

# **The Urban Elite in Leeds, 1780-1820**

## **: From Notables to Middle Class**

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T o s h i h i k o I W A M A

### Introduction

In studies of the British middle class, historians of the nineteenth century have differed in their concerns from historians of early modern times (in this paper, I consider the early modern as the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries). Though Perry Anderson and M. J. Wiener point out the cultural dominance of the aristocracy over the middle class in the nineteenth century,<sup>1</sup> J. Seed and R. J. Morris emphasise the importance of the British middle class.<sup>2</sup> Many studies of nineteenth century British history have been based on the assumption that 'class' was a very important term in nineteenth century British society.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, E. P. Thompson proposed the 'patrician-plebeian' model and H. Perkin analyses early modern times using the concept of a 'classless society'.<sup>4</sup> But, J. Barry acutely points out the importance of the contemporary term: 'middling sort of people'.<sup>5</sup> Thus, we are confronted with a subject that is the unification of two different studies. We may say that a subject is developing, which focuses on the study of the 'middling sort of people', using the 'field of force' as a metaphor.<sup>6</sup>

Although the British middle class has been an object of study from the early modern times to the nineteenth century, not enough is known about its social transformation from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century. While there exists both Thompson's view that the patrician-plebeian society changed to a class society through class struggle, and Perkin's view of the birth of class society through industrialisation, what seems to be lacking is the study of the middle class from the later eighteenth to the early nineteenth century. The object of this paper is to re-examine the making of the British middle class in Leeds, a northern industrial and commercial town, basing the analysis on Thompson's and Perkin's studies.<sup>7</sup>

Next, I outline the basic notions and the organisation of this paper. The term 'class' has been defined historically as 'social relations' by Thompson. These social relations have been determined by relationships among groups of people, relationships between class and structure, institutions, some accidental historical events and the formation of class consciousness.<sup>8</sup> The middle class appeared as social groups between the landed

aristocracy and gentry and the labouring class. They were not like the landowners who depended totally upon the *rente*, but utilised their property (mobile capital, stock in trade and professional knowledge) to engage in economic activity. Politically, they can be distinguished by common experience and interest which arose from the fact that they were positioned in an intermediate state between the patricians and the plebeians.<sup>9</sup> This paper first examines the change from the 'middling sort of people' to the middle class and then examines that from the domination by the notables to the domination by the middle class, dealing mainly with the latter. In the analysis below the 'urban elite' is the main leader of the transformation in Leeds (urban elite meaning ruling group.) The middle class was slightly different from the middling sort in terms of its constituents. The middle class can be distinguished from the middling sort by different social relations through common experience in the nineteenth century. The term 'notables' has been defined in Max Weber as 'persons: (1) whose economic position permits them to hold continuous policy-making and administrative positions in an organization without (more than nominal) remuneration; (2) who enjoy social prestige of whatever derivation in such a manner they are likely to hold office by virtue of the member's confidence, which at first is freely given and then traditionally accorded'.<sup>10</sup>

Section attempts to illustrate the domination by the notables. Section analyses social and economic change in Leeds to elucidate the transformation of the notables, and then goes on to examine the course of the conflicts within the urban elite. Section examines the role of the voluntary societies (hereafter, voluntary society is abbreviated as V.S.) in the making of the middle class in Leeds. Lastly Section shows the development of the middle class from 1820.

#### Notes

- (1) Perry Anderson, "Origins of the Present Crisis", *New Left Review*, 23, 1964; M. J. Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850-1980*, Cambridge, 1981.
- (2) J. Wolff and J. Seed, eds., *The Culture of Capital*, Manchester, 1988; ;J. Seed, "Capital and Class Formation in Early Industrial England", *Social History* (hereafter, *SH*), 18, 1993; do., "Unit-arianism, Political Economy and the Antinomies of Liberal Culture in

- Manchester, 1830-50", *S. H.*, 7, 1982 (以下 Seed, "Culture"); R. J. Morris, ed., *Class, Power and Social Structure in British Nineteenth-century Towns*, Leicester, 1986 (以下 Morris, *Power*); R. J. Morris, *Class, Sect and Party*, Manchester, 1990 (hereafter, Morris, *Class*).
- (3) R. J. Morris, *Class and Class Consciousness in the Industrial Revolution, 1780-1850*, London, 1979 (hereafter, Morris, *Consciousness*); H. Perkin, *Origins of Modern English Society*, London, 1969 (hereafter, Perkin, *Origins*), chaps. 6, 7; E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, Penguin ed., 1980 (hereafter, Thompson, *Making*). For a critical study of Thompson's works, see P. Joyce, *Visions of the People*, Cambridge, 1991, chap. 1. For a survey, see James Thompson, "After the Fall: Class and Political Language in Britain, 1780-1900", *Historical Journal* (hereafter, *HJ*), 39, 1996.
- (4) E. P. Thompson, "Eighteenth-century English Society: Class Struggle without Class", *S.H.*, 3, 1978 (hereafter, Thompson, "Class"); do., *Customs in Common*, London, 1991 (hereafter, Thompson, *Customs*), chap. 2; Perkin, *Origins*, chap. 2.
- (5) J. Barry and C. Brooks, eds., *The Middling Sort of People*, London, 1994 (hereafter, Barry, *Middling*); P. Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People, England 1727-1783*, Oxford, 1989, chap. 3.
- (6) Thompson, *Customs*, pp. 87-96; P. King, "Edward Thompson's Contribution to Eighteenth-century Studies. The Plebeian Model Re-examined", *S.H.*, 21, 1996, pp. 215-228; D. Wahrman, "National Society, Communal Culture: an Argument about the Recent Historiography of Eighteenth-century Britain", *S.H.*, 17, 1992 (hereafter, Wahrman, "National"), pp. 43-58. And Takahiko Hasegawa, "Class, Culture and Language" (in Japanese), *Shiso*, 828, 1993.
- (7) See, J. Seed, "From 'Middling Sort' to Middle Class in Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth-century England", in M. L. Bush, ed., *Social Orders & Social Classes in Europe since 1500*, London, 1992 (hereafter, Seed, "Middling"); P. J. Corfield, "Class by Name and Number in Eighteenth-century Britain", in do., ed., *Language, History and Class*, Oxford, 1991; L. Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family Fortune*, London, 1987 (hereafter, Davidoff, *Family*); T. Koditschek, *Class Formation and Urban Industrial Society*, Cambridge, 1990 (hereafter, Koditschek, *Class*); J. Smail, *The Origins of Middle-Class*

- Culture*, Ithaca, 1994 (hereafter, Smail, *Origins*); Takahiko Hasegawa, "The Making of the Urban Middle Class in Britain During the Industrial Revolution"(in Japanese), *Shigaku= Zasshi*, 105, 1996 . For a brief survey, see R. Price, "Historiography, Narrative and the Nineteenth Century", *Journal of British Studies*, 35, 1996.
- (8) Thompson, *Making*, pp. 8-12; Morris, *Consciousness*, pp. 27-46.
- (9) Barry, *Middling*, pp. 152, 155-158, 160-162; Davidoff, *Family*, pp. 18-35; E. Hobsbawm, "The Example of the English Middle Class", in J. Kocka and A. Mitchell, eds., *Bourgeois Society in Nineteenth-century Europe*, Oxford, 1993, pp. 127-134, 146-147; Seed, "Middling", pp. 114-115, 124-125, 130-135; Smail, *Origins*, chap.1. D. Wahrman, *Imaging the Middle Class*, Cambridge, 1995 (hereafter, Wahrman, *Imaging*) focuses on the 'middle class' in terms of political discourse and language.
- (10) Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, ed. by G. Roth and C. Wittich, New York, 1968, pp. 290-291, 1059-1064.

### **The Governmental Structure of Later Eighteenth-century Leeds**

Leeds was incorporated in 1626, acquired the right to hold borough quarter sessions in 1661, and was reaffirmed in 1684 and 1689. The charter in 1626 remained the basis of the Leeds town government until the municipal reform in 1835. Leeds, however, failed to gain a seat in Parliament.<sup>1</sup> There was the manor of Leeds, but the manor divided after the mid-seventeenth century. Even the soke, the only remaining vestige of the manor was bought for £13,000 by the corporation in 1839. The boundary of the borough of Leeds was also the boundary of the parish of Leeds.<sup>2</sup> In this paper, the term 'Leeds' is defined as the township and the term 'suburbs' as the out-township. The population of Leeds increased from the eighteenth century and it became the biggest town in the West Riding (See Table 1).<sup>3</sup>

From the later seventeenth century, one part of the central administration was the corporation (the Borough of Leeds, See Figure 1).<sup>4</sup> The corporation consisted of the mayor, twelve aldermen, and twenty-four assistants. Every Feast of St. Michael, the new mayor for the year was elected from aldermen by the incumbent mayor, aldermen, and assistants. If any of the alderman for life died or was removed from office, a new aldermen

would be elected from assistants by the mayor, aldermen and the rest of the assistants. Also, if an assistant died or was removed, a new assistant was elected from the burgesses by the mayor, aldermen and the rest of the assistants. However, the burgesses became a mere name after the middle of the eighteenth century, and all inhabitants were considered to be burgesses. Likewise, the corporation included the Recorder, the Town Clerk, the Coroner, the Sergeant-at-Mace, and others. The Justices of the Peace (hereafter, as J.P.), who also served as royal officials, consisted of the mayor, the recorder, the deputy recorder and one or more aldermen. J.P.s held the borough's quarter sessions and also held the power to appoint overseers, highway surveyors and constables. Likewise, the mayor and aldermen held the petty sessions from the later eighteenth century. Felony cases were sent to assizes in York.

In the later seventeenth century, some members of the corporation held manorial rights in Leeds. Similarly, some members of the Pious Uses Trustees, which managed Leeds Grammar School and a number of charities, served as members of the corporation.<sup>5</sup> The members of the vestry and the improvement commission, which was established in 1790, were often also members of the corporation. The corporation and the J.P.s played an especially important role in establishing the improvement commission and managing it in its early stages.<sup>6</sup> There were out-township meetings in the suburbs, which undertook their own policies regarding the poor.<sup>7</sup> The urban elite in Leeds played an active administrative part in the corporation, the J.P.s, the vestry, the improvement commission, and the V.S.s.

Now we will examine the patterns of political advancement in the urban elite (See Table 2).<sup>8</sup> There are two patterns. In the first, an influential person in Leeds would be elected as an assistant in his late twenties or early thirties, promoted to alderman after some years, and then promoted to the post of mayor one or two years after that. In the second, a newcomer was elected as an assistant in his forties, and promoted to an alderman and a mayor some years later. The nature of the corporation was oligarchical because the assistants became classed as either those who would rise to mayoral ranks or those who would remain as assistants, and because the corporation did not expand its numbers.

Woollen merchants provided a large number of mayors until the 1810's. The aldermen who were not elected mayor and the assistants were mostly woollen merchants too (See

Table 3). Among mayoral occupations, there was more than one surgeon and banker in each of the years in Table 3. However, manufacturers (defined as factory-owners) were hardly ever elected mayor. The occupations of the assistants were more diverse than those of the mayor after the 1820's.

The 'gentlemen merchants', consisting of twelve main families, were the nucleus of the woollen merchants in Leeds, and these families also controlled the corporation.<sup>9</sup> The gentlemen merchants put great emphasis on family connections when choosing their new members. If newcomers wanted to join the gentlemen merchants, they had to pay immense sums for apprenticeships, and then had to purchase partnerships with other gentlemen merchants: the gentlemen merchants thought these apprenticeships important. In the consideration of eligibility for entrance to these merchant groups, lifestyle was more important than property. In order to maintain their lifestyles, they invested in land and canals as these were more stable properties. This eligibility appraisal testing system remained for personnel changes to the corporation until the later eighteenth century and thereafter. The parliamentary report 1835 described a system of almost pure nepotism.<sup>10</sup> These gentlemen merchants constituted the stratum of the notables in Leeds.

Examining the Court Book of the Leeds Corporation,<sup>11</sup> we first notice that the corporation was very active in the 1790's. The corporation managed urban improvements, such social policy for the relief of poverty, and countermeasures to the French Revolution and radicalism. It also organised committees for urban improvements and special groups within the corporation. These committees, and the corporation itself, also interacted with the improvement commission, the Leeds volunteers and other V.S.s. Secondly, it can be seen that there were many appointments, as well as fines, bye-laws for elections, and ceremonies. Thirdly, the corporation emphasised not so much practical administration as its character as a petitioning organisation. From the 1810's, especially, the corporation stressed party feeling with the aim of receiving royal support. The corporation and committees declared their support for the monarchy, and petitioned Parliament to abolish acts and reconsider policy. Fourthly, the corporation resisted the municipal reform in 1835.<sup>12</sup>

The members of the corporation were the notables, recognised for their 'patience and

personal sacrifices',<sup>13</sup> and attached great importance to personal activity and personal relations. They conducted considerate action through petitions, addresses and committees, and they supported the local administration. They suppressed radicalism because of its undermining effect on society.<sup>14</sup>

In the early eighteenth century, the main work of the corporation was to control the woollen trade. However, it was the J.P.s, who were not only the members of the corporation but also local administrators of the central government, that dealt with problems in the woollen industry, including some regulations. The J.P.s, for example, managed the execution of the Stamp Acts, the regulation of apprenticeships and the assize of bread;<sup>15</sup> and moreover, they maintained public order through granting licenses for public-houses, organising a police force, and holding court sessions. The improvement acts of 1790, 1809, 1815, and 1824 are typical examples.<sup>16</sup> The act of 1790 improved the water works; the act of 1809 allowed the J.P.s to levy the court house rate and the gaol rate; the act of 1815 permitted the J.P.s to apply these rates to the expenses for making arrests; the act of 1824 established the regulation of property for improvement commissioners, granted more power to the commissioners, and reconfirmed the power of the J.P.s. The J.P.s in courts won wide support through fair judgement, their efforts to improve the institutions, and performance of such work as presiding over executions.<sup>17</sup>

It seems reasonable to suppose that this administration under the J.P.s was 'paternalistic' in a fashion particular to the eighteenth century. In other words, there was a personal and patriarchal relationship between the administrators and the people. This paternalism was personal and local, and was characterised by mutual consent.<sup>18</sup> If an administrator ignored the people, he suffered personal punishment. William Hey, who was the mayor from 1787 to 1788, suppressed 'immoral behaviour', and took it for granted that it was his duty to rule the people. However, he was threatened and challenged. When he was re-elected mayor in 1802, he did not act similarly because he had become considerate to the local community. He regarded paternalism as important and placed himself in 'the paternalism deference equilibrium'.<sup>19</sup>

Local activity of the urban elite was not limited only the corporation and the J.P.s. Hey became involved with Sunday Schools and other V.S.s. for education of the people after



about 1800. The gentlemen merchants gave personal alms to the poor. The poor relief was carried out by many doctors during an epidemic at the turn of the century.<sup>20</sup> These activities of the urban elite were characterised by personal policies, and they supported the administrative structure.

Whereas the members of the corporation were regarded as members of the local administration by the charters, the J.P.s worked in local administration and in the courts, as officials of the King and the central government office. While the corporation<sup>21</sup> managed the affairs of local administration and petitions, the J.P.s, many of whom were also notables, carried out the management of the local administration for the King and the central government. It is therefore worth emphasising that the urban elite, as a group with their distinguished character, performed the activities of both the corporation and the J.P.s. The administration of the corporation and the J.P.s, based on this urban elite's dual involvement, created a situation called 'administration by the notables'.<sup>22</sup> The urban elite intended to maintain this administrative structure in local areas through paternalism, the means they preferred. Thus we can recognise that the urban elite in Leeds belongs to Wahrman's 'communal-local culture' as distinguished from 'national and London orientated culture'.<sup>23</sup>

The administrative structure began to change through the conflicts of sects and parties, and through opposition to paternalistic policies after the 1810's. In the next section, we will focus our attention on the process by which the notables were transformed and the context of this development.

#### Notes

- (1) J. Wardell, *The Municipal History of the Borough of Leeds*, London, 1846 (hereafter, Wardell, *Leeds*), pp. 1-96; *Parliamentary Papers* (hereafter, *P.P.*), Report of the Royal Commission on Municipal Corporations, 1835, (hereafter, *P.P.* 1835), pp. 1617- 1624.
- (2) M. W. Beresford and G. R. Jones, eds., *Leeds and Its Regions*, Leeds, 1967, pp. 131-155; W. G. Rimmer, "The Evolution of Leeds to 1700", *Publications of the Thoresby Society* (hereafter, *P.T.S.*), 50, 1967, pp. 108-29; S. Burt and K. Grady, *The Illustrated History of Leeds*, Derby, 1994 (hereafter, Burt, *Leeds*), pp. 10-51, 106-107; M. Yasumoto, *Economic Development and Population Change in England* (in Japanese), Kyoto, 1982 (hereafter,

- Yasumoto, *Population*), pp.339-342; do., *Industrialisation, Urbanisation, Demographic Change in England*, Nagoya, 1994 (hereafter, Yasumoto, *Industrialisation*), pp. 53-54.
- (3) Yasumoto, *Industrialisation*, chap. 2; C. J. Morgan, "Demographic Change", in D. Fraser, ed., *A History of Modern Leeds*, Manchester, 1980 (hereafter, Fraser, *Leeds*). For census, see *P.P.*, Accounts & Papers, Abstract of the Answers and Returns, 1801-2, , pp. 449-450; Abstract of the Answers and Returns, 1812, , pp. 425-426; Abstract of the Answers and Returns, 1822, , p. 424; Abstract of the Answers and Returns, 1833, , pp. 824-825.
- (4) This and the following paragraph are based on Wardell, *Leeds*, pp. 1-96, - L , L -L , C -C ; *P.P.* 1835, pp. 1617-1624; K. Grady, "The Georgian Public Buildings of Leeds and the West Riding", *P.T.S.*, 62, 1987 (hereafter, Grady, "Buildings"), pp. 160-170.
- (5) For the Pious Uses Trustees, see *P.P.*, Report on the Endowed Charities of the City of Leeds, 1898, L (hereafter, *P.P.* 1898), pp. 371-391; A. C. Price, *A History of the Leeds Grammar School*, Leeds, 1919, pp. 70-171; Burt, *Leeds*, pp. 38, 117, 178; Grady, "Building", pp. 46, 61, 110.
- (6) R. G. Wilson, "Georgian Leeds", in Fraser, *Leeds* (hereafter, Wilson, "Leeds"), pp. 32-43. For the improvement commission, see 30 Geo. , chap. 68 (1790), Improvement (Water, Lighting and Cleansing). Wilson emphasises decline of the corporation after the later eighteenth century, but, this paper draws attention to a relationship between the corporation and other institutions.
- (7) R. Pearson, "The Industrial Suburbs of Leeds in the Nineteenth Century", unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Leeds, 1986 (hereafter, Pearson, "Suburbs"), pp. 18-170. And do., "Knowing One's Place: Perceptions of Community in the Industrial Suburbs of Leeds, 1790-1890", *Journal of Social History*, 27, 1993.
- (8) Table 2 and 3 based on West Yorkshire Joint Archive Service, Leeds District Office (hereafter, LDO), The Court Books of the Leeds Corporation, , 1773-1835, LCM/3; Wardell, *Leeds*, pp. CL -C C ; W. Bailey, *Bailey's British Directory*, London, 1784, pp. 560-564; P. Barfoot & J. Wilkes, *Universal British Directory*, London, pp. 532-541; G. Wright, *A Leeds Directory*, Leeds, 1798; E. Baines, *The Leeds Directory for 1809*, Leeds,

- 1809; do., *Directory, General and Commercial ... of Leeds*, Leeds, 1817; do., *History, Directory and Gazetteer of the Country of York*, vol. 1, Leeds, 1822; W. Parson, *General and Commercial Directory of ... Leeds*, Leeds, 1826; Baines & Newsome, *General and Commercial Directory ... of Leeds*, Leeds, 1834 (hereafter, directory is *D.* and year); R. V. Taylor, *The Biographia Leodiensis*, London, 1865; E. P. Hennock, *Fit and Proper Persons*, London, 1973; R. G. Wilson, *Gentlemen Merchants*, Manchester, 1971 (hereafter, Wilson, *Merchants*).
- (9) Wilson, *Merchants*, pp. 161-219; do., "Leeds", pp. 36-39. For the property of gentlemen merchants, see LDO, LCM/3, 1831.
- (10) *P.P.* 1835, p. 1621.
- (11) LDO, LCM/3, 1773-1835; D. Fraser, "The Leeds Corporation, c. 1820-c. 1850", *P.T.S.*, 54, 1979; S. & B. Webb, *The Manor and the Borough*, London, pp. 414-424; R. G. Wilson, "The Corporation of Leeds in the Eighteenth-century", *P.T.S.*, 54, 1979 (hereafter, Wilson, "Corporation").
- (12) D. Fraser, *Power and Authority in the Victorian City*, Oxford, 1979, pp. 51-58.
- (13) J. Pearson, *The Life of William Hey*, 2 vols., London, 1822 (hereafter, Pearson, *Hey*), Pt. 2, pp. 107-108. And see LDO, LCM/3, 1823.
- (14) Pearson, *Hey*, Pt. 2, pp. 116-117, 139-140; A. Randall, *Before the Luddites*, Cambridge, 1991 (hereafter, Randall, *Luddites*), pp. 264-265.
- (15) *The Leeds Mercury* (hereafter, *LM*) 4 Nov. 1777, 4 Aug. 1778; "The Court Books of the Leeds Corporation, 1st Book", *P.T.S.*, 34, pp. 188-189; H. Heaton, *The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries from earliest Times up to the Industrial Revolution*, Second ed., Oxford, 1965 (hereafter, Heaton, *Yorkshire*), pp. 238-247, 303-321; Wilson, *Merchants*, pp. 38-39, 101, 164-165, 190; do., "Corporation", pp. 266-267.
- (16) See Section notes (6). And 49 Geo. chap. 122 (1809), improvement (court house and prison); 55 Geo. chap. 42 (1815), improvement (police and watch); 5 Geo. chap. 124, improvement; *P.P.* 1835, pp. 1617-1624; *LM* 6, 27 May 1815.
- (17) *P.P.* 1835, p. 1620; LDO, LCM/3, 1835. See, for example, Mary Bateman, *the Yorkshire Witch*. E. Baines, *Extraordinary Life and Character of Mary Bateman, the Yorkshire Witch*, Leeds, 1820; J. Mayhall, *The Annals of Yorkshire*, 1862 (hereafter, *Annals*), pp.

218-221.

- (18) Douglas Hay, "Property, Authority and the Criminal Law", in do. et al., *Albion's Fatal Tree*, London, 1975, pp.39, 40-49, 51, 58-63; N. Landau, *The Justice of the Peace, 1679-1760*, Berkley, 1984, pp. 2-6, 359-362; Thompson, "Class", pp. 150, 158, 163-165; Michio Shibata, *The Modern World and Popular Movements* (in Japanese), Tokyo, 1983 (hereafter, Shibata, *Modern*), pp. 224-225, 270-301. And for paternalism, see D. Roberts, *Paternalism in Early Victorian England*, London, 1979, Introduction.
- (19) Pearson, *Hey*, Pt. 2, pp. 116, 133, 139, 146, 280; W. G. Rimmer, "William Hey of Leeds, Surgeon (1736-1819): a Reappraisal", *Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*, 9, 1961 (hereafter, Rimmer, "Hey"), p. 213; Thompson, "Class", pp. 150, 163-165; do., *Customs*, pp. 83-87; Shibata, *Modern*, pp. 224-225.
- (20) Pearson, *Hey*, Pt. 2, pp. 163-206, 280-281, 307, 313; Rimmer, "Hey", pp. 213-214; *Annals*, p. 163; *The Leeds Intelligencer* (hereafter, *L.I.*) 17 Nov. 1800.
- (21) In this paper, it can be said that the corporation (the Borough of Leeds) fits the concept of 'corps' or 'corporation', as defined by H. Ninomiya and M. Shibata in institutional history. The corporation had the characteristics of a 'corps' ('corporation') and a groups of notables. See Hiroyuki Ninomiya, *Total Perspectives and Historians* (in Japanese), Tokyo, 1986, pp. 112-171; Shibata, *Modern*, pp. 78-98.
- (22) For notables, compare this paper with Shibata. See Shibata, *Modern*, pp. 269-309. For notables of the landed aristocracy, see Yasusi Aoki, "Regional Society and Notables" (in Japanese), in M. Shibata, eds., *Norm and Integration* (in Japanese), Tokyo, 1990.
- (23) Wahrman, "National", pp. 44-58.

### **Social and Economic Change, and the Transformation of the Notables**

In this section, we will begin by considering the structure of occupations in order to examine how social and economic change influenced the transformation of the notables. This paper uses the commercial directories and the register of poor apprentices. According to the literature, these sources show the occupational structure of the middle classes and the middling sort in the town with reasonable accuracy.<sup>1</sup> Let us start by showing the structure of occupations and examine the trends in the industries and the nature of poverty relief as

reflected by whether poor apprentices were employed or rejected by their masters.

There were four major structural features concerning occupations in Leeds. First, after the 1810's, central industry shifted from textiles to food and tobacco and steadily diversified into other industries, and in this process, trades multiplied and subdivided (See Tables 1 and 4).<sup>2</sup> Secondly, although the textile industry lessened its importance for all trades, this industry was still important for the building of factories. Thirdly, while the old occupations from around the eighteenth century survived to some extent (for example, woollen merchants), new occupations also emerged (for example, factory owners and professionals). Finally, trades were diversified by the developments in manufacturing and commerce, the rise of the food industry and the advancement of professionals. As a result, Leeds changed from a commercial and industrial town to the regional capital of the West Riding.<sup>3</sup>

For the moment, let us look at the individual industries of textiles and professionals (See Table 4). The top level woollen merchants were gentlemen merchants who, as we have seen, traded actively, possessed land, attached importance to the family network, had gentleman's lifestyles, and made up the notables in Leeds. While they played on a major part in establishing cloth halls and canals and began the establishment of clear commercial interests, they seldom became factory owners themselves.<sup>4</sup>

However, the core woollen merchants undertook the management of capital and competition, and oriented themselves towards wealthier and larger clothiers and factory systems. Within this context, these merchants showed an interest in re-thinking the cloth hall trade and the old apprentice system, in other words, an interest in moving away from 'paternalism'.<sup>5</sup> For example, some merchants bought woollen cloth directly from wealthier clothiers and factory owners; other merchants planned to introduce a factory system. In fact, fixed capital formation in the West Riding cloth industries rapidly increased in the 1790's and 1820's.<sup>6</sup> It was the woollen, worsted, flax, and cotton manufacturers (i.e. factory owners) and the merchants other than gentlemen merchants that made up the middle classes. They had a laissez-faire attitude regarding the management of capital and competition, and believed in a philosophy of self-dependence.<sup>7</sup> Though the clothiers and cloth dressers petitioned Parliament to revive old regulatory statutes and organised the Institution against these changes, these old statutes were repealed by the 1806

Parliamentary committee report. The clothiers and cloth dressers lost their fundamental customs and institutional protection. As a result, the number of cloth dressers decreased and they became directly employed by merchants and manufacturers; while, on the other hand, the clothiers remained practically independent in industrial suburban villages.<sup>8</sup>

Next, let us look at the profession; not trades that carried much importance, but still worth a look. Unfortunately, this paper has to limit its attention to doctors due to lack of sources. To become surgeons in provincial towns, newcomers had to go through apprenticeships to masters at first, and had to depend on the master's referrals to get patients. Being skilled was not related to gaining fame or increasing the number of patients seen. Being wealthy and having necessary connections was also important in entering these groups of doctors.<sup>9</sup> With his parent's financial help, William Hey had the chance to become an apprentice in Leeds and to be trained in London. He later returned to Leeds and became a successful surgeon. Hey, a newcomer, established his name, had a large practice and acquired property through his activities in the General Infirmary at Leeds. He later became a member of the influential circle of doctors. He was anxious to preserve the oligarchical relationship of doctors and apprentices because he wanted to establish and stabilise his dominant position.<sup>10</sup> While the doctors in Leeds upheld the old customs and institutions, and continued to grade newcomers by connections and property, it was important for the successful newcomers (for example Hey) to be 'plain', 'diligent' and 'self-improving' as a mark of respectability. The doctors supported various V.S.s including the General Infirmary at Leeds and were dominant in such V.S.s which formed a basis for the making of the middle classes. Therefore, we should not always presume the transmission and continuation of the old doctors' ways.<sup>11</sup>

From the end of the eighteenth century, the merchants and the manufacturers had commercial interests and were confronted with the landlords' and labours' interests. They formed the middle classes in an economic sense together with other professions which were dominant in V.S.s and had achieved respectability. The birth of the middle classes occurred between the 1810's and the 1820's. How did these changes affect the administrative structure? First, let us examine 'the change in thinking regarding poverty relief, and the conflicts among the improvement commission, the vestry and the workhouse.

After the rebuilding of the workhouse in the early eighteenth century, the treatment of the poor in Leeds was based on the workhouse, outdoor relief and the parish apprentice.<sup>12</sup> The central problem here was the rejection of parish apprentices. It is important to note that, despite the industrial progress in Leeds, the number of rejections of poor apprentices increased rapidly after the 1780's (See Table 1 and 4). It is necessary to outline three contexts for this situation. First, the parish apprentices, as regulated labour, were unsuitable for regulating employment in the trade cycle. Second, paternalistic relations, and subsequently the apprentice system declined. Third, the belief that the fines for rejecting apprentices were necessary for poor relief spread among the masters in Leeds. It was not rare for these masters to prefer paying the fine for rejecting the apprentices and to think that the fine should be used as an alternative form of poor relief. The increase in the rejections of apprentices was the major cause of 'the change in thinking regarding poverty relief in Leeds.'<sup>13</sup>

Though the parish apprentice system survived after the 1780's, the institution continued to decline. In fact, many masters employed apprentices for a very short term. And, in 1820, the sum total of the fines for rejecting apprentices was £1,010. Assuming that the fine per man or woman was £10, a hundred and one masters paid a fine that year. The account in 1820 recorded an expenditure of £1,067 on the workhouse and of £9,199 on outdoor relief.<sup>14</sup> While the parish apprenticeship remained in the administration of the poor in Leeds, the workhouse and outdoor relief became more important. Other charitable institutions, for example the General Infirmary at Leeds, were also more important.

The administration, including poor relief, coped with the destabilising forces associated with the transition from the domestic to the factory system, severe effects of poverty and economic fluctuation, conflicts between the demands for laissez-faire and the landed interests, the change in thinking regarding poor relief, and complex relations between individuals or between groups. These social factors caused the paternalistic administration to be severely criticised.<sup>15</sup> How did the criticism happen? To answer this question, we need to shift our attention to the improvement commission, the vestry and the workhouse, which were the places in conflict with this paternalistic policy.

The commissioners in the improvement commission after January 1795 established

by the improvement act of 1790 were annually elected by the vestry. The J.P.s also participated in the improvement commission. We can realise, by looking at the members of the improvement commission, that the commission gave non-members of the corporation a chance to participate in public activity (See Table 5).<sup>16</sup> The improvement commission was subjected to public scrutiny and criticism during the conflicts regarding the repairs of the water facilities and the management crisis in 1815.<sup>17</sup> These conflicts revealed the improvement commission's division into two groups. One of the groups tried to defend their own benefits through public activity and the other group preferred, as responsible administrators in public activity, the management of the improvement commission with a sense of duty. These conflicts were not simple power struggles between sects and parties; a more important matter was involved: the interest which the improvement commission generated (the security of investment in the commission, the principal of management and the levy on tolls). When the public policy of the improvement commission was perverted by personal interest, the urban elite in the improvement commission opposed the urban elite in the corporation.

The vestry in the parish of Leeds was managed by the yearly-elected central members; Leeds had more than eight churchwardens as central members who had the power to appoint the members of the improvement commission, highway surveyors and the workhouse. The workhouse was managed a committee consisting of twelve trustees, eight churchwardens and overseers who were appointed by the J.P.s, and by the master, apothecaries and treasurers who actually managed it. The workhouse was managed by a master who had a personal philosophy based on charity and paternalistic considerations, and the committee, which supported the master's philosophy.<sup>18</sup>

The vestry began to change on a large scale in 1819. Whigs and Liberals, whose leaders Edward Baines, for example, publisher of *The Leeds Mercury* included some dissenters, began to demand public access to accounting information. Throughout the 1820's, there were conflicts with regard to levying the church rate.<sup>19</sup>

The urban elite differed widely on managing the problems of the workhouse including an incident of embezzlement in 1818, and a master's mistake regarding acceptance of the poor in 1823.<sup>20</sup> More precisely, some members of the urban elite thought of the workhouse



as a public institution and introduced some new ideas to its management, such as 'accountability for accounts, the rationalisation of management, and the suppression of personal interest', and they opposed the other members of the urban elite who, for the most part, belonged to the corporation and the J.P.s. The latter was almost all Tory/Anglican, whereas the former was chiefly Whig/Liberal. Since the end of 1820's, Whig/Liberals were elected churchwardens, and this clearly antagonised the overseers, who were appointed by the J.P.s.<sup>21</sup>

Moreover, it is clear that there were conflicts of sects and parties, which manifested themselves in the failure to transfer the Grampound seats to Leeds in 1820 and the problem of Catholic emancipation; in Leeds, Whig/Liberals sharply differed from Tory/Anglicans 'on opinion of trade, politics and religion'. But the antagonism can not be explained only by whether the *laissez-faire* attitude was accepted or not or by the conflicts of sects and parties. Also, social and economic backgrounds, as mentioned above, did not directly influence the structure and the selection of the corporation.<sup>22</sup>

The urban elite of the corporation and the J.P.s participated in the anti-Corn Law movement and the anti-Income Tax movements beyond the boundaries of sects and parties because they needed to deal with the landed interests and wanted to maintain the balance of power. They feared the negative influence of the rise in corn prices on industry and, more importantly, were interested in the repeal of the heavy wool duty imposed in 1819.<sup>23</sup> From this, one may say that they clearly intended to advance free trade following the commercial interest's *laissez-faire* approach. But this *laissez-faire* attitude was based on coexistence with the landed interests. While intent on protecting its own benefits, the urban elite thought that its priority was to prevent the coexistence of landlords, merchants, manufacturers and professions from being destroyed by industrial depressions.<sup>24</sup> It was not a group which exclusively stood for *laissez-faire*, but one which supported the equilibrium between *laissez-faire* and the old policy of paternalism.

The administration by the notables, which was based on the paternalistic policy of the corporation and the J.P.s, was shaken by the disputes in the improvement commission, the vestry and the workhouse. On the other hand, the urban elite intended to maintain the balance between the landed interests and those accepting *laissez-faire*. In this process, a

new social relation based on the rising political power of the middle class emerged, and this political arrangement replaced the dominance of the notables. How did these new social relations form? Next, let us look at the V.S.s which played a large part in creating them.

#### Notes

- (1) LDO, Leeds Township Overseers of the Poor: Apprentice Register, 1726-1808, LO/AR/1; D. 1793, 1798, 1809, 1817, 1822, 1834. See W. G. Rimmer, "The Industrial Profile of Leeds, 1740-1840", *P.T.S.*, 50, 1967 (hereafter, Rimmer, "Industrial").
- (2) The new industries were pottery, flax and linen manufacture, soap boiler, sugar manufacture and chemical industry. The old industries were brick making, wood making including furniture, and building. Industries to serve the Leeds people's demands were tailoring, shoe making, and printing. Rimmer, "Industrial"; E. J. Connell and M. Ward, "Industrial Development, 1780-1914", in Fraser, *Leeds*.
- (3) R. J. Morris, "The Middle Class and the Industrial Revolution", in D. Fraser and A. Sutcliffe, eds., *The Pursuit of Urban History*, London, 1983(hereafter, Morris, "Middle"), pp. 286-306; do., *Class*, pp. 20-63.
- (4) See Section . For canals, see R. W. Unwin, "Leeds Becomes a Transport Centre", in Fraser, *Leeds*, pp. 113-129; Smail, *Origins*, chap. 5; Wilson, *Merchants*, pp. 136-145.
- (5) Thompson, "Class", p. 154; do., *Making*, pp. 594-596; Kiyoshi Sakamaki, "The Cloth Halls and the Customs of Clothiers in the Yorkshire Woollen Industry during the Industrial Revolution" (in Japanese), *The Keizaigaku (Annual Report of the Economic Society)*, 56, 1994 (hereafter, Sakamaki, "Customs"), p.12.
- (6) *P.P.*, Report of the Committee on the State of the Woollen Manufacture of England, 1806, (hereafter, *P.P.* 1806), pp. 16, 163, 172, 229-240; D. Gregory, *Regional Transformation and Industrial Revolution*, London, 1982 (hereafter, Gregory, *Regional*), pp. 113, 121-138; Randall, *Luddites*, pp. 38-39; Sakamaki, "Customs", pp. 2-7, 15-20. For investments in factories, see P. Hudson, *The Genesis of Industrial Capital*, Cambridge, 1986, pp. 46-52; Yasumoto, *Industrialisation*, pp. 91-98.
- (7) *P.P.* 1806, p. 18; E. Parson, *The Civil, Ecclesiastical, Literary, Commercial and Miscellaneous History of Leeds*, 2 vols., Leeds, 1834 (hereafter, Parson, *Leeds*), p. 208; Perkin, *Origins*, pp. 221-230; Sakamaki, "Customs", p.18; Wilson, *Merchants*, pp. 90, 105,

- 207-217.
- (8) *P.P.* 1806, pp. 237-238, 251, 282, 444-445; Morris, *Class*, pp. 64-79; Pearson, "Suburbs", pp. 76-87; Randall, *Luddites*, pp. 131-148, 187-248.
- (9) Pearson, *Hey*, Pt. 1, pp. 29, 30, 31, 107; Rimmer, "Hey", pp. 199-200. See P. J. Corfield, *Power and Professions in Britain*, London, 1995, chaps. 6, 7, 8, 9.
- (10) Pearson, *Hey*, Pt. 1, pp. 46-51, 55-58, 70, 74, Pt. 2, pp. 31-34; Rimmer, "Hey", pp. 205-206, 210-211.
- (11) Pearson, *Hey*, Pt. 1, p. 110; Rimmer, "Hey", pp. 208, 211. And Morris, *Class*, pp. 318-319; Perkin, *Origins*, pp. 252-270. For the General Infirmary at Leeds, see Section .
- (12) F. M. Eden, *The State of the Poor*; vol. 3, London, 1793, pp. 847-862; P. Anderson, "The Leeds Workhouse under the Old Poor Law: 1726-1834", *P.T.S.*, 56, 1980 (hereafter, Anderson, "Workhouse"), pp. 303-321; Heaton, *Yorkshire*, pp. 303-321; Pearson, "Suburbs", pp. 19-45, 88-123, 143-170.
- (13) *P.P.* 1806, pp. 170-172; Anderson, "Workhouse", pp. 99-104; Gregory, *Regional*, pp. 135-136; Heaton, *Yorkshire*, p. 306; Pearson, "Suburbs", pp. 35-39; Hideo Totsuka, *The Formation of British Factory Legislation* (in Japanese), Tokyo, 1966, pp. 94-129 .
- (14) *P.P.*, Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law, Appendix A, Pt. 1, 1834, (hereafter, *P.P.* 1834), pp. 782-794; Anderson, "Workhouse", pp. 99-104, 112-113.
- (15) Pearson, "Suburbs", pp. 92-123, 124.
- (16) 30 Geo. chap. 68; D. 1817, 1826; R. S. Peppard, "The Growth and Development of Leeds Waterworks Undertakings, 1694-1852", unpublished M. Phil. thesis, University of Leeds, 1973 (hereafter, Peppard, "Waterworks"), pp. 11-34.
- (17) G. Wright, *A Short Sketch of Leeds Waterworks ...*, Leeds, 1814, pp. 3-16; Peppard, "Waterworks", pp. 22-34.
- (18) *P.P.* 1834, pp. 784, 789-94; S. & B. Webb, *The Parish and Country*, London, 1906, pp. 94-98; Anderson, "Workhouse", pp. 78-86; D. Fraser, "The Leeds Churchwardens 1828-1850", *P.T.S.*, 53, 1970 (hereafter, Fraser, "Churchwardens"), pp. 1-3.
- (19) *LI* 10 Aug. 1818, 12, 19 Apr. 1819; *LM* 17 Apr. 1819; D. Fraser, "Areas of Urban Politics, Leeds 1830-1880", in H. J. Dyos and M. Wolff, eds., *The Victorian City*, vol. 2,

- London (hereafter, Fraser, "Politics"), pp. 765-768; Jim Morgan, "The Burial Question in Leeds in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries", in Ralph Houlbrooke, ed., *Death, Ritual, and Bereavement*, London, 1989, pp. 98-100.
- (20) *LI* 19 May 1823; *LM* 16 March 1818, 1, 7, 17 May 1823; *Annals*, pp. 245, 266-268; E. Baines, jun., *The Life of Edward Baines*, London, 1851 (hereafter, Baines, *Life*), pp.99-101; Anderson, "Workhouse", pp. 86, 101-102.
- (21) Anderson, "Workhouse", pp.97, 104-112; Fraser, "Churchwardens", pp. 3-6; do., "Politics", p. 768.
- (22) LDO, LCM/3, 1828; A. S. Turberville, "Leeds and Parliamentary Reform, 1820-1832", *P.T.S.*, 41, 1946, pp. 5-20; Wilson, *Merchants*, pp. 173-180. For the Whig consciousness, see *LM* 31 Oct. 1812; D. Read, *Press and People*, London, 1961, pp. 111, 116-118, 128-136, 190-191. And see Section notes (10) and Section (6).
- (23) LDO, LCM/3, 1819; *LI* 30 Jan., 20 Feb. 1815; *LM* 28 Jan., 11, 18, 25 Feb., 20 May 1815; A. Briggs, "Middle Class Consciousness in English Politics, 1780-1846", *Past & Present*, 9, 1956, pp. 67-68. For the wool tax, see J. Bischoff, *A Comprehensive History of the Woollen and Worsted Manufactures*, London, 1842, vol. 1, pp. 426-482, vol. 2, pp. 1-67.
- (24) Wilson, *Merchants*, p. 178.

### **The Making of the Middle Class**

The V.S.s offered not only diversified functions and various forms of assistance but were also a basis of identity and interests to the middle classes and other groups. The multiple character of V.S.s opposed the existing society as well as defended it. The V.S.s were adaptable in urban society because there was freedom in the establishment and management of the organisation, and there was high mobility and occasional competition with others. Also, it was easy to identify a set of rules, aims and members since each of them was a relatively small organization.<sup>1</sup> Let us now look at the V.S.s which were concerned with the middle class ideology and social relations. Though there were some V.S.s governed by the middle classes, there were other central V.S.s governed by the urban elite which included the middle classes as members. The V.S.s considered in this paper are

'mechanics institutes, literary societies, circulating libraries, youth's guardian societies, friendly societies, temperance societies, medical charities, clothing societies, benevolent and distinct visiting societies' and others.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, there were also friendly societies that were established by workers to provide mutual assistance.<sup>3</sup>

Some of the V.S.s governed by the urban elite were concerned with charities. The most prominent one was the Pious Uses Trustees. This V.S. limited its members to Tory/Anglican supporters, and managed Leeds Grammar School and supported the town's charities. Other V.S.s concerned with charity, similar to the Pious Uses Trustees, were agencies accepting personal donations for charitable uses.<sup>4</sup> The General Infirmary at Leeds, however, was and had an open system of accepting annual subscriptions for charitable uses not dominated by the urban elite but widely supported by the middle classes. Though the main members were the urban elite of the corporation when the infirmary was established, it did not restrict its members to any particular sect or party. The infirmary worked together with the workhouse for poor relief. The Leeds Benevolent or Stranger's Friend Society was established in 1789 and closely associated with Wesleyan Methodists. This V.S. was the only relief society which consistently engaged in relief activities till the 1820's and was managed through the support of the middle class.<sup>5</sup>

The V.S. concerned with intellectual activity and art was the Northern Society for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts. This V.S. was operated by both the urban elite in Leeds and the gentlemen of Yorkshire, and occasionally held an exhibition.<sup>6</sup> From 1784, they became involved in the establishment of Sunday schools. Both the British and Foreign School Society, operated by the Anglicans, and the National Society, operated by the Dissenters, were important in the development of elementary education. The advancement of education by the urban elite was characterised by the separation of the labouring classes from the middle classes, as can be seen in its strategy to teach only writing to the labouring classes.<sup>7</sup> The Leeds Library and its rival, the New Subscription Library, raised not-for-charity subscriptions. These libraries, through their membership systems, provided the opportunity for debating and forming common opinions.<sup>8</sup> Since the 1810's, missionary societies, whose members mainly came from the middle classes, began their activities based in Leeds, the first of this sort being the Leeds Religious Tract Society

established in 1804.<sup>9</sup>

Furthermore, in 1794 the Leeds Volunteers were organised to defend against invasion by France and to suppress disturbances caused by workers. Merchants, factory owners and manufacturers were especially eager, as members of the middle classes, to support the volunteers. The volunteers contributed not only to the development of patriotism and regional consciousness but also to the protection of the interests of merchants and manufacturers.<sup>10</sup>

The V.S.s partly supported the functions of the urban administration together with the existing administration. The V.S.s made distinctions between the labouring classes and the middle classes on the grounds of social status, financial leadership and education. Particularly emphasised was their conscious attempt to control the labouring classes through education and to give the right to recommend patients to the investors of the General Infirmary at Leeds; here we can detect an indication of cheap 'paternalism'.<sup>11</sup> The V.S. implanted in the minds of their members a sense of superiority to the labouring classes in terms of culture and social values, and a sense of duty to make the labouring classes aware of their own value and place. Also, the V.S.s that had systems of subscription held democratic meetings of subscribers, which helped develop common experience and awareness.<sup>12</sup> The social relations and consciousness generated through the actions of the V.S.s contributed to the differentiation of the middle classes from the labouring classes. It is important to point out that the process of the formation of the middle class was gradually advanced not so much by the V.S.s governed by the middle classes as by those governed by the urban elite, i.e. the process was 'from above'.

But it must also be noted that there was both diversity and conflict in the V.S.s of that period. There was opposition to the doctor's apprenticeship system and the appointment of doctors at the General Infirmary at Leeds. The schools supported by churches differed in education policy depending on the sect. Sect and party divided many V.S.s concerned with charity.<sup>13</sup> The new generation of V.S.s established since the 1820's dealt with these problems which the V.S.s before then could not solve. As a major example, the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society (hereafter, the P&L Society), the Committee of the Benevolent or Strangers' Friend Society (hereafter, the Committee of Benevolent)

established in 1829, and the Mechanics Institute, will be examined below.<sup>14</sup>

First, let us concentrate on the P&L Society. The urban elite in the 1820's began to develop the improving spirit which they applied to themselves and the society. While they partly solved the problem of social improvement through improvement acts, they recognised that Leeds was not an ideal town for self-improvement. In particular, the professionals wanted Leeds to establish a centre for scientific knowledge. The P&L Society was founded in 1818 to deal with these inadequacies.<sup>15</sup> Though because of their opposition to the aristocracy some of its members were interested in classical learning, it needs to be stressed that the members shared a spirit of rational inquiry through public debate in the P&L Society.<sup>16</sup>

While similar V.S.s had been established several times in the past, all of them had been short-lived because of conflicts between sects and parties.<sup>17</sup> The P&L Society also had to deal with this problem. The most important figures in the P&L Society establishment included the chief members of the corporation, the V.S.s of the infirmary and others (See Table 7). Therefore, the P&L Society provided the urban elite with an opportunity for public debate. The P&L Society added the rule, 'excluding discussions on politics and religion'. The urban elite turned such conflicts and competition into public debates within the society.<sup>18</sup> Membership of the P&L Society was divided between the privileged members (£100 financing) and ordinary members (an entrance fee of three guineas and an annual subscription of two guineas). The council of the P&L Society, however, was appointed by all of its members. The society also experimented with the new idea of subscriber 'democracy' within the limits of the society and 'opening the accounts to the public'. But, the financial resources came from specific commercial men, and the initiative in the P&L society activity was grasped by commercial men, professionals and large manufacturers. The P&L Society led by the urban elite functioned as a base for evolving new social relations out of the conflicts of sects and parties.<sup>19</sup>

Although the P&L Society made a contribution to the development of the consciousness of the middle class, the Mechanics Institute and the Committee of Benevolent contributed the realisation by the middle class of its relationship with other classes. The Mechanics Institute was established to educate the lower middle and labouring classes. It had a

general rule to limit its subjects to scientific knowledge, and thereby it accentuated the difference between the middle class and other classes. The Mechanics Institute was also controlled by the urban elite; therefore, serious conflicts did not occur.<sup>20</sup> In the Committee of Benevolent, founded by a proposal from the workhouse committee, the membership did not tend towards any sect or party. The management of the Committee of Benevolent was not based on personal relationships or personal character but emphasised a rational approach respecting the will of the subscribers.<sup>21</sup>

While paternalistic management based on personal relationships, which was an element of domination by the notables, entered households and part of the factories, the administration of poor relief and charity started to become non-personal in nature and also began gradually to be bureaucratised and institutionalised.<sup>22</sup> In 1827, Robert Baker pointed out the problem of too few doctors in Leeds. He was concerned about the negative influence of this shortage on charity and poor relief in Leeds. He insisted that 'the middle class of people' should bear the responsibility for rectifying the defects in medical institutions and poor relief. It can be argued that poor relief and charity as carried out by the middle class materialized middle class ideology, which distinguished itself from those of other classes.<sup>23</sup>

The administration by the middle class, with its own social relationships and its own consciousness appeared as an alternative to the paternalistic administration by the notables. The urban elite, who were also leaders of the V.S.s, continuously established and developed middle class control of urban society (for example, limited democracy, accountability, distinction from the labouring classes, institutionalized policies and bureaucratisation), middle class control of the economy, and the common attitudes and experiences of the middle class (for example rational inquiry, a spirit of improvement and the elimination of loyalties to sects or parties).<sup>24</sup> The urban elite began to evolve a new management of urban societies based on middle class social relationships.

#### Notes

- (1) Morris, *Class*, pp. 167-169; K. Wilson, *The Sense of People*, Cambridge, 1995, pp. 82-83.
- (2) R. J. Morris, "Voluntary Societies and British Urban Elites, 1780-1850: an Analysis", *H.J.*, 26, 1983, pp. 95-96; do., *Class*, pp. 161-169. According to Morris's estimation, there were



- about fifty V.S.s in Leeds in the 1840s. In following notes, Table 6 numbers are given. For sources in this Section, see mainly *D*; Parson, *Leeds*; Grady, "Building".
- (3) No. 25-29, 35-47, 54, 55, 62. *LI* 20 Feb. 1792, 15, 22 Feb. 1796; *LM* 11 March, 1777, 12 Jan., 27 July, 28 Sep. 1779; Pearson, "Suburbs", pp. 34-45, 92-123; Randall, *Luddites*, p. 148.
- (4) No. 2 - 6, 10, 12-15, 66. See Section notes (5). *PP*. 1898; Parson, *Leeds*, pp. 138-154; Grady, "Building", pp. 160-170; *D*. 1809, 1817, 1822, 1826, 1834. For the V.S. to which the urban elite related, see LDO, LCM/3, 1791.
- (5) No. 18, 33. *Annals*, pp. 171-172; R. Baker, *Remarks on the Abuses in Infirmary*, Leeds, 1827 (hereafter, Baker, *Infirmary*), pp. 18-19; Parson, *Leeds*, p. 159; Pearson, *Hey*, Pt. 2, pp. 163-166, 175, 280; S. T. Anning, *The General Infirmary at Leeds*, vol. 1, London, 1963; Rimmer, "Hey", pp. 213-214; Yasumoto, *Industrialisation*, chap. 3; do., "Urban Morbidity in Early Nineteenth-century England" (in Japanese), *Shakai-Keizai-Shigaku (Socio-Economic History)*, 59, 1993 (hereafter, Yasumoto, "Morbidity"). And Morris, *Class*, pp. 171-172, 205-206, 210, 213, 217; Wilson, *Merchants*, pp. 184-185.
- (6) No. 69. V. M. E. Lovell, "Benjamin Gott of Armley House, Leeds, 1762-1840", *P.T.S.*, 59, 1986, pp. 212-221; R. J. Morris, "Middle Class Culture, 1700-1914", in Fraser, *Leeds* (hereafter, Morris, "Culture"), pp. 208-210.
- (7) No. 31, 72, 74, 76, 78. Morris, *Class*, pp. 177-178; W. B. Stephens, "Elementary Education and Literary, 1770-1870", in Fraser, *Leeds* (hereafter, Stephens, "Education"), pp. 223-249. For the control of the labouring classes, see Pearson, *Hey*, Pt. 2, pp. 163-166, 175, 280; Morris, "Societies", pp. 101-103; do., *Class*, pp. 191-196; Rimmer, "Hey", pp. 213-214.
- (8) No. 19, 51, 65. Parson, *Leeds*, p. 103; *D*; F. Beckwith, *The Leeds Library, 1768-1968*, Leeds, 1994; Morris, "Culture" pp. 200-206; do., *Class*, pp. 171-172.
- (9) No. 63, 70, 73, 75, 77, 79, 81, 84, 87, 88, 93, 107, 109, 113, 117, 119, 123. Morris, *Class*, pp. 173-174. And see *D*; Parson, *Leeds* and other sources.
- (10) No. 52. E. Hargrave, "The Early Leeds Volunteers", *P.T.S.*, 28, 1928, pp. 265-319. And see LDO, LCM/3, 1790-1810; Wardell, *Leeds*, pp. 86-96; Gregory, *Regional*, pp. 166-167. For relationships between the middle classes and the volunteers, see J. E. Cookson, "The

- English Volunteer Movement of the French Wars, 1793-1815: Some Contexts”, *H.J.*, 32, 1989.
- (11) Morris, “Societies”, pp. 101-103; do., *Class*, pp. 191-196. For paternalism in V.S.s, Yasumoto, *Industrialisation*, pp. 140-151; Yasumoto, “Morbidity”, pp. 143-155.
- (12) Morris, *Class*, p. 178.
- (13) Baker, *Infirmiry*, pp. 1-23; A. Meiklejohn, *The Life, Work and Times of Charles Turner Thackrah*, London, 1957, pp. 26-31; Rimmer, “Hey”, pp. 206, 209-211; Stephens, “Education”, pp. 226-232.
- (14) No. 100, 112, 122.
- (15) *L.M.* 26 Sep. 1818; E. Kitson Clarke, *The History of 100 years of the Life of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*, Leeds, 1924 (hereafter, Clarke, *Leeds*), pp. 5-11, 20-21; Morris, “Culture”, pp. 211-212. For the spirit of improvement, see *L.M.* 25 Feb. 1809; D. Fraser, “Edward Baines”, in P. Hollis, ed., *Pressure from Without in Early Victorian England*, London, 1974 (hereafter, Fraser, “Baines”), p. 184; do., “The Life of Edward Baines”, *Northern History*, 31, 1995 (hereafter, Fraser, “Life”), pp. 218-221.
- (16) Morris, “Culture”, pp. 211-214; do., *Class*, pp. 231-232, 234; Pearson, *Hey*, Pt. 1, pp. 38, 51, 90-92.
- (17) No. 30, 50. University of Leeds, Brotherton Library, Philosophical Papers of William Hey, F.R.S., 1736-1819, MS Dep. 1975/1, Box 10/217/ ; *Annals*, p. 180; *D.* 1817, p. 41; Pearson, *Hey*, Pt. 1, pp. 38, 51-52.
- (18) Clarke, *Leeds*, pp. 11-16; Morris, *Class*, pp. 264-277. There was a similar rule in the Mechanics Institute.
- (19) Morris, “Societies”, pp. 101-103, 109-116; do., *Class*, pp. 236-244, 318-331.
- (20) J. F. C. Harrison, *Learning and Living, 1790-1960*, London, 1961, chap. 2, esp. pp. 57-62, 62-63, 66-69, 79-80, 85-89; Morris, *Class*, pp. 192, 251-252.
- (21) *L.M.* 12 Dec. 1829.
- (22) Morris, *Class*, p. 215.
- (23) Baker, *Infirmiry*, p. 20; *P.P.* 1834, p. 784; J. Seed, “Theologies of Power”, in Morris, *Power*, p. 145.
- (24) Fraser, “Baines”, pp. 184-186, 208; Koditschek, *Class*, chaps. 5, 9; Morris, *Class*, chaps.

12, 13; Smail, *Origins*, pp. 126-146.

### Conclusion

Merchants and manufacturers with managing capital, principles of competition and ideals of self-dependence, and also professionals that valued 'respectability' came into being after the 1810's. It was these trades that were at the centre of middle class economic relationships. The administration by the notables, based on paternalistic relationships and, at its top, on the domination of the corporation and the J.P.s, was falling apart through a relative decline of the corporation as an administrative body, conflicts in the improvement commission and in the vestry over paternalistic policy, and conflicts of sects and parties. Although the urban elite embraced the spirit of *laissez-faire*, they maintained an equilibrium between commercial or industrial interests and landed interests. From the 1820's, the urban elite began to form middle class social relationships, including shared experiences and consciousness, through V.S. activities in a top-down manner. The urban elite who took domination by the notables to themselves underwent a change in nature and started to rebuild the structure of social control, based on the new middle class social relationships. By the 1820's, important changes such as the formation of the middle class, conflicts with regard to policy and social control, the onset of the transformation from domination by the notables to domination by the middle class, and the rise of the V.S.s were taking place in Leeds.

How should we understand the process of the making of the middle class from the 1820's? The occupational structure of the council after municipal reform in 1835 showed no major changes (See Table 3). Therefore, we should not be satisfied with a reductionistic explanation, but must explain the phenomenon by examining the structure of social and political domination, taking into account the matters of parties and sects. Also, we should not only examine social groups, but also demonstrate the principal of hierarchy and social control and the relationship between the principal and social relations. 'The middle class created the towns as social units from the economic and material structures which they controlled'.<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, we should note the growing acceptance of the phrase 'middle class' from the

1820's. In 1820, Edward Baines, senior, understood the middle class to be 'an order of men' with 'their truly royal and constitutional principles, their extensive information, and their corrected knowledge of the interest of trade'. However, Edward Baines, junior, emphasised that it was important for the middle class to have moral principles based rationally on independence and sobriety and developed in the context of the 'community', that is to say, respectability – a Victorian virtue.<sup>2</sup> The above example makes it clear that Davidoff and Hall's conception of the separation of the 'public sphere' and 'private sphere' should be included in the meanings of the phrase 'middle class'.<sup>3</sup> In examining the middle class in the nineteenth century, we should not simply focus our attention middle class interests. It will be through the consideration of administrative organs, various institutions, economic activity, and historically created social relations in the private sphere, that we will be able to explain the phenomenon of the middle class.

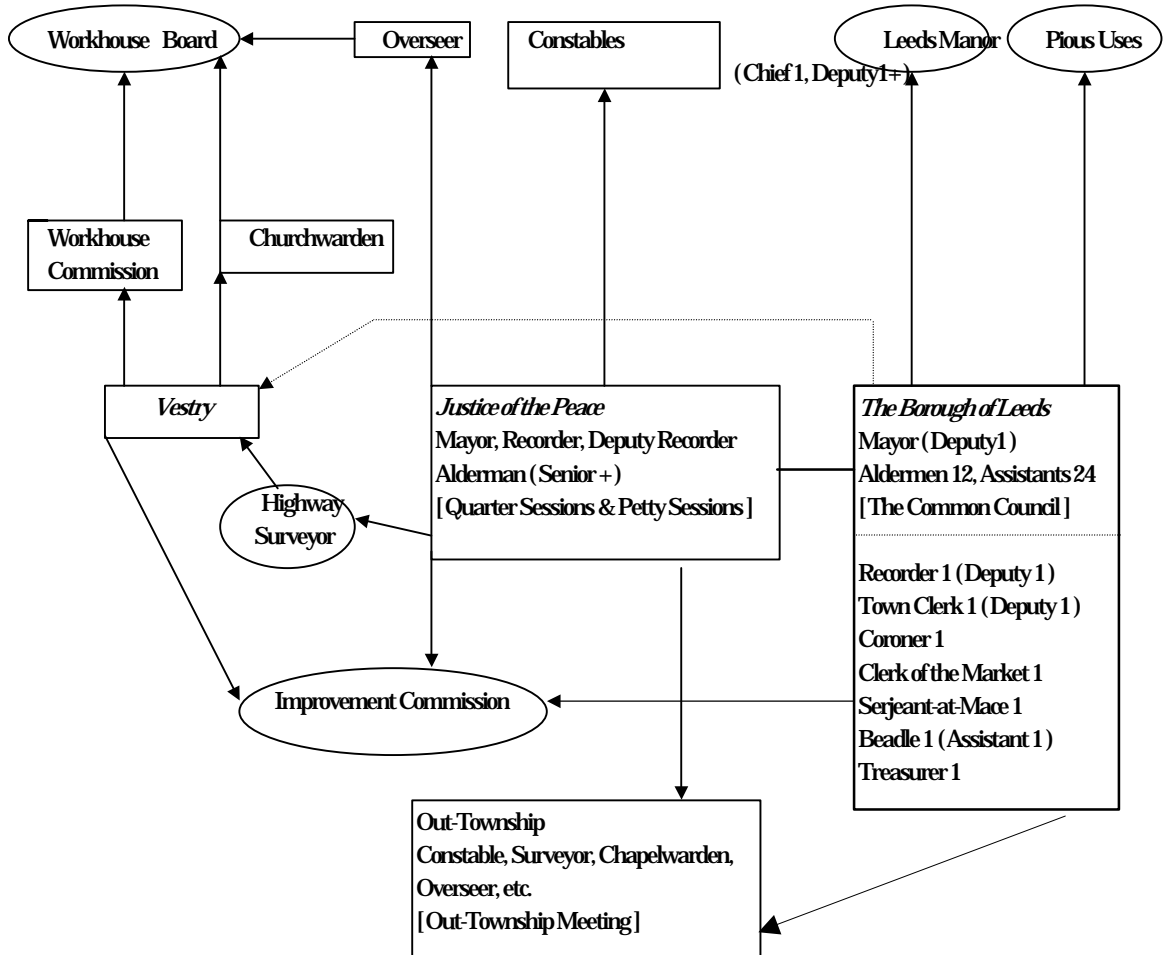
#### Notes

- (1) Morris, "Middle", p. 304. And D. Fraser, *Urban Politics in Victorian England*, Leicester, 1976, Introduction, esp. p. 14, 15, 17, Chap. 6, esp. p. 115; R. J. Morris, "Introduction", in do., *Power*, pp. 3-8, 9-10, 14-16. For a critical study of Fraser's work, see J. Vernon, *Politics and the People*, Cambridge, 1993, p.184.
- (2) *LM* 1 Jan. 1820; Baines, *Life*, p. 5; Fraser, "Baines", p. 184-187; do., "Life", pp. 218-222.
- (3) Wahrman, *Imaging*, pp. 377-408. And Davidoff, *Family*, pp. 28-34, 416-449; Smail, *Origins*, chaps. 5, 6. For critical views, see A. Vickery, "Golden Age to Separate Spheres", *HJ.*, 39, 1993.



# Appendix A

Figure 1 Political Institutions of Leeds, 1780-1820



In the eighteenth century, all inhabitants were considered to be burgesses.

————— : The relationship to other institutions.

←———— : The direct relationship to other institution, including the appointing power.

←..... : The other institution member overlap.

1 : After 1835, the Common Council changed; the Town Council was composed of forty-eight Councillors and sixteen Aldermen.

Table 2 Pattern of Appointment of the Assistant and the Mayor

<b>Name</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Birth</b>	<b>A.</b>	<b>Birth</b>	<b>M.</b>
Joshua Dixon(1708-1775)	Woollen Merchant	30		32(1)	
William Wilson(1718-1764)	Woollen Merchant	41		44(1)	
William Hey(1736-1819)	Surgeon	45		50(2)	
John Markland(1740-?)	Woollen Merchant	27		39(2)	
John Beckett(1743?-?)	Banker	30		32(2)	
William Cookson(1749-1811)	Woollen Merchant	26		34(2)	
Edward Markland(1750-1832)	Woollen Merchant	43		46(1)	
Benjamin Gott(1762-1840)	Woollen Merchant & Manufacturer	29		37(1)	

A.= Assistant; M. = Mayor.

The number of appointment to mayor are shown in brackets.

The election method is random sampling.

Table 6 The Voluntary Society in Leeds,1780-1830

(Partly included the Public Establishment and the Public Body)

No.	Name	Date	Type
1	Leeds Grammar School	1552 ~	○
2	The Pious Uses Trustees	1621 ~	* †○
3	Harrison's Charity to the Minister and Church	1639 ~	*
4	Jenkin's Alms-Houses	1643 ~	*
5	Leighton's Charity	1653 ~	*
6	Harrison's Hospital	1653 ~	*
7	The Aire and Calder Navigation	1699 ~	○
8	The Charity School	1705 ~	
9	The White Cloth Hall	1710 ~	○
10	Dixon's Charity	1719 ~	*
11	Workhouse, Leeds	1726 ~	* ○
12	Estate for Repairing Trinity Chapel in Leeds	1727 ~	*
13	Potter's Hospital	1728 ~	*
14	Potter's Almshouse	1736 ~	*
15	Milner's Charity	1739 ~	*
16	Methodist Library	1750? ~	†
17	The Mixed Cloth Hall	1756 ~	○
18	The General Infirmary at Leeds	1767 ~	* ○
19	The Leeds Library	1768 ~	† ○
20	The Leeds Meetings?	1769? ~?	†○
21	The Leeds-Liverpool Canal	1770 ~	○
22	The Theatre	1771 ~	○
23	Assembly Room	1775 ~	○
24	The White Cloth Hall	1776 ~	○
25	Brotherly Society	1777? ~	*
26	Leeds Union Society	1779? ~	*
27	Marine Society	1779? ~	*



28	The Benevolent Society	1779? ~	*
29	Loyal Society	1781? ~	*
30	Society for the Discussion of Literary and Moral Subject	1783? ~	○
31	The Sunday Schools	1784? ~	
32	The Leeds Chamber of Commerce	1785 ~	○
33	The Benevolent or Strangers Friend Society	1789 ~	*
34	Improvement Commission(Waterworks),Leeds	1790 ~	○
35	Prince of Wales, Benefit Society in Leeds	1792? ~	*
36	Unanimous, Benefit Society in Leeds	1792? ~	*
37	Brotherly Posterior, Benefit Society in Leeds	1792? ~	*
38	Friendly, Benefit Society in Leeds	1792? ~	*
39	King's Loyal, Benefit Society in Leeds	1792? ~	*
40	Pottery, Benefit Society in Leeds	1792? ~	*
41	Revolution, Benefit Society in Leeds	1792? ~	*
42	Queen's Loyal, Benefit Society in Leeds	1792? ~	*
43	Duke of Clarence, Benefit Society in Leeds	1792? ~	*
44	Duke of Leeds, Benefit Society in Leeds	1792? ~	*
45	Universal, Benefit Society in Leeds	1792? ~	*
46	Royal Union, Benefit Society in Leeds	1792? ~	*
47	Friendly Association, Benefit Society in Leeds	1792? ~	*
48	Tom Paine Hall	1792 ~	○
49	The Music Hall	1792 ~	○
50	Society for the Discussion of Literary and Moral Subject	1793? ~	○
51	The New Subscription Library	1793 ~	† ○
52	The Leeds Volunteers	1794 ~	○
53	The Reasoning Society, discussion club	1795? ~	
54	The Philanthropic Society	1796 ~	*
55	The Brief Institution	1796? ~	
56	The School of Industry	1799 ~	

57	The Riding School	1799 ~	○
58	Society for the Discussion of Literary and Moral Subject	1800? ~	†
59	Special Town Funds?	1800? ~	*
60	Concert Room	1800 ~	○
61	The House of Recovery	1802 ~	*○
62	The Institution, clothiers community, Leeds	1803? ~	
63	Religious Tract Society	1804 ~	
64	The Commercial News-room	1806 ~	○
65	The Leeds Library	1806 ~	† ○
66	Baynes's Charity	1807 ~	*
67	The Leeds Annuitant Society	1808 ~	*
68	Union Newsroom	1808 ~	○
69	The Northern Society for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts	1809 ~	○
70	The Leeds Auxiliary Bible Society	1809 ~	
71	The Girls Free School	1811? ~	
72	The Leeds Lancasterian School	1811? ~	○
73	The Wesleyan Missionary Society	1812? ~	†
74	The British and Foreign School Society	1812 ~	○
75	The Church Missionary Society	1812 ~	
76	The Leeds National Society	1813 ~	○
77	Auxiliary Methodist Missionary Society	1813 ~	†
78	The Leeds Sunday School Union	1815 ~	
79	Leeds District Committee for Promoting Christian Knowledge	1815 ~	
80	The Charity School	1815 ~	
81	The Leeds Religious Tract Society and ...	1817? ~	
82	The West Riding Charitable Society	1817? ~	*
83	The Soup Society	1817? ~	*
84	Missionary Society, Branch of the London Missionary Society	1817? ~	
85	North Hall	1817? ~	

86	The Philanthropic or Poor Man's Friend Society	1817? ~	† *
87	Missionary Society, Methodist?	1817? ~	
88	Missionary Society, Congregationalist?	1817? ~	
89	The Adult Schools, the Society of Friends	1817 ~	†
90	The Leeds District National Society	1817 ~	○
91	The Adult School, the Congregation	1817 ~	†
92	The Friendly Clothing Society	1817 ~	*
93	The Ladies Auxiliary Society	1817 ~	*
94	Billiard Room	1817 ~	
95	The Trustee Savings Bank	1818	*
96	The Leeds Articled Clerks Society	1818 ~	
97	The Vagrancy Office	1818 ~	*○
98	The Equitable Annuitant Society for Widows	1819 ~	*
99	The Public Baths	1819 ~	
100	The Leeds Philosophical & Literary Society	1819 ~	○
101	Yorkshire Horticultural Society	1820 ~	
102	The Guardian Society	1821 ~	*
103	The Leeds Guardian Society	1821 ~	*
104	The Soup Establishment	1822? ~	*
105	Clothing Society	1822? ~	*
106	The General Eye and Ear Infirmary	1822 ~	*
107	Leeds Association in Aid of the Moravian Missions	1822 ~	
108	The Child Bed Relief Society	1823 ~	*
109	Leeds Auxiliary Hibernian Society	1823 ~	
110	The Lying-in-Hospital	1824 ~	*
111	The Dispensary in North Street	1824 ~	*
112	The Mechanics Institute	1824 ~	○
113	The Baptist Missionary Society	1825? ~	†
114	Mechanics Library	1826? ~	○

115	The Leeds Parochial Library	1826? ~	
116	Directions of the Royal Human Society	1826? ~	
117	Leeds Branch Missionary Society	1826? ~	
118	The Leeds School Anatomy	1826 ~	○
119	Leeds Ladies Branch Bible Society	1826 ~	
120	The Infant School Society	1826 ~	
121	The Leeds Law Society	1828 ~	
122	The Committee of the Benevolent or Strangers Friend Society	1829 ~	* ○
123	The Leeds Auxiliary of the British & Foreign Bible Society	1830? ~	
124	The Temperance Society, Leeds	1830 ~	

\* shows charity and poor relief, included the friendly society.

† shows the clear character of party or sect.

shows the societies which might influence the middle classes and the middling sort.

○ shows that the societies of the leaders were the urban elite.

**Table 7 The Main Members of the Leeds Philosophical & Literary Society**

<b>Name</b>		<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Poli-tics</b>	<b>Religion</b>
John Atkinson, F.L.S.	1787-1828	Surgeon		
Edward Baines	1774-1848	Printer, Leeds Mercury	L.M.P.	1
Edward Baines, Jun.	1800-1890	Printer, Leeds Mercury	L.Co.*, M.P.	1
George Banks	?	Worsted Merchant	To.M.	
John Bischoff	1775-1845	Woollen Manufacturer		2
Thomas Blayds	1795-?	Banker	To.	
Edward Sanderson George, F.L.S.	1801-1829	Chemical Manufacturer	To.A.	
Benjamin Gott	1762-1840	Woollen Merchant&Manufacturer	To.M.	
John Gott	1791-1867	Woollen Merchant&Manufacturer	To.M.	
Rev. Richard Winter Hamilton	1794-1848	Minister of Belgrave Independent Chapel		
William Hey, F.R.S.	1736-1819	Surgeon	To.M.	
William Hey, Jun.	1771-1844	Surgeon	To.M.	
Adam Hunter, M.D.	1794-1843	Physician	To.	
William Lupton	1777-1828	Woollen Merchant		1
John Marshall	1765-1845	Flax Spinner	L.M.P.	1
William Osburn	1793-1875	Wine&Spirit Merchant		
John Arthington Payne, M.D.	1790-1833	Physician		
Mchael Thomas Sadler, F.R.S.	1780-1835	Linen Merchant	To.M.P.	
C.H. Schwanfelder	?	Animal and Landscape Painter		
Charles Turner Thackrah	1795-1833	Surgeon		
Dr. Robert W. Disney Throp	1766-1849	Physician	To.M.	
Thomas William Tottie	1773-1860	Solicitor	L.M.*	1
Rev. George Walker	1793-1830	Headmaster of the Leeds Grammer School		
William West, F.R.S.	1793-1851	Manufacturing Chemist&Druggist	Co.*	2
Jonathan Wilks	?	Woollen Merchant	To.A.	
James Williamson, M.D.	1797-1845	Physician	L.M.*	1

For A. and M. and To. and L., See Table 2 and 3. Co. is Councillor.

\* shows the members after the Municipal Reform Act.

Blanks do not show all Anglicans. 1 shows Nonconformist including the Unitarians. 2 shows the Society of Friends.