akroyd, and John, Joseph, and Francis Crossley died or retired from public life in Halifax by the end of the 1870s, other manufacturers successfully retained their leadership of local public institutions in Halifax in the late Victorian period. The Rev. Francis Pigou, the Vicar of Halifax from 1875 to 1889, looked back on the rich manufacturers and merchants of the last quarter of the nineteenth century in Halifax:¹⁴⁹

Halifax is honourably associated with great manufacturers and merchant princes in the days of monopolies, which probably can never be again. Akroyd, Crossley, Baldwin, Foster, Edwards, Watkinson, Hall, Huntriss, Rawson, Appleyard, and many more, represent firms which counted their employés in their vast factories by thousands of intelligent mechanics and artizans.

¹⁴⁷ White, 'Middle-Class'; Kitson Clark, 'Elite'; John Seed, 'Capital and Class Formation in Early Industrial England', *Social History*, 18 (1993), p. 27. Presumably, it seems that the Loyal Georgian Society was the important friendly society for the urban elite in Halifax, while some elites, such as Edward Akroyd and Francis Crossley joined this society in the 1850s. See section 1 in this chapter.

¹⁴⁸ Robert Gray, 'The Platform and the Pulpit: Cultural Networks and Civic Identities in Industrial Towns, c. 1850-70', in Alan Kidd and David Nicholls (eds.), *The Making of the British Middle Class? Studies of Regional and Cultural Diversity since the Eighteenth Century* (Stroud, 1998), p. 135; Searle, *Morality*, pp.268-273.

¹⁴⁹ Francis Pigou, *Phases of My Life*, Popular Edition (1900), p.278.

Conclusion

This study has explored the development of the middle-class world in a specific local community, Halifax, from 1780 to 1850. Three main purposes have been investigated: the economic and social state of the middle classes; the activities, relationships and identities of the middle classes in the political sphere; and agency, structure and authority in the public institutions, in Halifax from 1780 to 1850.

Population growth, the expansion of textile and other industries, and the diversification of industries in Halifax stimulated economic activities of the middle classes from 1780 to 1850. The growth of financial relationships with three local banks established from 1829 to 1836 intensified business activities of the middle classes in Halifax, and the textile industries through factory-based organisational change led to increase wealth of the middle classes. During that time, the occupational state of the middle classes clearly showed that their economic state such as quantity of capital was never uniform in Halifax. The upper middle class group in Halifax was a relatively smaller group than the lower middle class group. The former was composed of merchants, bankers, professionals (including lawyers, clergy, and medical doctors), and manufacturers, whereas the latter consisted of craft, distribution and processing, small dealing, and miscellaneous clerical activities. Diversified industries – textile manufacturing, metal and machine tool manufacturing, dealings, professionals and services – produced the uneven economic and social states of the middle classes in Halifax.

Activities in the political sphere in Halifax reflected the definite political awareness of the middle classes from 1780 to 1850. Between 1780 and 1820, there were many opportunities for the middle classes to engage in political movements such as county elections for Parliament, popular political movements, and political campaigns to Parliament. Some political ideologies such as radicalism

permeated the middle classes as well as the people of the lower classes in Halifax. However, these ideologies did not contribute to intensifying political cooperative practices for the middle classes in Halifax. The investigation of political life in Halifax from the 1790s to the 1810s showed the difficulty of negotiating their diversified interests through their political activities such as campaigns, elections and political movements.

In the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the political institutional matrix in Halifax changed. The establishment of the Halifax Parliamentary Borough by the 1832 Parliamentary Reform Act was one of the most important political events for the middle classes. As in other provincial towns,¹ political disputes on the basis of political organisations such as ‘parties and sects’ became conspicuous in the Halifax parliamentary elections after 1832. Furthermore, political relationships between the middle classes and the lower classes in Halifax were initially neither stable nor cooperative. The antagonism of the lower classes towards the middle classes became stronger through popular political movements like Chartism. Political awareness of the middle classes was intensified through campaigns of the political organisations such as ‘parties and sects’ and the political movements such as the Halifax Anti-Corn Law Association. As a result, during that period, the political awareness of the middle classes were developed, but their aims became diversified by aims of parties, sects, and political movements. Nevertheless, without eliminating completely opposition within the political sphere, political institutions in Halifax such as local political organisations, partnerships between those organisations and specific ideologies such as ‘liberalism’, enabled the middle classes to negotiate their diversified political aims. This political institutional matrix produced dynamic and vital activities among the middle classes in the political sphere in Halifax.

¹ Derek Fraser, *Urban Politics in Victorian England: the Structure of Politics in Victorian Cities* (Leicester, 1976), esp. pp. 1-22; R.J. Morris, *Class, Sect and Party. The Making of the British Middle Class: Leeds, 1820-1850* (Manchester, 1990), chap. 6.

The middle classes were also deeply concerned with governance of public institutions such as local administrative bodies and voluntary societies in Halifax from 1780 to 1850. Such governance did not depend on hierarchical relationships based on patronage and deference such as ‘patricians-plebs’ relationship,² nor did it exercise rigid and mechanistic ‘social control’³ over the lower classes of the people. Rather, cooperative relationships of local administrative bodies and voluntary societies sustained social order in Halifax from 1780 to 1850. In the public institutions in Halifax, the middle classes established their power on their capital, relationships and ideologies. First, paying rates for local administration, investing in commercial societies, or paying subscriptions or donations to voluntary societies represented the principal means of distinguishing the middle classes from other classes such as the labouring classes. The subscription system in voluntary societies formalised intra- and inter- relationships for the middle classes in Halifax from 1780 to 1850. For example, subscriptions for the societies for relief of the poor or the unemployed in Halifax not only distinguished the middle class subscribers from the poor or the labouring people but also demonstrated the authority of the wealthy upper middle classes through hierarchy in subscription and donation. The Halifax Mechanics’ Institutes constructed social relationships between the wealthy middle class donors and the subscribers, mainly from the skilled workers, by uneven subscriptions and donations. Moreover, as the evidence of the Halifax General Dispensary (later the Halifax General Infirmary) and other voluntary societies demonstrated, public subscriptions and donations in the public institutions provided crucial opportunities to construct cooperative relationships between various voluntary societies in Halifax. Those relationships essentially depended on the middle classes’ economic resources. Secondly, the definite belief in governance of public institutions among the middle classes was strengthened in public institutions in Halifax.

² E.P. Thompson, *Customs in Common: Studies in Traditional Popular Culture* (1991), chap. 2; Harold Perkin, *Origins of Modern English Society* (1969), chap. 2.

³ A.P. Donajrodzki (ed.), *Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain* (1977); Cf. F.M.L. Thompson, ‘Social Control in Victorian Britain’, *Economic History Review*, 2nd Ser., 34 (1981); Gareth Stedman Jones, *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working-Class History, 1832-1982* (Cambridge, 1983), chap. 2.

Establishing the Halifax Borough Corporation in 1848 formed the central civic space in Halifax, and intensified their civic awareness. Activities of the voluntary societies in Halifax also encouraged the middle classes to pursue social stability in Halifax by cultivating intellectual space and relief of the poor and the unemployed. While ‘political issues’ in the local administrative bodies and voluntary societies appeared, the middle classes took the decisive measures to stabilise their social relationships, and prevent serious political conflicts by creating the political and religious neutral space in those organisations. Lastly, various ideologies for the middle classes emerged in public institutions in Halifax from 1780 to 1850. But, from the later 1840s, specific ideologies such as liberalism,⁴ social improvement, and harmonious society for all classes became a significant resource for the middle classes to govern local administrative bodies and voluntary societies effectively as well as to motivate them to further improvement and expansion of public institutions.

In contrast to the interpretation of Jonathan Clark,⁵ this study provides rich evidence for dynamic aspects of the middle classes in provincial towns from the later eighteenth to the early nineteenth. It is apparent that there are not only similarities but also differences between ‘the middle-class world’ before 1780⁶ and in the period from 1780 to 1850. The middle classes had represented their civic identity in public institutions in Halifax since the third quarter of the eighteenth century. Differences between the middle classes and other classes had also been exemplified in these institutions through this distinct identity since the mid-eighteenth century. Indeed, as Peter Clark

⁴ For close relationship between the middle classes and liberalism in the nineteenth century, see V.A.C. Gatrell, ‘Incorporation and the Pursuit of Liberal Hegemony in Manchester 1790-1839’, in D. Fraser (ed.), *Municipal Reform and the Industrial City* (Leicester, 1982); Simon Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and authority in the English Industrial City 1840-1914* (Manchester, 2000); G.R. Searle, *Entrepreneurial Politics in Mid-Victorian Britain* (Oxford, 1993); Michael J. Turner, *Reform and Respectability: Time Making of a Middle-Class Liberalism in Early 19th- Century Manchester* (Manchester, 1995); Howard M. Wach, ‘Civil Society, Moral Identity and the Liberal Public Sphere: Manchester and Boston, 1810-40’, *Social History*, 21 (1996).

⁵ J.C.D. Clark, *English Society 1660-1832: Religion, Ideology and Politics during the Ancien Regime*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 2000).

⁶ John Smail, *The Origins of Middle Class Culture: Halifax, Yorkshire, 1660-1780* (Ithaca, 1994).

suggests,⁷ public societies in Halifax from 1780 to 1820 ‘were already anticipating those self-consciously serious middle-class societies which shaped civic and class identities in Victorian Britain.’ On the other hand, the political institutional matrix in Halifax was not enough for the middle classes to negotiate their diversified political interests between the 1800s and 1810s, at a time when popular radicalism became active.

This study also shows that the second quarter of the nineteenth century was the critical period for the middle-class world in Halifax.⁸ Expansion of textile industries and diversification of industries encouraged the growth of the upper as well as lower middle classes. Their capital had been the driving force to improve and stabilise the urban society in Halifax during that period. Vital political movements and activities of political parties not only intensified the political antagonism within the middle classes and the conflicts between parties or sects but also fostered the political awareness of the middle classes. The middle classes in Halifax could construct their dynamic political sphere to compete with each other for their divided political aims by forming parties and sects, while they tried to get over serious pressures from popular political movements especially from the labouring people. In public institutions in Halifax, the middle classes shaped their identities and enhanced relationships within them as well as with the labouring classes through their activities developing the intellectual world, stabilising social order, and solving ‘political issues’ within the voluntary societies and local administrative bodies. Thus, the economic, political, and social institutional matrix, as well as activities of the Halifax middle classes from 1780 to 1850, had a distinct character compared to the Halifax middle-class culture before 1780.⁹

After the 1850s, the nature of public life in provincial commercial and industrial towns changed

⁷ Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800: the Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford, 2000), p. 140.

⁸ R.J. Morris, *Class and Class Consciousness in the Industrial Revolution, 1780-1850* (Basingstoke, 1979), pp. 33-35; idem, *Class, Set and Party*, p. 11.

⁹ Cf. Smail, *Origins*, p. 229.

significantly. Relationships between voluntary societies and the government became more institutionalised in the second half of the nineteenth century, while the organisational structure of public institutions became more bureaucratic.¹⁰ On the other hand, although a number of gentlemen's clubs for the urban elite retained their distinct prestige in the provincial urban society, the clubs for the middle classes, described as 'clubland' by Simon Gunn, proliferated in the second half of the nineteenth century. The latter depended on 'cash payment' such as enrolment fees from the male middle classes. Such existence of two types of clubs reflected 'a shift from a culture predicated on relatively small elites and personal acquaintance to the more anonymous public world and social relationships of the mid-Victorian city'. Public institutions also created a 'visible' cultural space by their 'ritualistic and performative' events such as promenades, processions and performances at the concert hall.¹¹ These changes in public institutions and in the nature of public activities could clearly rely upon the web of public institutions in urban local communities and the strength of specific ideologies: liberalism, social improvement, and harmonic societies for all classes. These ideologies were consolidated within public institutions from the 1820s to the 1850s. Thus, it was in the period from 1780 to 1850 that the middle classes developed agency of public institutions and intensified governance over these institutions.

In conclusion, the findings of this study of the middle-class world in Halifax from 1780 to 1850 confirm one critical perspective for the study of the British middle class. There is no single and simple explanation to characterise activities, relationships, and identities in 'the middle-class world' in British provincial towns in the first half of the nineteenth century. The middle-class world in Halifax did not always represent a single concrete social entity either in the economic and social

¹⁰ R.J. Morris, 'Voluntary Societies and British Urban Elites 1780-1850: an Analysis', *Historical Journal*, 26 (1983), esp. pp. 116-118; idem, 'Clubs, Societies and Associations', in F.M.L. Thompson (ed.), *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950, vol. 3: Social Agencies and Institutions* (Cambridge, 1990), esp. pp. 417-420; Pat Thane, 'Government and Society in England Wales, 1750-1914', in F.M.L. Thompson (ed.), *Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750-1950: vol.3, Social Agencies and Institutions* (Cambridge, 1990).

¹¹ Gunn, *Public Culture*, p. 29.

state, in the political sphere, or the public institutions, but multiple features within the middle-class world from 1780 to 1850.¹² In the economic phase, the middle classes in Halifax commonly had capital to carry out their business as well as to improve their life. However, they had diversified their industrial interests during that period. Moreover, through the amount and nature of capital, the middle classes were differentiated between the upper middle classes and the lower middle classes. This economic heterogeneity of the middle classes was sustained through the growth of factory-based textile industries, diversification of industries, and development of economic institutions such as the establishment of local banks in Halifax. In the political phase, through their industrial campaigns, the Halifax Borough elections since 1832, and political movements, the middle classes intensified their political awareness from 1780 to 1850. Although the middle classes were always divided by their political interests based on specific political parties, they constructed the commonly shared dynamic political space in the second quarter of the nineteenth century when major political parties competed their policies, forming their political ideologies. In the social phase, the middle classes came into governance of public institutions in Halifax. But, the local administrative bodies and voluntary societies needed to solve economic and political heterogeneousness of their members. For example, the voluntary societies generally prohibited the members from debating 'politics and religion'. The system of stratified subscriptions and donations in the voluntary societies was the means to establish the leadership of the wealthy members within these societies. The infiltration of the three ideologies, liberalism, social improvement, and harmonious society for all classes, into the middle classes provided common sources for governance of public institutions in Halifax in the 1850s. These three solutions were the project through which the middle classes stabilized their social relationships and identities.

¹² Asa Briggs, 'The Language of "Class" in Early Nineteenth-century England', in Asa Briggs and J. Saville (eds.), *Essays in Labour History* (1960); Geoffrey Crossick, 'From Gentlemen to the Residuum: Languages of Social Description in Victorian Britain', in P.J. Corfield (ed.), *Language, History and Class* (Oxford, 1991); Dror Wahrman, *Imaging the Middle Class: The Political Representation of Class in Britain, c.1780-1840* (Cambridge, 1995).

Furthermore, the middle-class world was affected by other classes, and the border among the classes was also fluid. Indeed, as David Cannadine points out,¹³ 'class' in Halifax from 1780 to 1850 exemplified multiple social descriptions: the dichotomous or the triadic view of class and hierarchy with the same social classes or the social classes against one to another. Indeed, dichotomous differences existed between the middle classes and the labouring classes in public institutions by subscriptions for voluntary associations or rate-payers for local administrative bodies. After the Parliamentary Reform Act in 1832, the political differences between the middle classes and the labouring classes became more conspicuous by the rhetoric, 'voter and non-voter'. Moreover, the Halifax Anti-Corn Law Association in the 1840s represented the middle classes' ascendancy in the national economy against the ruling classes as well as their power over the labouring classes. The middle classes began to emphasise their political and economic distinction from the landed aristocracy.¹⁴ In May 1852 Edward Akroyd wrote to Sir Charles Wood, M.P. for Halifax Borough:

the Cobden and Bright party are striving for power. Their Object is to form a middle class administration in contradiction to the aristocratic element which has hitherto predominated in the government of this country.¹⁵

Furthermore, the Chartists in Halifax also used a term of 'class' clearly to represent their antagonism towards other classes at the Halifax Borough Election in 1852. On the other hand, the 1847 election showed internal conflicts within the middle classes, and new pattern of political partnerships such as Radical dissenters – Chartists, and Whig/Liberal-Tory. However, the Whig/Liberals and middle-class radicals, under the ascendancy of liberalism in the local political sphere in Halifax, re-made their political partnership, and together expressed another ideology of a harmonious society for all classes after 1852.

¹³ David Cannadine, *Class in Britain* (New Haven, 1998), p. 170.

¹⁴ *HR* 3 November 1847.

¹⁵ Edward Akroyd to Sir Charles Wood, 1 March 1852, the Hickleton Paper (First Viscount Halifax MSS), A4/135.

The 'interactional approach' of this regional study of the middle class in Halifax from 1780 to 1850 advances a more comprehensive understanding of dynamics and complexity of the British urban middle class in the nineteenth century. By the systematic usage of quantitative sources and cross-reference between analytical results of quantitative sources and of qualitative sources, it synthesises the economic, political, and social institutional matrix, and the middle classes' activities and ideologies in Halifax. The dynamic and multiple interplay between activities of the middle classes and economic, political, and social institutional matrix provided the essence of the middle-class world in British provincial towns from 1780 to 1850.

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¹ For the Halifax database, see chapter 1 Appendix.

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