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The Paisley Textile Industries, c.1830-1860:

**from Weaving to Thread, with reference to
a long term global perspective.**

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This study of Paisley textile industries c.1830-1860, with reference to a long term global perspective, demonstrates the gradual transition from weaving to thread manufacturing, as the major source of employment, and thereby social change, in the area, during the nineteenth century. It is essential to recognise that weaving and thread manufacture, in Paisley, occurred concurrently from at least the late eighteenth century,¹ and both sectors were influenced, to varying degrees, by global events and markets.² The movement from mainly weaving to thread production, in Paisley, was a protracted process during a period of widespread sustained economic and social change.

It will be argued, the predominance of one textile industry over the other resulted from legislative change and economic pressures. It was not a symptom of endemic decline attributable to the failure of appropriate human agency. An ideology of cyclical rise and fall associated with manufacturing and deindustrialisation, in some industrial sectors, attributed to failure, has been considered in relation to the textile industries and workers in Paisley.³ The chronological timeframe of this

¹ Sir John Sinclair, *The Statistical Account of Scotland, Paisley, County of Renfrew, OSA, Vol. VII, 1793*. Edinburgh: William Creech, 1793. University of Edinburgh, University of Glasgow. (1999). The Statistical Accounts of Scotland online service: pp. 62-73. pp. 63, 64. <<http://stataccscot.edina.ac.uk/link/osa-vol7-p62-parish-renfrew-paisley>>. [accessed 1 September 2017].

² Matthew Blair, *The Paisley Thread Industry*, (First published in 1907, this edition specially produced by Cedric Chivers Ltd., Bristol for the publishers Renfrew District Council Department of Arts & Libraries Paisley, Renfrewshire PA3 2RJ, 1994). pp. 36, 37, 40, 49.
Hand-Loom Weavers Assistant Commissioners' Reports 1-2, 1839-1840. Ordered by the House of Commons, to be printed, 27 March 1839. Reports from Assistant Commissioners Hand-Loom Weavers, Paisley, pp. 28-31.

³ W. W. Knox, *Hanging by a thread. The Scottish cotton industry, c. 1850-1914*, (Preston: Carnegie Publishing Ltd., 1995). Preface pp. xi, XII.

study clearly establishes legislative and social change and economic pressures pertaining to Paisley and occasionally throughout Scotland.

Paternalism is demonstrated in some of the primary sources which have been analysed in this dissertation. A number of these sources pre-date those cited by Catriona M. M. Macdonald⁴ and W. W. Knox⁵ in their studies which include this topic. The concept of paternalism has been the subject of much deliberation and an example of this can be found in a study by Kim Lawes.⁶ The following quotation has relevance to this dissertation:

The relation between rich and poor, according to this theory... should be only partly authoritative; it should be amiable, moral, and sentimental; affectionate tutelage on the one side, respectful and grateful deference on the other.⁷

It will be demonstrated, in Chapter 3, the emergence of the ‘threadopolis’ in Paisley and the pre-eminence of two families involved a degree of paternalism, relative to an identified definition of it.

The interactions which will be discussed were multi-faceted, and significantly altered the life experiences of textile workers and employers, in Paisley, not only during the period being considered, but, thereafter. To understand the cycles of continuity and change, and the apparent tensions

⁴ Catriona M. M. Macdonald, *The radical thread, political change in Scotland. Paisley politics, 1885-1924*, (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press Ltd., 2000). Appendices 1-7, pp. 283-296 and bibliography, pp. 297-319.

⁵ Knox, *Hanging by a thread. The Scottish cotton industry, c. 1850-1914*. Bibliography pp. 183-198.

⁶ Kim Lawes, *Paternalism and politics. The revival of paternalism in early nineteenth-century Britain*, (Great Britain: Macmillan Press Ltd., 2000). pp. 1-5.

⁷ John Stuart Mill, *Principles of political economy*, (1848), *Collected works of John Stuart Mill III* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977) bk. iv, ch. vii, pp. 758-60. cited in Kim Lawes, *Paternalism and politics. The revival of paternalism in early nineteenth-century Britain*, (Great Britain: Macmillan Press Ltd., 2000). p. 5.

in the textile industries of Paisley, related to the growth of employment in thread manufacturing and contraction in the employment of weavers it is necessary to appreciate the earlier history of the town within a broad context. The movement from weaving to thread manufacturing, as the primary industry in the town, will be located within a longer term, Scottish and to an extent global context which illustrates this change was the result of legislative and economic pressures, not human failings associated with declinist theory.⁸

Studies such as: *The Radical Thread, Political Change in Scotland. Paisley Politics, 1885-1924* by Catriona M. M. Macdonald⁹ and *Hanging by a Thread. The Scottish Cotton Industry, c. 1850-1914* by W. W. Knox,¹⁰ by the nature of their focus are inhibited from exploring the slow sustained incremental layers of change which undoubtedly occurred between 1801 and 1861 and facilitated the movement from weaving to the emergence of the 'threadopolis' in Paisley. These changes constituted episodes within a period of long term economic and social transformation. Such events may be considered akin to 'the inevitable competitive rough and tumble development of global capitalism'.¹¹ *The Ashgate Companion to the History of Textile Workers, 1650-2000*¹² whilst it includes a wide geographic range

⁸ Jim Tomlinson, 'Thrice denied: 'declinism as a recurrent theme in British history in the long twentieth century', *Twentieth century British history*, vol. 20, no. 2, 2009. pp.227-251, p. 227. <https://doi.org/10.1093/tcbh/hwp019>. [accessed 23 September 2017].

⁹ Catriona M. M. Macdonald, *The radical thread, political change in Scotland. Paisley politics, 1885-1924*, (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press Ltd., 2000).

¹⁰ W. W. Knox, *Hanging by a thread. The Scottish cotton industry, c. 1850-1914*, (Preston: Carnegie Publishing Ltd., 1995).

¹¹ Tomlinson, 'Thrice denied: 'declinism as a recurrent theme in British history in the long twentieth century', *Twentieth century British history*, vol. 20, no. 2, 2009. pp.227-251, p. 227. [accessed 23 September 2017].

¹² Lex Heerma Van Voss, Els Hiemstra-Kuperus et al., eds, *The Ashgate companion to the*

of locations there is no chapter relating specifically to Scotland and limited reference, in various chapters, to Paisley and thread production there.¹³

An extensive range of primary sources have been employed, to enable the broadest overview of relevant legislative, economic and social changes which took place. The use of primary sources relative to the nineteenth century poses specific problems. In certain areas, there is a scarcity of documents, in many information is fragmented. An example of this can be found in the Workers Pay List of James Clark & J J Clark, where the amounts paid are clear, but work or hours attributable to payments are not.¹⁴ In addition, the currency being used was pre-decimalisation and thus conversion of payments would be required if any realistic comparison with current wages became necessary.

However, the Clark archive does provide valuable insight as an 1839-1840 example of wages. Knox commented, in relation to payments to thread workers, detailed wage information is only available in the extensive records of J. & P. Coats from the first decade of the twentieth century.¹⁵ A cash book, 1828-1838 includes charitable donations made by James Clark & J J Clark, this also provides valuable information in relation to some

history of textile workers, 1650-2000, (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing limited, 2010).

¹³ Heerma Van Voss, Hiemstra-Kuperus et al., eds, *The Ashgate companion to the history of textile workers, 1650-2000*. Index, pp. 793-836.

¹⁴ The Scottish Business Archive. University of Glasgow. GB 248 UGD/199/7-Records of James

Clark, thread manufacturers, Paisley, Renfrewshire, Scotland. GB 248 UGD/199/7/8-Ledgers (3 entries), GB 248/199/7/8/3 James Clark & J J Clark Sales Ledger/Wages 1818-

1839. Workers Pay List 26 January-25 January 1840. (please note pages are not numbered in this document).

¹⁵ Knox *Hanging by a thread, the Scottish cotton industry, c. 1850-1914*. p. 3.

financial transactions and the concept of paternalism.¹⁶ The archive relating to James Clark and J J Clark was chosen as it is possible this material has previously been neglected or overlooked in other research. The archive is small; therefore, the relevance of the data could be quickly assessed, and in fact, this archive proved to be a valuable resource.

Data from Census enumeration has been used frequently, in this dissertation. However, it essential to recognise Census information pertains to enumeration on one night of a given year. Exactness relies on the reliability of the enumerator, the accuracy of the respondent and consistency of questions and categories of enumeration employed. Examples of changes in occupational categories and place names can be found in Chapter 2, Table 2.2. and Table 2.3. Currently, in some cases, the clarity of the digital images of historic documents poses problems when retrieving information, especially when paper copies are no longer extant.

The use of the *Royal Com. on Labour Reports on Employment of Women. 1893-94*¹⁷ proved to be especially helpful, since the workforce producing thread in Paisley was predominately female. Paisley is included in this report and conclusions are particularly important as the visit was conducted and the report written by a woman: Margaret H. Irwin. *Consideration of the Hand-Loom Weavers Assistant Commissioners' Reports*

¹⁶ GB 248 UGD/ 199/7-Records of James Clark, thread manufacturers, Paisley, Renfrewshire, Scotland. GB 248 UGD/199/7/13/2: James Clark & J J Clark, Cash Book, 1828-1838. p. 25, 64.

¹⁷ Margaret H. Irwin, Report by Miss Margaret H. Irwin, (Lady Assistant Commissioner), on the conditions of work in some of the textile centres in the western district of Scotland, in *Employment of Women Reports, Royal Commission on Labour*. Command Paper C. 6894-XXIII. (London: Printed for Her Majesty's Stationery Office, by Eyre and Spottiswoode), 1893.

1-2, 1839-1840,¹⁸ provided a key overview of legislative, economic and social changes relative to weaving, albeit for a limited time. Likewise, *The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1793*,¹⁹ noted broadly similar types of information for an earlier period.

The conclusions of the *Factory Inquiry Commission. 1st & 2nd Reports, 1833, HC450*, was central as it provided information in relation to Paisley and particularly to the mill of Messrs J & J Clarke's sewing cotton factory.²⁰ *The Poor Law Inquiry Commission for Scotland*²¹ also proved to be a valuable resource as it noted responses to a wide variety of questions, albeit that the record consulted regarding Paisley was dominated by male participants.²² To facilitate as broad a view as possible, in this dissertation, *Fowler's Paisley and Johnstone Commercial Directory and General Advertiser for 1851-52*,²³ has been consulted as a source of commercial and social information. Crucially, it must be recognised that all the above

¹⁸ *Hand-Loom Weavers Assistant Commissioners' Reports 1-2 1839-1840*.

¹⁹ Sir John Sinclair, *The Statistical Account of Scotland, Paisley, County of Renfrew, OSA, Vol. VII, 1793*. pp. 62-73.

<<http://stataccscot.edina.ac.uk/link/osa-vol7-p62-parish-renfrew-paisley>>. [accessed 1 September 2017].

²⁰ *Factories Inquiry Commission. 1st & 2nd Reports, 1833, HC450*. First report of the central Board of His Majesty's Commissioners appointed to collect information in the manufacturing districts, as to the employment of children in factories, as to the propriety and means of curtailing the hours of labour: with minutes of evidence and reports by the district commissioners. Ordered by the House of Commons, to be printed, 28 June 1833. Evidence taken by Mr Stuart A.1. LIX. - Report of Messrs J & J Clarke's sewing cotton factory at Seedhills, Paisley. pp. 107-108.

²¹ *Poor Law inquiry (Scotland.)* Appendix, part I. Containing minutes of evidence taken at Edinburgh, Glasgow, Greenock, Paisley, Ayr, and Kilmarnock. 1844. Command Papers, Paper Number 563. Poor Law Inquiry Commission for Scotland. Paisley, Saturday 29 April 1843. p. 564.

<<https://parlipapers-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/parlipapers/result/pqpdocumentview?accountid=14540>>. [accessed 17 December 2017].

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 561-581.

²³ *Fowler's Paisley and Johnstone commercial directory and general advertiser for 1851-52. 13th Publication...* (Publisher: Fowler, George, fl. 1825-52 Date printed: 1851).

<<http://digital.nls.uk/directories/browse/archive/91171170>> [accessed 4 January 2018].

sources had diverse purposes and agendas and as a result relevance and accuracy are considerations which must be addressed. As far as has been deduced, in the consultation of them, the only report pertaining to this dissertation, written by a woman was by Margaret H. Irwin.²⁴

This dissertation will place the transition from primarily weaving to thread manufacturing, in Paisley, within a long term, global, legislative, economic and social perspective. A key element of this will include, within extant sources, identification of the lived experiences of the inhabitants of Paisley. To facilitate this the work of Matthew Blair, *The Paisley Thread Industry*,²⁵ first published in 1907, has been consulted. Blair's study is of importance as he has commented on certain aspects of change in Paisley which he personally witnessed.²⁶ It is important to recognise sources in this work are not cited according to the current manner. Similarly, the work of Derek A. Dow, *Paisley Hospitals, The Royal Alexandra Infirmary and Allied Institutions 1786-1986*²⁷ provides some long-term information in relation to health provision in Paisley. However, a degree of caution is required in relation to this work as sources are not cited, although a level of collaboration can be achieved by consulting the *Return of Number of Practitioners in Medicine, according to Census of 1851*.²⁸

²⁴ Irwin, Report by Miss Margaret H. Irwin, (Lady Assistant Commissioner), in *Employment of Women Reports, Royal Commission on Labour*. Command Paper C. 6894-XXIII. 1893.

²⁵ Blair, *The Paisley Thread Industry*.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

²⁷ Derek A. Dow, *Paisley hospitals, The Royal Alexandra Infirmary and Allied Institutions 1786-1986*. (Publisher: Argyll & Clyde Health Board. Printer: Bell & Bain, Glasgow, 1988)

²⁸ *Return of the number of practitioners in medicine, according to census of 1851, for England and Wales, Scotland, and Islands in British Seas*. House of Commons Papers, Paper number 145. <https://parlipapers-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/parlipapers/>

Another important aspect of the lived experience of the inhabitants of Paisley, being considered, was the provision of education and the uptake thereof. To facilitate a better understanding of this and legislative changes two reports have been consulted,²⁹ as is demonstrated in Chapter 3, where they will be discussed. The education and employment of children has relevance within this dissertation as child labour was a feature of thread production.³⁰ The altering perceptions of what constituted childhood will be discussed in Chapter 3.

An analysis of industry and employment, primarily, in Paisley, with relevant comparative data comprises Chapter 2 of this dissertation. Changes in the primary industry from weaving to thread manufacture fundamentally altered the infrastructure and society of Paisley. In Chapter 3 the concept of paternalism will be discussed, and its relevance to Paisley assessed, using primary sources. Other key issues considered, in Chapter 3, are society, health and education. It is without doubt these aspects of the lives of the inhabitants of Paisley were fundamentally altered by the transition from weaving to thread manufacture. Clearly, in Paisley, the changing nature of the textile industries was part of a long term, to an extent global process which fundamentally influenced the lives of the population, the

result/pqpdocumentview?accountid=14540. [accessed 25 November 2017].

²⁹ *Return of the Rateable value, school rate, number of children of school age and amount of accommodation in public, state-aided, and other elementary schools and higher class schools in counties in Scotland.* 1880. Command Paper, Paper Number 2595. School supply (Scotland).
Return for school districts in Scotland of rateable value, school rate, population, number of children, accommodation and number in average attendance in public, state-aided and elementary schools recognised as efficient. 1897. Command paper, Paper number C. 8492. School supply (Scotland). <<https://parlipapers-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/parliapers/result/pqpdocumentview?accountid=14540>>. [accessed 24 November 2017].

³⁰ Knox, *Hanging by a thread, the Scottish cotton industry, c. 1850-1914.* p. 83.

majority of whom were women, as is demonstrated in Figure 2.1. Population of Paisley³¹ which can be consulted in Chapter 2, page 15.

Throughout this dissertation the wider implications of the nineteenth century growth of population, industrialisation, urbanisation and the transition from a mainly agricultural to manufacturing economy in Scotland will be considered in relation to the lengthy transition from primarily weaving to thread production, in Paisley, within the context of the growth of global capitalism.

³¹ References as in Appendix 3, Figures & Tables. Figure 2.1.

The history and importance of textile manufacturing in Paisley is long and varied. The transition from a contracting weaving sector to an expanding thread manufacturing industry, in Paisley, in the nineteenth-century, it is argued, in this dissertation, resulted from legislative change and economic pressure. It will be demonstrated this movement, in the primary textile manufacturing industry, was of paramount importance economically and socially to the inhabitants of Paisley and to the infrastructure of the town.

Reference to the key role of textile industries, in Paisley, can be found in *The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1793*, which noted textile manufacturing, particularly weaving, was the main industry of Paisley.¹ A report into hand-loom weaving, printed in 1839, noted: ‘...the manufacture of imitation shawls...’² in the manner of the rich shawls produced in India, was first undertaken in Paisley around 1802. By 1818, the Paisley shawl trade was thriving, with markets on the continent and in Russia. It was calculated that, in 1835, the Paisley weaving houses, produced goods to a value exceeding ‘one million sterling.’³ However, fluctuations in trade were persistent, and Paisley trade was most severely affected in 1837.⁴ The report went on to comment the major complaint related to the condition of the weavers was not of low wages:

¹ Sir John Sinclair, *The Statistical Account of Scotland, Paisley, County of Renfrew, OSA, Vol. VII, 1793*. Edinburgh: William Creech, 1793. University of Edinburgh, University of Glasgow. (1999) The Statistical Accounts of Scotland online service: pp. 62-73, pp. 62-64. <<http://stataccscot.edina.ac.uk/link/osa-vol7-p62-parish-renfrew-paisley>> [accessed 1 September 2017].

² *Hand-Loom Weavers Assistant Commissioners' Reports 1-2, 1839-1840*. Ordered by the House of Commons, to be printed, 27 March 1839. Reports from Assistant Commissioners Hand-Loom Weavers, Paisley, p. 28.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 29, 31.

but in the fact that men of merit and talent who have experienced, and still deserve, better fortunes, should, by a combination of circumstances, have become enchained to a trade which is daily sinking them lower in the depth of destitution, and which they have not the power of escape.⁵

In Paisley, white sewing thread, known as ounce thread was being produced in 1725.⁶ Albeit, on a far smaller scale than the thread production of the 'threadopolis' which emerged later in the nineteenth century. However, thread production, in Paisley, in the twentieth century, also altered fundamentally. In 1961, the Coats plant, employed 14,000 workers, but, in 1981, it employed approximately 1,000. Whilst, in India, the Madura Coats plant, manufacturing thread, employed 22,000, workers whose wages were 13 per cent of the workers based in Scotland.⁷ Thus, evidence is demonstrated of a long-term, global perspective in relation to thread manufacture and a global influence regarding weaving, as shown on the previous page.

The lives of textile workers have been shaped by the global movement of textiles since 1650,⁸ and the manufacture of some textile products must have contributed to the exploitation of, arguably significant numbers, of textile

⁵ *Hand-Loom Weavers Assistant Commissioners' Reports 1-2, 1839-1840*. p. 95.

⁶ Sir John Sinclair, *The Statistical Account of Scotland, Paisley, County of Renfrew, OSA, Vol. VII, 1793*. pp. 62-73, p. 64. [accessed 1 September 2017].

⁷ A. Sinclair, 'Sewing it up, a Scottish company in India', cited in: Arthur McIvor, 'The textile firm and management of labour' in *The Ashgate companion to the history of textile workers, 1650-2000*, Lex Heerma Van Voss, Els Hiemstra-Kuperus and Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, eds, (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010), pp. 597-619, p. 615.

⁸ Prasannan Parthasarathi, 'Global trade and textile workers' in *The Ashgate companion to the history of textile workers, 1650-2000*, Lex Heerma Van Voss, Els Hiemstra-Kuperus and Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, eds, (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010), pp. 561-576, p. 561.

workers,⁹ female¹⁰ and male,¹¹ over a prolonged period. Undoubtedly, especially in low wage economies, some consumers would have, and may still, experience the dilemma of having to choose textile products known to have been produced by exploited workers. Paradoxically, from the perspective of some textile workers, this exploitation constituted an improvement in their conditions, to the:

under-nourished, poverty-stricken citizen in the underdeveloped world, textile factory employment in a transnational company frequently offered more regular work, at higher wages, with more job security and greater individual freedom.¹²

Thus, widespread, sustained negative parallels, can be detected in weaving and thread manufacture, and in the experiences of some textile workers.

The long run influence of gender, related to employment, in weaving and thread production, in Scotland, particularly in Paisley, will be demonstrated in the following pages. The contraction and expansion, in the demand for products, which occurred, in these two sectors of the Paisley textile industries, certainly in the nineteenth century, took place concurrently. The *Hand-Loom Weavers Assistant Commissioners' Reports 1-*

⁹ <www.bangladesh-web.com>, cited in: Arthur Mclvor, 'The textile firm and the management of labour' in *The Ashgate companion to the history of textile workers, 1650-2000*, Lex Heerma Van Voss, Els Hiemstra-Kuperus and Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, eds, (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010), pp. 597-619, p. 615.

¹⁰ Cynthia Enloe, 'We are what we wear the dilemma of the feminist consumer' in *Of common cloth women in the global textile industry*, Wendy Chapkis and Cynthia Enloe, eds, (Amsterdam: Transnational Institute, 1983), pp.115-119, p. 119.

¹¹ Prasannan Parthasarathi, *The transition to a colonial economy: weavers, merchants and kings in South India 1720-1800*, (Cambridge, 2001). Cited in Tirthankar Roy, 'The long globalization and textile producers in India', in *The Ashgate companion to the history of textile workers, 1650-2000*, Lex Heerma Van Voss, Els Hiemstra-Kuperus and Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, eds, (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010), pp. 252-274, p. 257.

¹² Dicken, *Global Shift*, p.253, cited in: Arthur Mclvor, 'The textile firm and the management of labour' in *The Ashgate companion to the history of textile workers, 1650-2000*, Lex Heerma Van Voss, Els Hiemstra-Kuperus and Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, eds, (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010), pp. 597-619, p. 616.

2, 1839-1840 referred to the circumstances of ‘...men of merit and talent who have experienced, and still deserve, better fortunes...’¹³ However, any reference to consideration of the circumstances and fortunes of women, in the conclusion of this report, is conspicuously absent.¹⁴

The early predominance, in Scotland, of a female workforce, in thread production, is illustrated in Matthew Blair’s, citing of: *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, May 1787. It was noted, in 1784, in Scotland, there were 500 machines twining thread. At least 120 of these machines, were in Paisley, operating twining thread, with a finished value of £64,000. Throughout Scotland, in all operations, required for production, there were more than 20,000 women and 4,000 to 5,000 men involved.¹⁵ Clearly, in Scotland, at this early date, thread production involved a predominately female workforce, and by implication, in the report of 1839, the skilled weavers were men.¹⁶ Thus, the relevance of gender to weaving and thread manufacture is apparent, prior to analysis of employment data.

Between 1801 and 1861, slow, sustained incremental layers of change took place, which facilitated the transition from weaving to the emergence of the ‘threadopolis’ in Paisley, with consequential effects, on industry, employment and society. These changes constituted episodes, within a period of long term economic and social change. In effect, responses to the

¹³ *Hand-Loom Weavers Assistant Commissioners’ Reports 1-2, 1839-1840*. p. 95.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 95, 96.

¹⁵ Matthew Blair, *The Paisley Thread Industry*, (First published in 1907, this edition specially produced by Cedric Chivers Ltd., Bristol for the publishers Renfrew District Council Department of Arts & Libraries Paisley, Renfrewshire PA3 2RJ, 1994), p. 23.

¹⁶ *Hand-Loom Weavers Assistant Commissioners’ Reports 1-2, 1839-1840*. p. 95.

dynamic growth of global capitalism.¹⁷ The enduring economic and cultural importance of textiles and the production of textiles, to local, regional and progressively international trade should not be underestimated.

In the nineteenth century population growth in Scotland was significant thereby, meaning more potential workers, and potentially more consumers. Analysis of Census returns: from 1801 to 1881, shows the population of Scotland steadily increased, although, fewer males than females were enumerated in the population.¹⁸ Primary source figures: 1801, 1821, 1841, 1861 and 1881¹⁹ demonstrate the population, of Paisley generally increased, and there were consistently more female than male inhabitants. Although, in 1861 compared with 1841, the population of Paisley decreased by 706, specifically by 200 male and 506 female inhabitants.²⁰ The above data, related to Paisley, is demonstrated in Figure 2.1, below. Demographic

¹⁷ Jim Tomlinson, 'Thrice denied: 'declinism' as a recurrent theme in British history in the long twentieth century', *Twentieth century British history*, Vol. 20, no. 2, 2009, pp. 227-251, p.227.

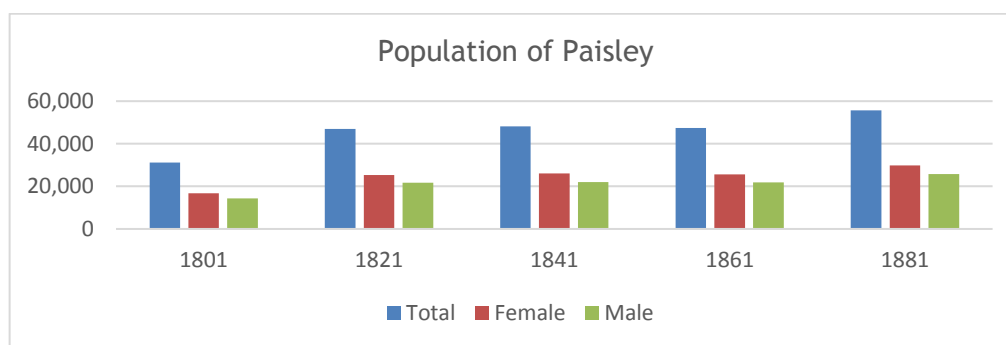
¹⁸ *Census of Scotland 1871*. 1. Population of Scotland 1871 with report vol. I, (Edinburgh: Murray and Gibb, for Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1872). Table V. sexes and their proportion in Scotland, 1801-1871, table VI increase of males and females in decennial periods, 1801-1871, with per centage of increase p. xxv.
Census of Scotland 1881: Population of Scotland with Report. Volume I. (Edinburgh: Neill & Co., 1882). Table XIV pp. xxii, xxxii.

¹⁹ Catriona M. M. Macdonald, *The Radical Thread: Political Change in Scotland. Paisley Politics, 1885-1924*. (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000). 1801, 1821, 1881. Appendix 1, Table 1.1, cited from *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. VII, p.248, Table 1.2 cited from *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. VII, p. 249 and Table 1.3. cited from *Census Reports (Scotland)*, 1881. p. 283.
1841: *Accounts of Population and Number of Houses according to Census, 1841, of each County in Great Britain, Channel Islands and Isle of Man; Comparative Statement of Population and Houses, 1801, 1811, 1821, 1831 and 1841; Account of Population of each City and Burgh in Scotland*. House of Commons. Paper Number 52. Account: Population, Cities, and Royal and Parliamentary Burghs. Image 15. p. 15.
<<https://parlipapers-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/parlipapers/result/pqpdocumentview?accountid=14540>> [accessed 13 September 2017].
1861: *Census of Scotland 1861*. 1861. Command Paper 2870. Table VII. Image 15, p.15
<<https://parlipapers-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/parlipapers/result/pqpdocumentview?accountid=14540>> [accessed 13 September 2017].

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 1861. Image 15, p. 15.

change in Paisley, was comparable to that of Scotland. However, potentially, fewer male than female workers were consistently available in Paisley with important implications for the gender balance of the workforce there, particularly, in the textile industries, which as noted earlier, constituted the primary manufacturing sector in the area.

Figure 2.1: Population of Paisley, 1801, 1821, 1841, 1861, 1881 by Total, Female and Male Inhabitants.

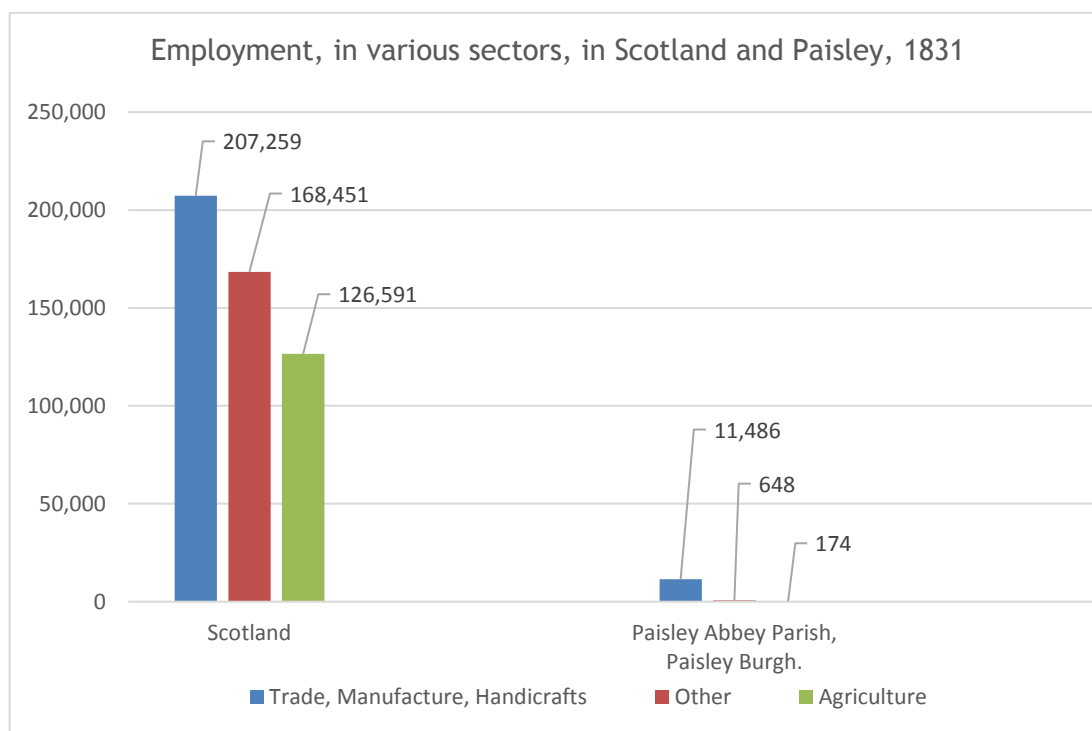


Sources: Please see Appendix 3: Source References: Figures & Tables. Chapter 2.

Having demonstrated the gender ratio of the potential workforce in Paisley, it is essential to recognise fundamental changes related to types of employment available. In 1801, in Scotland, employment in agriculture predominated. From 1811, employment in trade, manufacture or handicrafts superseded employment in agriculture.²¹ Although, it is important to recognise when comparing these occupational figures that the 1801 figures relate to persons, whereas, 1831 relate to families. The nature of industry, and employment of families, in Scotland and Paisley, in 1831, is demonstrated in Figure 2.2, below, which highlights, the prevalence of work in trade, manufacture and handicrafts.

²¹ *Census of Great Britain 1851 population tables 2.1., ages, civil condition, occupations etc.*, (London: George Edward Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1854). Tables 23 and 24, p. lxxix.

Figure 2.2: Number of Families, in Scotland, and Paisley Abbey Parish and Paisley Burgh combined, employed in various sectors, in 1831.



Sources: Please see Appendix 3: Source References: Figures & Tables. Chapter 2.

Thus, the focus of employment in Scotland and Paisley, in 1831, is clear.

The County of Renfrew, at that time, was surpassed only by the County of Lanark in the manufacture of cottons and cotton yarns.²² It is therefore reasonable to assert significant numbers of the predominately female population of Paisley, in 1831, were engaged, either directly or indirectly, in the production of textiles. The number of hand-looms located in Paisley, compared to Glasgow, Kilbarchan and Renfrew, in 1838, is recorded in Table 2.1., below, which demonstrates there were a considerable number of looms in Paisley. Although the number of these which were consistently operational is unclear from the data. This report also commented that due

²² *Population of Great Britain, 1831, 2, enumeration abstract vol., II.* Ordered by The House of Commons, to be printed, 2 April 1833. pp.1022,1023, as described in footnotes.

to the fineness of the staple fabrics woven in Scotland the advent of the power-loom had little adverse effect.²³

Table 2.1: 1838, Distribution of hand-looms by location and type relative to population.

1838	Glasgow, parliamentary bounds	Paisley	Kilbarchan	Renfrew
Population	202,426	57,466	4,806	2,833
Material	C.W. S	S.W.C. L	S.W.C	C.S
Total number of Looms	9,350	5,599	820	260
Factory	1,580	112	0	0
Harness	1,206	4,487	20	140
Plain	6,564	1,000	800	120
1828 Total Looms	12,000	Not recorded	670	Not recorded

Source: Please see Appendix 3: Source References: Figures & Tables. Chapter 2.

Fluctuations in the use of hand looms is demonstrated in the following. Norman Murray recognised the importance to local economies of flax-spinning and weaving and the difficulties presented by fragmentary evidence.²⁴ Murray noted, citing H. Hamilton, that in Glasgow, and surrounding area, in 1778, there were 4,000 linen looms, and in this trade, in Paisley 1,360 and 2,000 in Dundee.²⁵ Analysis of the data in Table 2.1 demonstrates weavers, in Paisley, in this sample, were using the greatest variety of materials. It is suggested, in this dissertation, these were silk, wool, cotton and linen. This data also enabled the calculation, in this dissertation, that in Glasgow, there was one hand-loom, per 21,000 of population, in Paisley around one per 10,000 of population and in Kilbarchan one per 600. Between 1828 and 1838 the total number of looms

²³ *Hand-Loom Weavers Assistant Commissioners' Reports 1-2, 1839-1840.* p. 5.

²⁴ Norman Murray, *The Scottish hand loom weavers 1790-1850: a social history*, (Edinburgh, John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1978), p. 3.

²⁵ H. Hamilton, *The Industrial Revolution in Scotland*, (London, 1996), p. 101. Cited in Norman Murray, *The Scottish hand loom weavers 1790-1850: a social history*, (Edinburgh, John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1978), p. 3.

in Glasgow decreased by approximately 22 per cent and the looms in Kilbarchan increased by around 18.4 per cent. Unfortunately, data facilitating comparisons of Paisley and Renfrew, in 1828, was not provided in this source.²⁶ However, the above and consideration of data noted by Murray gives an indication, albeit limited, over a sixty year period, of the expansion and contraction in the use of handlooms in the areas identified in Table 2.1.

These figures are suggestive of the changing dynamic of opportunity which occurred during the late eighteenth century and nineteenth century. Glasgow was beginning to be described as ‘the second city of the British Empire’²⁷ in the early nineteenth century. However, the reliance of Glasgow textile industries on exports had a detrimental effect during the downturn in trade in the 1810s and 1820s, although alternative employment opportunities were increasing as industrialisation, in Glasgow, became embedded.²⁸ It is argued, in this dissertation, that similar industrial opportunities were more limited in rural Kilbarchan which may explain the increase in the number of looms there, in the sample, Table 2.1. However, in 1848, there were 923 weavers unemployed in Kilbarchan, 2,736, in Paisley and 531 in Airdrie.²⁹ It is crucial to recognise the Paisley textile industries were influenced by, and part of these wider economic

²⁶ *Hand-Loom Weavers Assistant Commissioners’ Reports 1-2, 1839-1840*. pp. 2, 3.

²⁷ T. M. Devine, Introduction, ‘The development of Glasgow to 1830: medieval burgh to industrial city’ in *Glasgow volume 1: beginnings to 1830*, T. M. Devine and Gordon Jackson eds, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), pp. 1-16 p. 10.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 11.

²⁹ *Glasgow Saturday Post*, 8 January 1848, for Kilbarchan, 22 January 1848 for Paisley and 5 February 1848 for Airdrie. Cited in Norman Murray, *The Scottish hand loom weavers 1790-1850: a social history*. (Edinburgh, John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1978), p. 22.

changes. Variations of employment in weaving, it was noted in the Assistant Commissioners Report, were so commonplace that: 'it is impossible to give more than a general answer...'³⁰

Some variations referred to by the Assistant Commissioners were related to the types of fabrics being woven, which were influenced by fashion trends. Weavers responded to consumer demands and whilst considerable changes were required it was commented: 'in fact, the art of weaving, when once acquired, is easily adapted to any variety of work.'³¹ Notwithstanding that weavers were susceptible to other opportunities. In Mauchline weavers moved into preferable employment in snuff-box production, in Langholm they sought better wages by becoming agriculturalists, whilst agriculturalists in Hawick became weavers due to the opportunities provided. Most of the regular weavers in Scotland made their living by the loom, but, the coastal town of Largs provided an exception. Weavers there made a better living in the summer through fishing and boat letting, confining weaving activities to the winter months.³²

In relation to Paisley, the Commissioners recorded: at times of stagnation in the trade weavers sought employment outdoors, on the river bank breaking stones, and around 600 were so employed in 1837, and the women and children obtained work in warehouses or thread factories.³³ Murray referring to the marked depression in the trade, of 1841, noted the

³⁰ *Hand-Loom Weavers Assistant Commissioners' Reports 1-2, 1839-1840.* p. 5.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

³³ *Hand-Loom Weavers Assistant Commissioners' Reports 1-2, 1839-1840.* p. 34.

‘farmer-weavers’ of Paisley, when not employed in harvest work were included in the unemployed list.³⁴ The Commissioners commented ‘The fluctuations which have attended the sale of shawls cannot be easily described’³⁵...[shawls were] ‘modified to suit the different seasons, till the public gets tired of them.’³⁶ Matthew Blair, in 1907, confirmed this view when he wrote:

The decay of the shawl trade was not due to any deficiency or fault of manufacturers. The fashion changed, and the demand ceased. Fashion is not regulated by the rules of political economy.³⁷

Clearly employment in weaving was complex and precariously balanced on the dictates of consumer demand and market forces, thereby forming layers of change. Clear conclusions were reached by the Assistant Commissioners:

...a considerable state of depression in the cotton districts exists, and, with slight variations, has continued to exist since the termination of the war; whilst for many years prior to that period, subject to some fluctuations, hand-loom weaving ranked among the best-paid trades.³⁸

The Commissioners’ Report concluded the cause of this depression which was sudden in origin and continuous could be attributed to: ‘the excess of labourers over the natural demand for labour... have operated like a chainshot in cutting down the rate of wages’³⁹ [and] ... ‘there appears no

³⁴ *Glasgow Herald*, 27 September 1841. Cited in Norman Murray, *The Scottish hand loom weavers 1790-1850: a social history*. (Edinburgh, John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1978), p. 15.

³⁵ *Hand-Loom Weavers Assistant Commissioners’ Reports 1-2, 1839-1840*. p. 33.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

³⁷ Blair, *The Paisley Thread Industry*, p. 30.

³⁸ *Hand-Loom Weavers Assistant Commissioners’ Reports 1-2, 1839-1840*. p. 95.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

prospect whatever that the weaving trade will improve.’⁴⁰ It was also suggested:

To the deserving weavers, then, the repeal of the corn-laws would give deliverance from the hardship of their condition, whilst the welfare of our growing population, and the maintenance of our commercial supremacy among nations, is daily becoming more indispensably vital.⁴¹

Clearly weavers in Paisley were influenced by the changing dictates of fashion, and were subject to the legislative and financial changes which were taking place in the wider economic community, as is seen in the above reference to ‘our commercial supremacy among nations’.⁴² However, the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846⁴³ failed to alleviate their situation. The relative stability of employment for male weavers, in Paisley, compared to Scotland overall, as demonstrated in Table 2.2. page 23, may be a result of the specialised nature of the work they undertook. The Commissioners commented:

The general condition of the weavers in Paisley is better than those of Glasgow: the particular branch of trade in which they are engaged prevents a great influx of hands, and thereby the wages are a little higher, their children are also being better employed.⁴⁴

Murray, citing Slaven, noted until the 1870s there were marked ‘concentrations of weavers working shawls and other fancy fabrics in the Paisley area.’⁴⁵

⁴⁰ *Hand-Loom Weavers Assistant Commissioners’ Reports 1-2, 1839-1840.* p. 95.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 96.

⁴³ Douglas M. Peers, ‘Britain and Empire’ in *A companion to nineteenth-century Britain*, Chris Williams, ed., (Malden: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2007), pp. 53-78, p. 69.

⁴⁴ *Hand-Loom Weavers Assistant Commissioners’ Reports 1-2, 1839-1840.* p. 35.

⁴⁵ A. Slaven, *The Development of the West of Scotland 1750-1960*, (London: 1975), p. 104.

Presumably, the larger number of female weavers, in Paisley, in 1861, demonstrated in Table 2.2, page 23, was due to the increased use of power-looms and a perception of the skill required in their operation.⁴⁶ Knox citing a Factory Report, of 1850, noted power loom weaving was from the start a female occupation, with men who made up a sixth of the total workforce, acting as supervisors or tenters.⁴⁷ Thus, it is clear that gender shifts in employment were crucially influenced by the skills base of workers and the advent of new technologies. However, Table 2.2, 1851, page 23, also illustrates the difficulties which may arise in reaching conclusions based on Census data, here categories of occupation appear to have been altered, there is no record of male or female weavers and no male workers noted in shawl manufacture, in Paisley, in 1851.⁴⁸ Murray stated, after 1841, no official data or commentaries relating to the numbers or conditions of Scottish hand loom weavers are available.⁴⁹

Cited in Norman Murray, *The Scottish hand loom weavers 1790-1850: a social history*. (Edinburgh, John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1978), p. 71.

⁴⁶ W. W. Knox, *Hanging by a thread. The Scottish cotton industry, c.1850-1914*, (Preston: Carnegie Publishing Ltd., 1995), pp. 63-66.

⁴⁷ *Factory Report, PP. 1850, XX* cited in Knox, *Hanging by a thread*. p. 19.

⁴⁸ *Census of Great Britain 1851, Population Tables, 2.2 Ages, Civil Condition, Occupations, Etc.* (London: George Edward Eyre & William Spottiswoode, 1854). pp. 910, 913, 934, 937, 1018, 1021, 1016, 1020.

⁴⁹ Murray, *The Scottish hand loom weavers 1790-1850: a social history*. p. 71.

Table 2.2: Weaving 1841-1861 by Location, Age and Gender.

Weaving: branches not specified. *						
	Total number of male workers	Males 20 years and upwards	Males under 20 years	Total number of female workers	Females 20 years and upwards	Females under 20 Years
Scotland*						
1841	15,102	12,228	2,874	6,516	3,688	2,828
1851	0	0	0	62	57	5
1861	4,238	3,470	768	5,962	3,510	2,452
County of Renfrew						
1841*	647	515	132	57	12	45
Hand Loom	648	500	148	46	20	26
Power Loom	10	8	2	148	70	78
1861	603	410	193	324	144	180
Paisley Town & Parish, also known as Paisley Burgh, in 1851 and Paisley & 559 (1) in 1861.						
1841*	481	373	108	47	3	44
Hand Loom	588	454	134	30	10	20
Power Loom	3	3	0	50	29	21
Shawl Manufacture 1851						
1851	0	0	0	1,529	938	591
1861	531	342	189	294	133	161

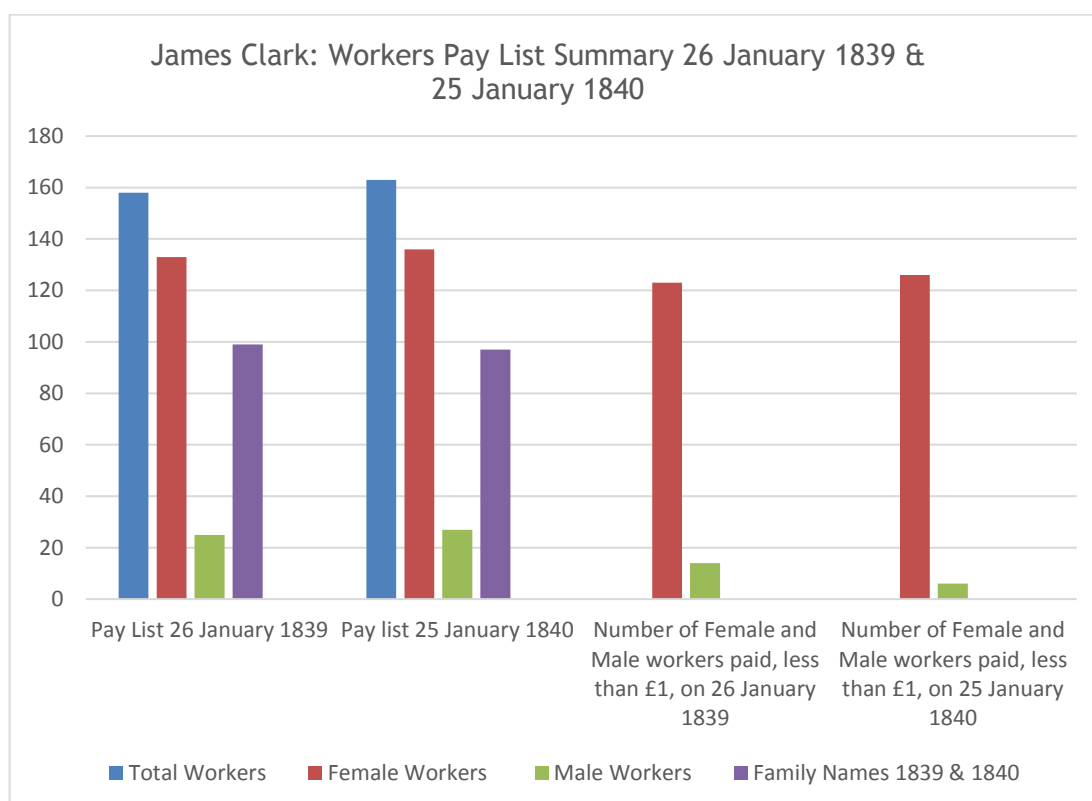
Sources: Please see Appendix 3: Source References: Figures & Tables. Chapter 2.

Census enumeration data, commencing in 1841, which recorded, more specific occupational sectors and the occupation of individuals, enables more definitive conclusions to be reached. In relation to wages, difficulties remain, W. W. Knox commented, in most extant company records wages are only recorded as a category of expenditure, and even in the copious records of J. & P. Coats detailed wage information is only available from the first decade of the twentieth century.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Knox, *Hanging by a thread, The Scottish cotton industry, c. 1850-1914*. p. 3.

However, the records of James Clark & J J Clark Paisley: Workers Pay List 26 January 1839 to 25 January 1840⁵¹ provide valuable insight relative to these early dates. The data is incomplete as it does not provide details of the categories of work undertaken. But, careful interrogation does provide key information, albeit relating to one factory, which pre-dates the 1841 Census, and the records of J. & P. Coats, referred to above.

Figure 2.3: Employees: James Clark & J J Clark Thread Manufacturer, 26 January 1839 and 25 January 1840, by total workers, female, and male, by family name 1839 and 1840 and of total workers, female and male, paid less than £1, On 26 January 1839 and 25 January 1840.



Source: Please see Appendix 3: Source References: Figures & Tables. Chapter 2.

Figure 2.3 clearly demonstrates the predominance of female workers on the two sample dates. A trend which was apparent throughout the year of

⁵¹ GB 248 UGD/199/7-Records of James Clark thread manufacturers, Paisley, Renfrewshire, Scotland GB 248 UGD/199/7/8-Ledgers (3 entries), GB 248 UGD/199/7/8/3 James Clark & J J Clark Sales Ledger/Wages 1818-1839. Workers Pay List, 26 January 1839 and 25 January 1840.

the sample. It also highlights most of the female employees on these dates were paid less than £1. Clearly, this is suggestive of gender inequality, regarding rates of pay, however, the lack of definitive job descriptions and the payment structure operated precludes firm conclusions from this data. Notwithstanding this, a ten-week sample of wages: 26 January 1839 to 30 March 1839, confirms a pattern of lower payments to most of the women.⁵² Clearly, in this sample, women were routinely paid less than men, although it is impossible to identify the skills and work attributed to the various rates of pay.

It is unclear, due to a lack of concise data, if women were motivated by wage rates, at that time, to move between employment in weaving and thread manufacture. However, Figure 2.3. above, compared to data related to weaving in Paisley⁵³ does suggest the likelihood of greater security of employment in thread manufacture than in weaving, particularly for women. Knox commented: 'The Scottish power loom weaver had, at nine years on average, a much shorter working life than her English counterpart.'⁵⁴ Whilst, no figures specifically for Paisley have been identified, in Glasgow, and neighbourhood, in 1832, the highest rate, in each weekly pay scale, for female workers aged 18 years and upwards, was

⁵² GB 248 UGD/199/7-Records of James Clark, thread manufacturers, Paisley, Renfrewshire,

Scotland, GB 248 UGD 199/7/8-Ledgers (3 entries), GB 248 UGD 199/7/8/3. James Clark & J J Clark Sales Ledger/Wages 1818-1839 Workers Pay List 26 January 1839-25 January 1840. 26 January 1839-30 March 1839.

⁵³ *Hand-Loom Weavers Assistant Commissioners' Reports 1-2, 1839-1840.* pp. 5-12.

⁵⁴ Knox, *Hanging by a thread, The Scottish cotton industry, c. 1850-1914.* p. 176.

higher in cotton mills than weaving mills,⁵⁵ thread manufacture was not specifically included.

It is relevant to note, in the Clark's data, some relationship to the 1831 Census method of enumerating families engaged in various forms of employment. Of the workers noted in Clark's Pay Lists, January 1839 to January 1840, ten women were recorded as Mrs, and may have had kinship connections to other workers of the same name, the recurrence of family names is demonstrated in Figure 2.3 page 24.⁵⁶ Whilst it is impossible to identify specific family connections, in this way, it is indicative of possibly some form of kinship in this employment and to an extent short term consistency of employment. This source also provides an earlier insight than the Coats' wage data described by Knox.⁵⁷

Clearly thread manufacturing was predominately undertaken by female workers. Many of whom were under 20 years of age, as demonstrated in Table 2.3, page 27. The persistent nature of these trends can be seen in Appendix 1, Table 1: Thread Manufacturing 1841-1891. Over this longer period, clearly a prevalence of female thread workers under 20 years of

⁵⁵ *Returns of wages published between 1830 & 1886 C. 5172.* (London: printed for Her Majesty's Stationery Office, by Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1887.). Labour Statistics. - returns of wages, part I. Statement of the ages and wages of persons employed in cotton mills in Glasgow and its neighbourhood in April 1832. Statement of ages and wages of persons employed in weaving mills in Glasgow and its neighbourhood in April 1831. [from "tables of the revenue, &c of the United Kingdom," part II., 1833, p. 108.]. p. 14.

⁵⁶ GB 248 UGD/199/7-Records of James Clark, thread manufacturers, Paisley, Renfrewshire, Scotland, GB 248 UGD 199/7/8-Ledgers (3 entries), GB 248 UGD.199/7/8/3. James Clark & J J Clark Sales Ledger/Wages 1818-1839 Workers Pay List 26 January 1839-25 January 1840.

⁵⁷ Knox, *Hanging by a thread, The Scottish cotton industry, c. 1850-1914.* p. 3.

age was most marked in Scotland overall.⁵⁸ In the County of Renfrew this was most apparent in the returns for 1861 and 1871.⁵⁹ In Paisley, a higher number of female workers, under 20 years of age, was only noted in 1861.⁶⁰ This in part may be due to the there being no specific category for thread manufacture in 1871.⁶¹ Thereafter, certainly in one mill, in 1893, it may be due to the long-term employment of some female workers, specifically for 50 or 60 years and the system of internal promotion within the mill.⁶²

Table 2.3: Thread Manufacturing, 1841-1861 by Location, Age and Gender.

	Total number of male workers	Males 20 years and upwards	Males under 20 years	Total number of female workers	Females 20 years and upwards	Females under 20 years
Scotland						
1841	155	111	44	645	251	394
1851	0	0	0	1,843	921	922
1861	317	236	82	2,367	1,037	1,330
County of Renfrew, also known as Renfrewshire, in 1851.						
1841	30	22	8	317	176	142
1851	0	0	0	1,175	650	525
1861	184	148	36	1,702	765	937
Paisley Town & Parish, also known as Paisley Burgh, in 1851 and Paisley & 559 (1), in 1861.						
1841	27	20	7	317	176	141
1851	0	0	0	740	407	333
Cotton Manufacture						
1851	1,971	1,455	516	1,800	1,305	495
1861	150	121	29	1,571	703	868

Source: Please see Appendix 3: Source References: Figures & Tables. Chapter 2.

⁵⁸ References as in Appendix 1, Table 1, Scotland, Sources.

⁵⁹ References as in Appendix 1, Table 1, County of Renfrew, Sources.

⁶⁰ References as in Appendix 1, Table 1, Paisley, Sources.

⁶¹ References as in Appendix 1, Table 1, Paisley, 1871, Sources.

⁶² Margaret H. Irwin, Report by Miss Margaret H. Irwin, (Lady Assistant Commissioner), on the conditions of work in some of the textile centres in the western district of Scotland, in *Employment of Women Reports, Royal Commission on Labour*, Command Paper C. 6894-XX11. (London: Printed for Her Majesty's Stationery Office, by Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1893). p. 192.

So, from the evidence presented thus far, a widespread female presence in textile industries, particularly thread manufacturing may be considered usual. Textile industries were generally perceived as being suitable employment for female workers, this can be attributed to the practices of the pre-industrial economy and the later classification of textile production as light manufacturing.⁶³ Long term continuity in the gender balance of textile work is therefore clear. It is also probable large numbers of the female workers in the pre-industrial household economy may have received no monetary payment.⁶⁴

Census data, 1861, for Scotland, illustrates female workers dominated thread production, and most were under 20 years of age, in Scotland,⁶⁵ County of Renfrew⁶⁶ and Paisley.⁶⁷ Of 2,367 female thread workers, in Scotland, 2,123 were in town districts.⁶⁸ At that time, in Scotland, in total, there were 317 male workers recorded, of whom 197 were in town districts, of these 150 were in Paisley.⁶⁹ It is worth noting, as can be consulted in Table 2.3., page 27, male thread workers were, mainly, a minimum of 20 years of age. Suggesting this was related to higher wages being paid to men.⁷⁰ Thus, clearly female workers, many of whom were

⁶³ Janet Hunter and Helen Macnaughtan, 'Gender and the global textile industry', in *The Ashgate companion to the history of textile workers, 1650-2000*, Lex Heerma Van Voss, Els Hiemstra-Kuperus, and Elise Van Nederveen Meerkerk, eds. (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010), pp. 703-724, p. 704.

⁶⁴ Shani D'Cruze, 'The Family' in *A companion to nineteenth-century Britain*, Chris Williams, ed., (Malden: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2007), pp. 253-272, p. 258.

⁶⁵ *Census of Scotland 1861.2: Population Tables and Report Volume II*. (Edinburgh: Murray & Gibb, 1864). Occupations of the people in Scotland, 1861. pp. 100, 109.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 239, 243.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 315, 323.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 109, 322.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 100, 314, 315.

⁷⁰ Knox, *Hanging by a thread. The Scottish cotton industry, c.1850-1914*. p. 84.

young, played a significant role in thread and textile manufacturing, not only in Paisley and Renfrewshire but also in Scotland. In Paisley, based on primary source evidence analysed, from at least 1839, thread production was a female concern, an assessment which Knox also espoused: 'thread manufacture was from the beginning an almost exclusively female occupation.'⁷¹

It is important to recognise, in 1839, Paisley was not the 'threadopolis' it was to become later in the century, but the changes which have been identified so far can be described as forming part of 'the inevitable competitive rough and tumble development of global capitalism'.⁷² Male workers enumerated in the Industrial Class, in Paisley, in 1861, comprised of 49,208, far more than in either Dundee, Edinburgh or Lanark.⁷³ Plainly, manufacturing in Paisley was expanding.

The transition from weaving to thread manufacturing, in Paisley, was not the result of human failings associated with declinist theory,⁷⁴ but, arose from long-term developments, based on layers and sediments of change. First initiated in the early eighteenth century an established infrastructure, skills base and entrepreneurship enabled considered responses to changing national and international markets. This was enhanced by technical

⁷¹ Knox, *Hanging by a thread. The Scottish cotton industry, c.1850-1914*. p. 19.

⁷² Tomlinson, 'Thrice denied: 'declinism' as a recurrent theme in British history in the long twentieth century', *Twentieth century British history*. pp. 227-251, p. 227.

⁷³ *Census of Scotland 1861. 2: Population Tables and Report Volume II*. (Edinburgh: Murray & Gibb, 1864). Census of Scotland, 1861-Report, p. 1i.

⁷⁴ Tomlinson, 'Thrice denied: 'declinism' as a recurrent theme in British history in the long twentieth century' in *Twentieth century British History*. pp. 227-251, p.227.

innovations⁷⁵ and the readily available female workforce described earlier. The above and the successful invention of the sewing machine, in 1846, by an American, Elias Howe,⁷⁶ provided a mass market⁷⁷ opportunity enabling the emergence of the ‘threadopolis’.

The following comment, by Catriona M. M. Macdonald, related to the industrial profile of Paisley, invites consideration of the reference therein to transformative change. She described:

...the altering industrial profile of Paisley, from weaving town to ‘threadopolis’ and the transformation of the labour market of the textile industry in the town to a predominately female concern may be considered as consequences of cycles of accumulation which deposited layers of industrial sediment...⁷⁸

However, primary source evidence, as discussed thus far, predating Macdonald’s study, 1885-1924, demonstrates longer term continuity of feminisation of the textile workforce rather than transformative change. Notwithstanding the difficulties of changed, or indeterminate occupation categories in Census data, in the numbers cited in Figures and Tables, in this dissertation, only in 1841 do male workers outnumber female workers in the combined, weaving and thread manufacture, figures relative to Paisley. The data reflects changes which occurred incrementally over time, undoubtedly in keeping with Macdonald’s reference to ‘deposits of

⁷⁵ Sir John Sinclair, *The Statistical Account of Scotland, Paisley, County of Renfrew, OSA Vol. VII, 1793*. pp. 62-73, pp. 63-68. [accessed 1 September 2017].

⁷⁶ Blair, *The Paisley Thread Industry*. p. 32.

⁷⁷ Knox, *Hanging by a thread. The Scottish cotton industry, c.1850-1914*. p. 180.

⁷⁸ Catriona M. M. Macdonald, *The radical thread: political change in Scotland. Paisley politics, 1885-1924*, (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press Ltd., 2000), p. 37.

change'.⁷⁹ Textile industries had been paramount, in Paisley, since the early eighteenth century and thread manufacturing was present since at least 1725,⁸⁰ albeit, on a far smaller scale than the 'threadopolis' which later emerged.

The key role of Paisley as a centre of manufacturing was recognised in *The Statistical Accounts of Scotland 1793*. Clearly free trade and manufacturing played a vital role in the economic and cultural life of Paisley and surrounding areas, with consequential beneficial effects on the prosperity of farmers, and other commercial enterprises from the early eighteenth century, albeit that eventually economic and social problems would arise due to growing urbanisation.⁸¹

Paisley manufacturing and trade should not be considered in isolation. In a study of trade and empire before 1914, Jim Tomlinson suggested Britain's position relative to global financial markets and financial services was closely associated with Britain's position in world trade, shipping and the interdependence of the gold standard and free trade.⁸² In fact, the Assistant Commissioners' report of 1839, discussed earlier, referred to

⁷⁹ Macdonald, *The radical thread: political change in Scotland. Paisley politics, 1885-1924*. p. 37.

⁸⁰ Sir John Sinclair, *The Statistical Account of Scotland, Paisley, County of Renfrew, OSA, Vol. VII, 1793*. pp. 62-73, pp. 63, 64. [accessed 1 September 2017].

⁸¹ Sir John Sinclair, *The Statistical Account of Scotland, Paisley, County of Renfrew, OSA, Vol. VII, 1793*. pp. 62-72. [accessed 1 September 2017].

⁸² Jim Tomlinson, *Problems of the British economic policy 1870-1945*, (London: Methuen, 1981), pp. 44-45.

the welfare of our growing population, and the maintenance of our commercial supremacy among nations, is daily becoming more indispensably vital.⁸³

British adherence to the gold standard pre-dated most other countries, which tended to adopt it after 1870.⁸⁴ The catalyst for Britain becoming a free trade nation was the Repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846. However, this policy involved diverse opinions, in support of and against.⁸⁵ Social change, was and is, inextricably associated with economic change.

The Weber thesis discussed by Gordon Marshall, in relation to the development of capitalism in Scotland, noted Weber's summary of Franklin's text:

... to waste time is to lose money; cultivate an ability to raise credit and put it to good use; to misuse a little money is to lose a potential fortune; be punctual in repayment of loans; for to be consistently so, is to become the master of other men's purses; be vigilant in keeping accounts; be frugal in consumption.⁸⁶

Gordon proposed, in Scotland, that possibly '...the Calvinist ethic fostered the development of a business ideology identical to that which Weber calls the spirit of modern capitalism...'⁸⁷ Blair commented when discussing the value of religious teaching in a Paisley school:

many of Peter's pupils did not turn out badly in after life, although nourished on a diet of "Calvinism and a little oatmeal."⁸⁸

⁸³ *Hand-Loom Weavers Assistant Commissioners' Reports 1-2, 1839-1840.* p. 96.

⁸⁴ Tomlinson, *Problems of the British economic policy 1870-1945.* pp. 27, 28.

⁸⁵ Tomlinson, *Problems of the British economic policy 1870-1945.* pp. 44-45.

⁸⁶ Gordon Marshall, 'The Weber thesis and the development of capitalism in Scotland' in *Capitalism, class and politics in Scotland*, Ron Parsler, ed., (England: Gower Publishing Co., Ltd., 1980), pp., 1-36. p. 2.

⁸⁷ Marshall, 'The Weber Thesis and the development of capitalism in Scotland' in *Capitalism, class and politics in Scotland*, Ron Parsler, ed. pp. 1-36 p. 28.

⁸⁸ Blair, *The Paisley Thread Industry.* p. 146.

Clearly diverse and interrelated political, economic and social factors influenced economic growth and society in Britain and consequently in Scotland during the nineteenth century and arguably continues to do so today.

Whilst the chronological focus of this dissertation lies in the nineteenth century it is important to recognise swift growth in the Scottish economy occurred from the mid-eighteenth century. This can be perceived as either the result of a breakthrough in one industry or sector or progress across a broad range of areas in the wider economy. Regardless of a sectoral or broad-based explanation of the Scottish Industrial Revolution it is almost without doubt that in the crucial 'take off' phase textiles played an important, possibly crucial role.⁸⁹ This view is supported by examination of the number of persons who were employed in textile industries. Sinclair described clothing as being '...one of the greatest conveniences of life.'⁹⁰

The transition from a contracting weaving sector to an expanding thread manufacturing industry in Paisley resulted from the legislative, and economic pressures which have been discussed. This assertion is supported by the following, related to weaving, expressed by Rev. Dr Burns on the 29 April 1843:

I would say that the state of such a town as Paisley, in regard to the periodical depressions of trade, has been occasioned by causes of a public nature which the legislature of the land can remove, - causes

⁸⁹ Murray, *The Scottish hand loom weavers 1790-1850: a social history*. p. 1.

⁹⁰ John Sinclair, *Analysis of the statistical account of Scotland* Chapt. IX a discussion of the various classes into which the inhabitants of Scotland may be divided, (Hume Tracts, 1825), pp. 1-29, p. 8. <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/60207005>>. [accessed 18 October 2017].

apart altogether from moral causes and from the vicissitudes of providence, and the influx of strangers to get employment. There are causes for this state of things arising out of the selfish and over-restricted and overburdened condition of our commerce, which deeply affect the town of Paisley.⁹¹

The changes which facilitated the expansion of thread manufacturing in Paisley were assisted by the ‘business plans’ operated by the two leading companies, Clark and Coats. Their success, arguably, was the result of strategic planning since the founding of these two companies early in the nineteenth century.⁹² It is also proposed, in this dissertation, they may have adopted, in some respects the philosophy espoused by Franklin, referred to earlier, ‘to waste time is to lose money... be vigilant in keeping accounts;’⁹³ However, this was assisted by the emergence of a mass market for sewing thread, the readily available, non-unionised, female workforce, the companies’ use of vertical and horizontal integration and approach to industrial relations which involved a degree of paternalism until the end of the nineteenth century.⁹⁴

In 1896, the Clark and Coats firms amalgamated, resulting in, as suggested by Knox, world domination of the production of sewing thread.⁹⁵ In response to protectionist trade policies in America Messrs Clark and Messrs

⁹¹ *Poor Law inquiry (Scotland.)* Appendix, part I. Containing minutes of evidence taken at Edinburgh, Glasgow, Greenock, Paisley, Ayr, and Kilmarnock. 1844. Command Papers, Paper Number 563. Poor Law Inquiry Commission for Scotland. Paisley, Saturday 29 April 1843. p. 564. <<https://parlipapers-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/parlipapers/result/pqpdocumentview?accountid=14540>>. [accessed 17 December 2017].

⁹² Blair, *The Paisley Thread Industry*, Clark pp.35-39, Coats pp. 45-48.

⁹³ Marshall, ‘The Weber thesis and the development of capitalism in Scotland’ in *Capitalism, class and politics in Scotland*, Ron Parsler, ed. pp., 1-36. p. 2.

⁹⁴ Knox, *Hanging by a thread. The Scottish cotton industry, c.1850-1914.* pp. 177, 178.

⁹⁵ Knox, *Hanging by a thread. The Scottish cotton industry, c.1850-191.* pp.180, 181.

Coats set up mills in Newark, New Jersey and Pawtucket, respectively.⁹⁶ In 1899 the amalgamated company held shares in manufacturing concerns in 12 foreign companies, from where most of their profits were generated.⁹⁷

Matthew Blair's, comment published in 1907, proposed:

The business of Messrs Coats has been built up by careful study of the wants and interests of the consumers. Buyers have learned of the superiority of Coats' and Clarks' thread, and insist on having it, and a reputation thus attained is not easily disturbed. It is a monopoly of capacity. These firms are only reaping the well-deserved harvest following upon years of laborious effort.⁹⁸

This prompts consideration of the question what did the success of these companies mean for the predominately female workers who produced the thread? Opinions in relation to 1833, management styles, can be found in the following: 'The thread factory of Messrs. Clarke, (No LIX.,) is also one which deserves commendation, as being well regulated and managed...'⁹⁹ Testimony by the manager, James Balderston reported there were approximately 107 workers, who normally worked 69 hours per week, no corporal punishment was permitted and few accidents had occurred, 'only one serious one, by a person losing a finger'.¹⁰⁰ Evidence taken by Mr

⁹⁶ Blair, *The Paisley Thread Industry*. pp. 40, 51.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁹⁸ Blair, *The Paisley Thread Industry*. pp. 64-65.

⁹⁹ *Factories Inquiry Commission. 1st & 2nd Reports, 1833, HC450*. First Report of the central Board of His Majesty's Commissioners appointed to collect information in the manufacturing districts, as to the employment of children in factories, as to the propriety and means of curtailing the hours of labour: with minutes of evidence and reports by the district commissioners. ordered by The House of Commons, to be printed,

28 June 1833. Evidence taken by Mr Stuart A.1. p. 105. (spelling of Clarke as in report).

¹⁰⁰ *Factories Inquiry Commission. 1st & 2nd Reports, 1833, HC450*. First Report of the central Board of His Majesty's Commissioners appointed to collect information in the manufacturing districts, as to the employment of children in factories, as to the propriety and means of curtailing the hours of labour: with minutes of evidence and

Stuart, not only from this mill, recorded female workers were being splashed with water, but no higher than their knees, when working on coarse yarn, this appeared, in the main, to be tolerated by management and the female workers. An inability to read was noted for three out of four female workers interviewed, whilst the fourth made no comment in relation to this. Female workers in the mill of Messrs., J. & G. Carswell, also in Paisley, were recorded in the report, as being paid less than male colleagues.¹⁰¹ This practice was also apparent in the pay lists of James Clark & J J Clark referred to earlier,¹⁰² Figure 2.3. page 24. Thus, it is clear female workers were, in some respects disadvantaged, despite the commendation referred to above.

Another report produced, in 1888, considering the employment of women provides further insight. However, identification of firms is problematic as: 'A private record of firms and operatives giving evidence for this and the previous report has been kept, but is not printed'.¹⁰³ It was recorded,

reports by the district commissioners. ordered by The House of Commons, to be printed,

28 June 1833. Evidence taken by Mr Stuart A.1. LIX.-Report of Messrs J & J Clarke's sewing cotton factory at Seedhills, Paisley. p. 108.

¹⁰¹ *Factories Inquiry Commission. 1st & 2nd Reports, 1833, HC450.* First Report of the central Board of His Majesty's Commissioners appointed to collect information in the manufacturing districts, as to the employment of children in factories, as to the propriety and means of curtailing the hours of labour: with minutes of evidence and reports by the district commissioners. ordered by The House of Commons, to be printed,

28 June 1833. Evidence taken by Mr Stuart A.1. LIX.-Report of Messrs J & J Clarke's sewing cotton factory at Seedhills, Paisley. pp. 107-108. LVII.-Report of Messrs., J & G Carswell, Junior, and Company's cotton-thread mill, in St. James's Street Paisley. p. 107.

¹⁰² GB 248 UGD/199/7-Records of James Clark thread manufacturers, Paisley, Renfrewshire, Scotland GB 248 UGD.199/7/8-Ledgers (3 entries), GB 248 UGD 199/7/8/3. James Clark & J J Clark Sales Ledger/Wages 1818-1839 Workers Pay List 26 January 1839-25 January 1840.

¹⁰³ Irwin, Report by Miss Margaret H. Irwin, (Lady Assistant Commissioner), in *Employment of Women Reports, Royal Commission on Labour*, Command Paper C. 6894-XX11. p.183.

before the inspections took place, that, in Paisley, favourable comments had been received from the trades council in respect of the general working conditions experienced by women engaged in thread production. On visiting mill No. 35, which employed 3,200 workers, it was recorded the mill is said to be 'one of the finest in the kingdom.'¹⁰⁴ Likewise mill No. 36 was described as representing 'the highest standards encountered in relation to sanitation and general appointments'.¹⁰⁵ This mill, which was established early in the nineteenth century, was discussed in detail, and the well-being of workers, with whom there appeared to be good relations, appeared to be important.¹⁰⁶ Margaret Irwin commented in her report that the highest standards she had found in relation to sanitation in the western districts were in the thread mills of 'Messrs Clark and Messrs Coats, Paisley...'¹⁰⁷ It is therefore reasonable to presume mill No. 36 was owned by Messrs Clark, since the Seedhill Mill was erected in the early nineteenth century.¹⁰⁸ Aspects of society, paternalism health and education, in Paisley, will be discussed later, in Chapter 3.

It has been demonstrated, in this dissertation, that the transition from weaving to thread manufacturing in Paisley was part of a complex long-term legislative, economic and social process. This involved, as discussed, the growth of population, industrialisation and urbanisation, in Scotland

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p.191.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p.191.

¹⁰⁶ Irwin, Report by Miss Margaret H. Irwin, (Lady Assistant Commissioner), in *Employment of Women Reports, Royal Commission on Labour*, Command Paper C. 6894-XX11. pp.191, 192.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

¹⁰⁸ Blair, *The Paisley Thread Industry*. p. 37.

and Paisley, within a context of legislative change and global economic change. The economic and social pressures which facilitated the expansion of thread production in Paisley, and the associated global companies which were referred to earlier, also substantially brought about the relocation of thread production away from Paisley, to India, in pursuit of the economic imperative of lower production costs, in the form of lower wages, as noted on page 11.

In Scotland overall, whilst the number of male workers enumerated in weaving decreased from 15,102, in 1841, to 3,264 in 1891, a level of stability was apparent in Paisley.¹⁰⁹ Although demand for the Paisley shawls, which were once so sought after, and had a global market,¹¹⁰ had markedly declined.¹¹¹ There were, in 1841, in Paisley, 481 male workers, weaving branch not specified, and 588 male hand loom weavers enumerated. In Paisley, in 1891, there were 431 male workers, weaving branch not specified, enumerated. In Scotland, overall the number of female workers increased from 6,516, in 1841, to 10,338, in 1891. In Paisley, the number rose from 47 in 1841 to 308 in 1891.¹¹² Arguably, this can be attributed, in part, to the increased use of power looms, Murray proposed ‘the great power loom boom of the 1850s [would have] absorbed or displaced nearly all who worked coarse fabrics.’¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ References as in Appendix 2, Table 2. Sources Scotland 1841, 1891. Paisley 1841, 1891.

¹¹⁰ *Hand-Loom Weavers Assistant Commissioners’ Reports 1-2, 1839-1840*. pp. 28, 29, 31.

¹¹¹ Blair, *The Paisley Thread Industry*. p. 31.

¹¹² References as in Appendix 2, Table 2. Sources male and female Scotland 1841, 1891 and Paisley 1841, 1891.

¹¹³ Murray, *The Scottish hand loom weavers 1790-1850*. p. 22.

Continuity in the predominance of female workers in thread production in Scotland, and Paisley, has without doubt been demonstrated in this dissertation. The long-term relative importance of Paisley, and the female textile workers there, can be summarised in this way: in 1841, there were 155 male workers and 645 female workers enumerated. Whereas, in 1891, there were 373 male workers and 4,468 female workers.¹¹⁴ In 1960, the Coats plant, in Paisley, employed 14,000 workers.¹¹⁵ However, Census records, of 1961, recorded that in Paisley, Large Burgh, of the total number of textile workers, there were 1,360 male workers and 2,820 female workers. These numbers included 200 male workers and 90 female workers enumerated in the weaving category. No specific group for thread manufacture was listed, but, of spinners, doublers, winders and reelers there were 200 male workers and 1,460 female workers. So certainly, overall, in textiles, there were more female than male workers and in the categories specified above there were considerably more.¹¹⁶ Thus, the importance of female textile workers endured and has been demonstrated in this dissertation, since 1784,¹¹⁷ within the limits of extant sources, which, although at times, sources may appear contradictory the trends are clear.

¹¹⁴ References as in Appendix 1, Table 1, Paisley, Sources.

¹¹⁵ A. Sinclair, *Sewing it up, a Scottish company in India*, cited in: Arthur McIvor, 'The textile firm and the management of labour' in *The Ashgate companion to the history of textile workers, 1650-2000*, Lex Heerma Van Voss, Els Hiemstra-Kuperus and Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, eds, (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010), pp. 597-619, p. 615.

¹¹⁶ *Census 1961, Scotland*. Population, Dwellings, Households. Leaflet No. 18. Census 1961, Scotland, Occupation and Industry, County Tables, Renfrew. (Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1966). Table 1 Occupation and Status-continued. Paisley L. B. p. 4

¹¹⁷ Blair, *The Paisley Thread Industry*. p. 23.

The enduring effects of global capitalism are demonstrated thus: by 1980, Coats had become one of the two largest textile manufacturing companies in Europe with significant investments outside their base in the U K. At that time Coats employed 66,000 workers and had interests in 30 countries which included India, Pakistan, Hong Kong, the Philippines and Turkey.¹¹⁸ In developed capitalist economies, however, employment and investment, in textiles had experienced an unprecedented decline.¹¹⁹ The rationale for this is best described in the following:

Activities that show a structural lack of profitability or no longer fit in the strategy are divested. Risk is limited by spreading the activities over various regions and market segments.¹²⁰

It is therefore concluded the transition from weaving to thread production in Paisley, in the nineteenth century, was part of a long-term global process, involving legislative, economic and social change. It was not the result of human failings as described in declinist theory, but, was part of the essential peaks and troughs of global capitalism.¹²¹ Through the same

¹¹⁸ www.knittingtogether.org.uk. cited in: Arthur Mclvor, 'The textile firm and the management of labour' in *The Ashgate companion to the history of textile workers, 1650-2000*, Lex Heerma Van Voss, Els Hiemstra-Kuperus and Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, eds, (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010), pp. 597-619, p. 613.

¹¹⁹ Arthur Mclvor, 'The textile firm and the management of labour' in *The Ashgate companion to the history of textile workers, 1650-2000*, Lex Heerma Van Voss, Els Hiemstra-Kuperus and Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, eds, (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010), pp. 597-619, p. 613.

¹²⁰ www.eumanufactur.com/textiles_multinationals, cited in: Arthur Mclvor, 'The textile firm and the management of labour' in *The Ashgate companion to the history of textile workers, 1650-2000*, Lex Heerma Van Voss, Els Hiemstra-Kuperus and Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, eds, (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010), pp. 597-619, p. 613.

¹²¹ Tomlinson, 'Thrice denied: 'declinism' as a recurrent theme in British history in the long twentieth century', *Twentieth century British history*. pp. 227-251, pp. 227, 249.

processes, by 1981, employment in thread manufacturing in Paisley, had markedly contracted.¹²²

¹²² A. Sinclair, *Sewing it up, a Scottish company in India*, cited in: Arthur Mclvor, 'The textile firm and management of labour' in *The Ashgate companion to the history of textile workers, 1650-2000*. pp. 597-619, p. 615.

The gradual transition, during the nineteenth century, in the Paisley textile industries, from predominately weaving to thread manufacture, intrinsically altered the infrastructure and society of the town. This was due to the different methods of manufacture involved,¹ types of employment and the increase in population, as described in Chapter 2.² The effects, attributable to the transition were described, in some detail, in a work by Matthew Blair, first published in 1907. He noted, having lived:

during part of the two periods... so remarkable and so contrasted as those of the shawl trade and the thread trade - many interesting, and even pathetic, memories are awakened.³

Alongside the structural changes in the town significant changes to the prosperity and health of inhabitants, and the provision and uptake of education occurred, within a dichotomy of an unequal society, which will be discussed in this chapter. All of this was influenced by legislation, economic change and that which has been described as paternalism.⁴

The meaning of paternalism is contestable. It has been described by Peter Ackers as a 'loose descriptive term [having] as much and as little value as other generalized terms.'⁵ He does however, recognise the relevance of the

¹ Matthew Blair, *The Paisley Thread Industry*, (First published in 1907, this edition specially produced by Cedric Chivers Ltd., Bristol for the publishers Renfrew District Council Department of Arts & Libraries Paisley, Renfrewshire PA3 2RJ, 1994). pp. 120, 182,183.

² *Census of Great Britain 1851 population tables 2.1., ages, civil condition, occupations etc.*, (London: George Edward Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1854). Tables 23 and 24, p. Ixix.
Population of Great Britain, 1831, 2 enumeration abstract vol., II. Ordered by The House of Commons, to be printed, 2 April 1833. pp. 1022, 1023.

³ Blair, *The Paisley Thread Industry*. p. 109.

⁴ W. W. Knox, *Hanging by a thread. The Scottish cotton industry, c.1850-1914*, (Preston: Carnegie Publishing Ltd., 1995). p. 13.
Catriona M. M. Macdonald, *The radical thread: political change in Scotland. Paisley politics, 1885-1924*, (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press Ltd., 2000). pp. 52, 53.

⁵ Peter Ackers, 'On paternalism; seven observations on the uses and abuses of the

term within seven caveats,⁶ a summary of which follows. Ackers proposed: a specific definition of paternalism is required, including identified criteria within which the description is being applied. The term facilitates examination of industrial relations beyond economic explanations. It incorporates the social, lived experience. There is inherently a divergence between employer intention and employee response. Paternalism as an effective employment strategy will consistently incorporate a balance of coercion and consent and crucially an element of human contact, however, tenuous that may be. Paternalism is not a terminology which is generally applicable to working class subordination. Its usefulness lies in testing its relevance to a specific workplace and location at a given time. The effectiveness of paternalism, as an all-purpose employer tactic, is constrained by social structure not time.⁷ It is argued, in this dissertation, that paternalism involves a symbiotic relationship between employer and employee.

A framework referred to in Ackers' study, coincides with the situation in Paisley, superficially to such an extent, it may have been a model for it:

...characteristic company features are hereditary family ownership, personal relations between employer and workers, a sense of religious mission, and a commitment to social welfare and public service. The ideal-type paternalist workforce matches these with family employment through large kinship networks which are embedded in a surrounding occupational community...⁸

concept in industrial relations, past and present' in *Historical Studies in Industrial Relations* 5, (Spring 1998). pp. 173-193. p. 173.

⁶ Ackers, 'On paternalism; seven observations on the uses and abuses of the concept in industrial relations, past and present' in *Historical Studies in Industrial Relations* 5, (Spring 1998). pp. 173-193. pp. 175, 178, 180, 182, 185, 187, 188.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 175, 178, 180, 182, 185, 187, 188.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 176, 177.

In this chapter, the appropriateness of this model, to the Paisley thread industry, in the nineteenth century, will be tested against primary and contemporary sources.

The early foundations of industrial expansion and employment, in Paisley, had been firmly laid, but, some inhabitants experienced the benefits, others the inherent problems.⁹ The *Scots Magazine*, December 1786, asserted: ‘No town in the kingdom, or perhaps in Europe, has made such rapid progress in population and wealth, as the town of Paisley.’¹⁰ This assessment was supported by the description, in *Affairs in Scotland*, written by an anonymous author, of ‘the new and elegant houses, the well paved streets, the gay and polite inhabitants and the neatly dressed servant maids.’¹¹ However, Paisley would eventually struggle with:

a growing population, inadequate housing and drainage and high levels of sickness and mortality... by the 1870s the prosperity, employment and social life of the town relied on the policies of the Coats and Clark families...¹²

⁹ Sir John Sinclair, *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, Paisley, Renfrew, Vol. VII, Edinburgh: William Creech, 1793. University of Edinburgh, University of Glasgow. (1999). The Statistical Accounts of Scotland online service. pp. 62-73. p. 68. <<https://stataccscot.edina.ac.uk/link/osa-vol7-p62-parish-renfrew-paisley>> [accessed 1 September 2017].

¹⁰ *The Scots Magazine*, December 1786, cited in: Derek A. Dow, *Paisley Hospitals, The Royal Alexandra Infirmary and allied institutions 1786-1986*. (Publisher: Argyll & Clyde Health Board. Printer Bell & Bain, Glasgow, 1988). p. 7. Please note information in this document does not have the source referenced so must be viewed with caution.

¹¹ Derek A. Dow, *Paisley Hospitals, The Royal Alexandra Infirmary and allied institutions 1786-1986*. (Publisher: Argyll & Clyde Health Board. Printer: Bell & Bain, 1988). p. 7. Please note information in this document does not have the source referenced therefore must be viewed with caution.

¹² Kirsten Kininmonth, (2016). ‘Weber’s Protestant work ethic: a case study of Scottish entrepreneurs, the Coats family of Paisley. *Business History*, 58:8, 1236-1261, DOI:10.1080/00076791.2016.1172569 p. 1247 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/00076791.2016.1172569>> [accessed 21 November 2017].

In his discussion, of 1840-1850,¹³ Blair proposed that: life was ‘not all “cakes and ale”’. There was another side to the picture.’¹⁴ Episodes of great depression in the shawl trade resulted in many families, described as decent, approaching a state of starvation. Soup kitchens were a feature of most winters and bread riots not unusual. Disease was a faithful companion to this poverty, in the form of the almost constant presence of smallpox and fever, and occasionally cholera.¹⁵ Blair wrote of his personal sorrow in the situation which he described since ‘many of his people were operative weavers.’¹⁶ The dispersal of family groups and migration to places as diverse as: Glasgow, Canada, California and Australia was not unusual as the situation in Paisley deteriorated.¹⁷

Responses to poverty and disease can be found, to an extent, in Clark’s company records, namely a cash book, 1828-1838. Details have been included to illustrate the scale and frequency of payments. Entries recorded: a subscription, on 3 June 1829, of £10.00 in aid of unemployed weavers, and £15.00, on 5 December 1831, in aid of the unemployed. On 13 March 1832, £3. 15 shillings was noted for cholera subscription and 29 March 1832, £11. 5 shillings for cholera subscription in full, and 19 April 1833, £1.16 shillings for cholera assessment (Burgh) and 28 May 1833, £1. 4 shillings, for cholera assessment (suburbs), payments totalling £18.00. In addition, an entry on 13 October 1831 stated for assessment for Abbey poor

¹³ Blair, *The Paisley Thread Industry*. p. 109.

¹⁴ Blair, *The Paisley Thread Industry*. p. 116.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

£8.00, 20 September 1832 noted for Abbey 'poors' rates £9.12 shillings, 26 August 1833, for Abbey assessment £11. 5 shillings. 29 September 1834 for Abbey parish assessment £1.00.¹⁸ There were also two entries noting: the lending of wages of £1.00 to a male turner at Seedhill and a female winder, wages £1.00.¹⁹ Despite this information being somewhat limited it is indicative, from primary source evidence, of an apparent commitment by the company to the welfare of workers and the wider community.

As proposed, by Kirsten Kininmonth: the residents of Paisley were indebted to the Coats and Clark families. She noted, in the nineteenth century, it would have been difficult to find an organisation or association in which the name of Coats or Clark was not included in the committee.²⁰ An example of this may be found in the activities of one James Clark, of J. & J. Clark & Co., A James Clark, (1783-1865), resided at Chapel House, and appears to have been a son of the first James Clark, (1747-1829).²¹ A James Clark is listed in a Commercial Directory, 1851-52, as being: a Justice of the Peace, Paisley District and a member of the Standing or General Committee, for Calside House, a Poor House opened in 1849, under the auspices of Abbey

¹⁸ GB 248 UGD/199/7-Records of James Clark, thread manufacturers, Paisley, Renfrewshire,

Scotland. GB 248 UGD 199/7/13/2: James Clark & J J Clark Cash Book, 1828-1838. pp. 25,

64, 69, 87, 89, 61, 78, 93, 110, 164.

¹⁹ GB 248 UGD 199/7/13/2: James Clark & J J Clark Cash Book, 1828-1838. pp. 127, 134. (page number 134 is used twice in this source).

²⁰ Kininmonth, (2016). 'Weber's Protestant work ethic: a case study of Scottish entrepreneurs, the Coats family of Paisley. *Business History*, 58:8, 1236-1261, pp. 1247, 1248, 1256.

²¹ *Fowler's Paisley and Johnstone commercial directory and general advertiser for 1851-52*. p. 27. <<http://digital.nls.uk/directories/browse/archive/91171170>>. [accessed 4 January 2018]

Blair, *The Paisley Thread*, pp. 35, 37.

Parish Parochial Board.²² A James Clark, of Chapel House, was Provost of Paisley, 1882-1885, he appears to have been the son of the second James Clark.²³ There was also listed a James Clark as a Trustee of the River Cart, a director of the Deaf and Dumb Institution and as a Trustee for Creditors Cart Navigation, acting under the Act for Regulating the Financial Affairs of the Burgh.²⁴ Since no address was given for this latter Mr Clark it is uncertain if it was the same gentleman. What is apparent from these references to more than one James Clark is that there appears to have been an enduring family commitment to welfare and public service. In the case of James Clark who was a member of the General Committee for Calside Poor House there may possibly have been a sense of religious mission since the Poor House was opened under the auspices of the Parochial Board, as noted above. However, the community roles and responsibilities, of James Clark, and his relatives, described above also highlights a power dynamic inherent in his/their positions as employers and as powerful members of the community. Subtle undertones which reflect Ackers' reference to an incorporation of coercion and consent.²⁵

Plainly, using Ackers' model, pages 41 and 42, there was an apparent commitment to social welfare and public service by these members of the Clark family. A comment, by Blair, referred to the sustained prosperity of

²² Fowler's *Paisley and Johnstone commercial directory and general advertiser for 1851-52*. pp. 102, 112. [accessed 4 January 2018].

²³ Blair, *The Paisley Thread Industry*. pp. 43, 37.

²⁴ Fowler's *Paisley and Johnstone commercial directory and general advertiser for 1851-52*. pp. 133, 119, 106. [accessed 4 January 2018].

²⁵ Ackers, 'On paternalism; seven observations on the uses and abuses of the concept in industrial relations, past and present' in *Historical Studies in Industrial Relations 5*, (Spring 1998). pp. 173-193. p. 182.

Clark's mill at Seedhills which was managed by third and fourth generations of the family with hereditary ability.²⁶ Thus, certainly two of the criteria of Ackers' model have been met: hereditary family ownership of the company and commitment to social welfare and public service,²⁷ by more than one generation of the family. A sense of religious mission may be present, however, lacking any personal statements to confirm this any conclusion proposed in this dissertation would be tenuous.

Blair remarked on the consistent interest which the leading men of the thread trade had taken in the welfare of Paisley and the people of the town.²⁸ Such was the tone of Blair's praise that the following has been included verbatim:

Their names are to be found on the governing boards of every institution and society, educational, philanthropic and religious in the town. During the dark days consequent upon the decay of the shawl trade, they did much to tide over the period of suffering through which the town passed, on its way to the present improved economic position. When success flowed in upon them, they dispensed their wealth with a liberal hand, and the town is enriched and adorned by many substantial evidences of their benefactions.²⁹

Some of these widely known benefactions remain as principal elements of Paisley's built heritage, in the form of: Coats Memorial Church, the George A. Clark Town Hall, Coats Observatory and, as described at that time, the Free Public Library and Museum.³⁰ A feature of paternalism has been defined in Ackers' study citing Diane K. Drummond and H. Newby as a 'gift

²⁶ Blair, *The Paisley Thread Industry*. pp. 39, 40.

²⁷ Peter Ackers, 'On paternalism; seven observations on the uses and abuses of the concept in industrial relations, past and present' in *Historical Studies in Industrial Relations* 5, (Spring 1998). pp. 173-193. pp. 176, 177.

²⁸ Blair, *The Paisley Thread Industry*. p. 85.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 99, 97, 93, 88.

relationship'³¹ and without doubt there was a gift relationship between the Coats and Clark families and the inhabitants of Paisley.

Thus, the diverse involvement of the Coats and Clark families is described. They were employers, in family owned companies,³² and their interest in the infrastructure and welfare of the inhabitants and workers, in Paisley, is clear.³³ Examples of paternalism, as described in Ackers' framework, in relation to family ownership of companies, possible religious mission, social welfare, public service and a 'gift relationship' have been identified in the primary and contemporary sources discussed in the preceding pages.

The above pages provide some insight into the concept of paternalism and the changing infrastructure and society of Paisley. However, little of the lived experience, related to the prosperity of some and poverty of others is apparent. Clearly society, in Paisley, was hierarchical and involved unequal rewards.³⁴ Some of the changes, in Paisley, were highlighted by Blair in his comments relating to emigrants returning after forty years:

No emigrant... could have been more astonished. School companions nearly all gone. Some west [into elegant villas, but a greater number] to quiet resting-places in Woodside Cemetery. Instead of

³¹ H. Newby, 'The deferential dialect', in *Comparative studies in society and history* 13 p. 118. Cited in Peter Ackers, 'On paternalism; seven observations on the uses and abuses of the concept in industrial relations, past and present' in *Historical Studies in Industrial Relations* 5, (Spring 1998). pp. 173-193, p. 175.
Diane K. Drummond, Crewe: *Railway town, company and people 1840-1914*, (Aldershot: Scolar Press 1995). p. 187.

³² Blair, *The Paisley Thread Industry*. Coats family business p. 48-49. Clark family business p. 37.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

³⁴ Sir John Sinclair, *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, Paisley, Renfrew, Vol. VII, Edinburgh: William Creech, 1793. University of Edinburgh, University of Glasgow. (1999). The Statistical Accounts of Scotland online service. pp. 62-73, p. 68. <<https://stataccscot.edina.ac.uk/link/osa-vol7-p62-parish-renfrew-paisley>>. [accessed 1 September 2017].

the old dreamy town, everywhere was now bustle. A new heaven and a new earth, wherein all was business-business!³⁵

The ambience of Paisley also changed in other ways. In 1854, in Paisley Burgh

there were five hotels, 168 public houses and 58 licensed grocers. In 1876 the numbers of these establishments, in the area, had all increased, except licensed grocers which had reduced from 58 to 39.³⁶ Changes, which were possibly, attributable to the new prominence of business in the town and reflective of Blair's comment, referred to on pages 43 and 44, related to the presence of 'cakes and ale.'³⁷

The reference, made by Blair, to decent families³⁸ prompts the question: what constituted a decent family and who made the judgement of relative decency? Ideologies of deserving/undeserving poor and self-help had been well established by 1793.³⁹ Plainly, decency was decided within the parameters of the hierarchical society, when John Sinclair posited that:

... it is necessary to consider a political society as divided into three great classes: 1. The *productive*; 2. The *useful*, or indirectly productive; and 3. The *useless*, or unproductive. By keeping this arrangement constantly in view, the inquiries of the political economist will be greatly facilitated.⁴⁰

³⁵ Blair, *The Paisley Thread Industry*. p. 118.

³⁶ *Return of the number of licensed houses in each Parliamentary Burgh in Scotland, 1854 & 1876*. Return Relating to licensed houses, (Scotland). Image 4, p.4 <<https://parlipapers-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/parlipares/results/pqpdocumentview?accountid?=14540>> [accessed 16 December 2017]

³⁷ Blair, *The Paisley Thread Industry*. p. 116.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

³⁹ Sir John Sinclair, *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, Paisley, Renfrew, Vol. VII., Edinburgh: William Creech, 1793. University of Edinburgh, University of Glasgow. (1999). The Statistical Accounts of Scotland online service. pp. 62-73. pp.68-73. <<https://stataccscot.edina.ac.uk/link/osa-vol7-p62-parish-renfrew-paisley>> [accessed 1 September 2017].

⁴⁰ John Sinclair, *Analysis of the statistical account of Scotland Chapt. IX a discussion of the various classes into which the inhabitants of Scotland may be divided*, (Hume

Individuals recognised as productive were responsible for producing food, or materially contributing to the wealth and happiness of the nation.⁴¹ Thus, textile workers must have been included in the productive class.⁴² Therefore, in nineteenth century Paisley there were significant numbers of women, a noteworthy number of them young, arguably, within the productive class,⁴³ and based on productiveness and wage earning as being a criterion, thereby considered decent.

The *Scots Magazine*, revised the 1796 assessment and fulsome praise of Paisley,⁴⁴ some 20 years later, in an article by William Carlile, a local Paisley manufacturer. It was noted, approximately four-fifth, of a population of 35,000 'were employed in weaving or thread-making.'⁴⁵ The town was described as uniquely lacking in lighting, paving and street cleaning. But his most scathing comments related to a lack concern about

Tracts, 1825), pp. 1-29, p.1, italics as in original text.
<<http://www.jstor.org/stable/60207005>> [accessed 18 October 2017].

⁴¹ John Sinclair, *Analysis of the statistical account of Scotland Chapt. IX a discussion of the various classes into which the inhabitants of Scotland may be divided*, (Hume Tracts, 1825), pp.1-29, pp. 1-2, italics as in original text. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/60207005>> [accessed 18 October,2017].

⁴² John Sinclair, *Analysis of the statistical account of Scotland Chapt. IX a discussion of the various classes into which the inhabitants of Scotland may be divided*, (Hume Tracts, 1825). pp. 1-29, p. 9, italics as in original text. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/60207005>> [accessed 18 October,2017].

⁴³ Please see Appendix 1, Table 1 and Appendix 2, Table 2 and Tables & Figures Chapter 2 for further clarification, and source references.

⁴⁴ Derek A. Dow, *Paisley Hospitals, The Royal Alexandra Infirmary and allied institutions 1786-1986*. (Argyll & Clyde Health Board, Glasgow: Publisher Bell & Bain, 1988). p. 7. Please note information in this document does not have the source referenced so must be viewed with caution.

⁴⁵ William Carlile, in *Scots Magazine*, cited in Derek A. Dow, *Paisley Hospitals, The Royal Alexandra Infirmary and allied institutions 1786-1986*. (Argyll & Clyde Health Board, Glasgow: Publisher Bell & Bain, 1988). p. 13.

cleanliness in the cotton factories: 'the air they breathe is unfriendly to health'.⁴⁶

This prompts consideration of health provision in Paisley. In April 1786, the prominent citizens of Paisley met to promote the building of a General Dispensary for the sick poor.⁴⁷ In 1805, to combat the spread of infection in the rapidly growing industrial area the institution started to act as a House of Recovery for fever patients.⁴⁸ As noted, on page 44, in Blair's discussion of 1840-1850, smallpox and fever had an almost constant presence,⁴⁹ so apparently infection had been an ongoing problem. Early health provision in Paisley was fraught with financial and staffing difficulties.⁵⁰ Notwithstanding that the services were extended to include medical and surgical wards, by 1850, in the re styled Paisley Infirmary and Dispensary.⁵¹ In 1851, in the County of Renfrew, there were 24 physicians, 55 surgeons or apothecaries, 66 druggists, of whom 25 were under 20 years of age and 2 dentists.⁵² Various entries in a cash book of James Clark & J J Clark refer to amounts related to the Town Hospital between 1828 and 1837. The first entry was on 4 December 1828: by ½ years assessment for hospital, £4.10 shillings and last entry: by Town's Hospital assessment 28 December 1837,

⁴⁶ Dow, *Paisley Hospitals, The Royal Alexandra Infirmary and allied institutions 1786-1986*. p. 13.

⁴⁷ Dow, *Paisley Hospitals, The Royal Alexandra Infirmary and allied institutions 1786-1986*. p. v.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. v.

⁴⁹ Blair, *The Paisley Thread Industry*. p. 116.

⁵⁰ Dow, *Paisley Hospitals, The Royal Alexandra Infirmary and allied institutions 1786-1986*. pp.14-18.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. v.

⁵² *Return of number of practitioners in medicine, according to census of 1851, for England and Wales, Scotland, and Islands in British Seas*. House of Commons Papers, Paper Number 145. Image 8, p. 8. <<https://parlipapers-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/parlipapers/result/pqpdocumentview?accountid=14540>>. [accessed 25 November 2017].

£7. 7 shillings.⁵³ It is unclear if these entries were related to parochial assessment connected to poor relief instituted in the late eighteenth century which replaced church door collections.⁵⁴ By 1870, a workers' subscription scheme was contributing one fifth of the cost of the upkeep of the hospital, and the firms of J & P Coats and J & J Clark were at the forefront. Alongside this the treatment of infection, except in the epidemic years, 1865-6 and 1871, had generally ceased to be the paramount concern after 1851.⁵⁵

A further major influence on the life experiences of the inhabitants of Paisley, and for that matter Scotland, was the availability and uptake of education. The provision of education in Scotland, in the nineteenth century, was fundamentally altered by legislative change. In 1803, it was enacted that the Superintendance of Schools should continue with the ministers of the established Church.⁵⁶ In an Act of Parliament, 1838, parish schools and other methods of education in the Highlands and Islands were deemed to be totally inadequate to the needs of the inhabitants, with provision, in some areas, thought to be non-existent. It was considered, in this Act, preferable that provision should be made 'against so great an

⁵³ GB 248 UGD 199/7/13/2 James Clark & J J Clark cash book.1828-1838. p. 15, 164.

⁵⁴ Dow, *Paisley Hospitals, The Royal Alexandra Infirmary and allied institutions 1786-1986*. p. 7.

⁵⁵ Dow, *Paisley Hospitals, The Royal Alexandra Infirmary and allied institutions 1786-1986*. (Argyll & Clyde Health Board, Glasgow: Publisher Bell & Bain, 1988). pp. 18-20. Please note information in this document does not have the source referenced and must be viewed with caution.

⁵⁶ *Acts of Parliament, 43 GEO III 1802-03, Pub. Gen. CH. 1-83*. (London: George Eyre and Andrew Strahan, 1803). Anno Quadragesimo Tertio, George III. Regis. C A P. Liv. An Act for making better Provision for the Parochial Schoolmasters, and for making further Regulations for the better Government of the Parish Schools in *Scotland*. [11th June 1803]. (p. 433, italics as source). p. 439.

Evil.’⁵⁷ A further Act of Parliament, 1861, was passed stating it would no longer be required for anyone elected to be a schoolmaster, in any Burgh school, to profess an affiliation to the Church of Scotland, or to profess that he will ‘submit himself to the Government and Discipline thereof...’⁵⁸

Further developments to education, in Scotland, were made in an Act of Parliament, 1872. The Act stated a commitment to extend the law of Scotland, regarding education, in such a way that the facility to obtain efficient education for children may be provided and accessible throughout Scotland.⁵⁹ In addition, the practice in Scottish public schools to give religious instruction to children could continue, at the discretion of the managers, but, equally parents were at liberty to decline this teaching, without penalty to their child’s education.⁶⁰ Thus, it is clear over a 68 year period the underlying structure and ethos of Scottish education fundamentally altered and an understanding of the importance of efficiency in teaching was beginning to come to the forefront.

⁵⁷ *Acts of Parliament 1 & 2 VICT. 1838. Pub. Gen.* (London: George Eyre and Andrew Spottiswoode, 1838). Anno Primo & Secundo VICTORÆ REGINÆ. C A P. LXXXVII. An Act to facilitate the Foundation and Endowment of additional Schools in Scotland. [10th August 1838]. p. 731.

⁵⁸ *Acts of Parliament 24 & 25 VICT. 1861. Pub. Gen.* (London: George Edward Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1861). Anno Vicesimo Quarto & Vicesimo Quinto VICTORÆ REGINÆ. C A P. CVII. An Act to alter and amend the Law relating to Parochial and Burgh Schools, and to the Test required to be taken by Schoolmasters in *Scotland*. [6th August 1861.] p. 933. p. 942, 943. (Short Title ‘The Parochial and Burgh Schoolmasters (*Scotland*) Act, 1861.’ p. 943.

⁵⁹ *Acts of Parliament 35 & 36 VICT. 1872. PUBLIC.* (London: George Edward Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1872.). [35 & 36] *Education (Scotland)*. [Ch. 62.] Chapter 62. An Act to amend and extend provision of the Law of Scotland on the subject of Education. [6th August 1872.] p. 1. Short title ‘The Education (Scotland) Act, 1872. p. 33.

⁶⁰ *Acts of Parliament 35 & 36 VICT. 1872. PUBLIC.* (London: George Edward Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1872.). [35 & 36] *Education (Scotland)*. [Ch. 62.] Chapter 62. An Act to amend and extend provision of the Law of Scotland on the subject of Education. [6th August 1872.] p. 1. Short title ‘The Education (Scotland) Act, 1872. p. 33.

So, what relevance did this have for Paisley? It is important to recognise, in 1871 school age children were regarded as 5 to 13 years old⁶¹ and in 1896 as 5 to 14 years old,⁶² as can be seen in Tables 3.1 and 3.3. It was commented in *The Hand-Loom Weavers Assistant Commissioners, Reports 1-2* printed in 1839, that, in Paisley, there were ample good schools, which cost 4 shillings each quarter for reading. But, weavers found it necessary to involve their children in work at an early age, so their children were prevented from being educated. Whilst most of the children could read, a limited number could write.⁶³ It is suggested, in this dissertation, that this early inclusion of children, in the craft of weaving contributed to an extent in, ‘the excess of labourers over the natural demand for labour...’⁶⁴ referred to on page 20.

The County of Renfrew, in 1851, had proportionately the second lowest number of scholars, whilst the County of Lanark had the lowest. In both counties, the figure was notably fewer than the figure for Scotland. Contrastingly, the proportion in the County of Sutherland was significantly higher than the figure for Scotland.⁶⁵ Please see Table 3.1. page 55. The higher figure for Sutherland is noteworthy as in the 1838 Act of Parliament, discussed on page 52, education provision in the highlands was deemed as

⁶¹ Please see Source References Table 3.1. Appendix 3.

⁶² Please see Source References Table 3.2. Appendix 3.

⁶³ *Hand-Loom Weavers Assistant Commissioners’ Reports 1-2, 1839-1840*. Ordered by the House of Commons, to be printed, 27 March 1839. Reports from Assistant Commissioners Hand-Loom Weavers, Paisley, p. 35.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

⁶⁵ *Return of proportion of scholars to population, in each county of Scotland, 1851*. House of Commons papers. Paper No. 302. Image 1. <<https://parlipapers-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/parlipapers/result/pqpdocumentview?accountid=14540>>. [accessed 22 November 2017].

inadequate.⁶⁶ Clearly, there were great disparities in, possibly, the provision and uptake of education. There were fewer scholars enumerated in the two industrial counties noted in Table 3.1. The predominance of textile manufacturing in these counties in 1831⁶⁷ arguably may have set a precedent involving child labour at the expense of education.⁶⁸ However, as highlighted earlier, on page 53, the perceptions of childhood, and the age at which school attendance ceased, differed fundamentally from current beliefs. It is difficult to make a distinct comparison between the figures for 1851 and 1871 for the counties noted. In 1851, a breakdown of the towns in the counties was not included, nor were the ages of scholars, length of education or type. Information was given on a voluntary basis and therefore classed as an understatement.⁶⁹

Table 3.1:

1851: Number of Scholars, in proportion to population, in Counties of Renfrew, Lanark, Sutherland and number for Scotland.

1871: Number of children ages 5 to 13 years, in receipt of education, calculated as a percentage of population in Renfrew, Lanark and Sutherland, 1871.

1851		County of Renfrew	County of Lanark	County of Sutherland	Scotland
Proportion of scholars to the population in the counties of Scotland		10.12	10.05	16.48	12.76
1871	Burgh of Paisley	County of Renfrew	County of Lanark	County of Sutherland	Scotland
Children aged from 5 to 13, in receipt of education, as a proportion	13.79	13.38	11.85	16.48	No figure

⁶⁶ *Acts of Parliament 1 & 2 VICT. 1838. Pub. Gen.* (London: George Eyre and Andrew Spottiswoode, 1838). Anno Primo & Secundo VICTORÆ REGINÆ. C A P. LXXXVII. An Act to facilitate the Foundation and Endowment of additional Schools in Scotland. [10th August 1838]. p. 731.

⁶⁷ *Population of Great Britain, 1831, 2, enumeration abstract vol., II.* Ordered by The House of Commons, to be printed, 2 April 1833. pp.1022,1023.

⁶⁸ Knox, *Hanging by a thread. The Scottish cotton industry, c.1850-1914.* p. 21.

⁶⁹ *Return of the Proportion to Population in each County of Scotland, 1851.* House of Commons Papers, Paper Number 302. Image 1, p. 1. <<https://parlipapers-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/parlipapers/result/pqpdocumentview?accountid=14540>>. [accessed 25 November 2017].

of population. (Percentage figures calculated here from gross figures in source table).					given.
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Source: Please see Appendix 3: Source References: Figures and Tables. Chapter 3.

Notwithstanding the difficulties described above, it is possible to make an informed assessment regarding the relative provision and uptake of education in Paisley, please see Table 3.1 and Table 3.2. Based on the figures estimated by school boards relative to 1878, as seen in Table 3.2., to calculate the percentage number of school age children in the population the results were broadly similar across the areas examined in Table 3.2. The exception was the County of Sutherland where the percentage was noticeably lower. This may have been due to the demographic make-up of the population there, or migration by young people, specific reasons for this have not been investigated in this dissertation.

It is of importance to note when percentages of school age children, relative to the population, from 1871 Census data, are calculated, it appears that the School Board estimated figures 1878, were an understatement. Please see Table 3.2. following page. From these calculations, in Paisley, in 1871, the percentage number of school age children was only marginally lower than for Scotland overall and higher than for the County of Renfrew and County of Lanark. Based on this, inward migration of single persons, to Paisley, was not lowering, the percentage number of school age children. Long term employment of women⁷⁰ in

⁷⁰ Margaret H. Irwin, Report by Miss Margaret H. Irwin, (Lady Assistant Commissioner), on the conditions of work in some of the textile centres in the western district of Scotland,

thread manufacture involving kinship networks,⁷¹ may have stabilised these figures.

Table 3.2: Number of School age children, 5-13 and school places. By location and category of school, 1878. Estimated percentage of school age children relative to population.

1878	Paisley (Burgh)	County of Renfrew	County of Lanark	County of Sutherland	Scotland
Number of Children, of School Age (5-13). Estimated by School Board, (1878).	8,998	37,986	161,815	3,660	645,076
1878, Population as estimated by School Board.	52,000	216,384	939,010	23,600	3,652,238
Estimated percentage of school age children in population.	17.3	17.5	17.2	15.5	17.66
Total number of school places.	9,057	38,945	144,239	4,027	685,098
Public school places.	4,573	23,320	72,302	3,759	436,863
State-aided schools (non-public).	2,904	9,684	43,354	84	130,853
Other elementary schools recognised as efficient.	1,220	3,444	8,175	184	50,031
Higher Class Public Schools.	360	360	1,706	0	9,414
Higher Class Schools (Non-public)	0	2,137	18,702	0	57,937
1871 Census percentage of school age children. Calculated here from gross figures.	18.6	18.3	18.3	16.9	18.7

Source: Please see Appendix 3: Source References: Figures and Tables. Chapter 3.

Analysis of the data in Table 3.1. demonstrates of the counties sampled, the County of Renfrew was the only one which experienced a marked percentage increase, between the figures for 1851 and 1871. In addition,

in *Employment of Women Reports, Royal Commission on Labour*, C. 6894-XX11. (London: for Her Majesty's Stationery Office, by Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1893). p. 192.

⁷¹ GB 248 UGD/199/7-Records of James Clark thread manufacturers, Paisley, Renfrewshire,

Scotland, GB 248 UGD.199/7/8-Ledgers (3 entries), GB 248 UGD 199/7/8/3. James Clark

& J J Clark Sales Ledger/Wages 1818-1839 Workers Pay List 26 January 1839-25 January 1840.

the percentage number of children receiving education, in the Burgh of Paisley was higher than the County of Renfrew, in 1871.⁷² This advantageous position, in Paisley, appeared to continue, as demonstrated in Table 3.2. The County of Lanark, of those sampled, was the only one with fewer school places than the estimated number of school age children. The Burgh of Paisley had 59 more school places than estimated number of children. The only Higher Class Public School, in the County of Renfrew, was in Paisley and provided 360 school places.⁷³

It is worthy of note that one of the few female members of school boards, at that time, was a Mrs Jane Arthur, a wealthy philanthropist. Mrs Arthur served four successive terms, (1873-1885), on Paisley School Board⁷⁴ and was also a relative of the Coats family, thread manufacturers.⁷⁵ An example of the extended involvement of the Coats family, noted by Blair, in the various organisations in Paisley, and the agency of one woman, albeit a wealthy one.

Over the period analysed, comparatively, 1851-1878, in relation to the provision of education, Tables 3.1., Table 3.2. clearly demonstrate improvements regarding the County of Renfrew, and Paisley. Albeit, that in three of the schools, then considered efficient, it was noted: 'but for a

⁷² References as in Appendix 3, Source References Table 3.1. and Table 3.2. Chapter 3.

⁷³ References as in Appendix 3, Source References, Table 3.2. Chapter 3

⁷⁴ Jane McDermid, 'School board women and active citizenship in Scotland, 1873-1919' *History of Education*, 38:3, 333-347. pp. 336, 337.

⁷⁵ The University of Glasgow Story, *Biography of Jane Arthur of Barshaw*. p. 1. <<http://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/biography/?id=WH0165&type=P>> [accessed 25 November 2017].

considerable time past have had serious doubts as to their efficiency.⁷⁶ However, Table 3.3., page 60, which includes school attendance data provides a less heartening picture, related to Paisley, (Burgh). Although, it is important to recognise that the accuracy of the figures is questionable, as the estimates by School Boards, of school age children and population were considered in the return as understatements.⁷⁷ In 1896 there were fewer school places than there were children, although the School Board proposed to provide more places. Gross figures for attendance were disappointing as can be seen in Table 3.3. Examples of poor attendance involved Ferguslie Half Time School, a State-aided non-public school, where of 449 places average attendance was 129. St. Margaret's Convent School, a Higher Class non-public school, where of 100 places average attendance was 35.⁷⁸ A plausible reason for these poor levels of attendance, by the children, may have been employment in textile industries.

⁷⁶ *Scotch Education Department. - School Supply. A RETURN showing by Counties for each School District in Scotland the Rateable Value, the School Rate, the Population, the Number of Children of School Age (5-13), and the Amount of Accommodation in (I.) Public Schools; (II.) State-aided Schools (not Public); (III.) Other Elementary School recognised as Efficient; (IV.) Higher Class Public Schools; and (V.) Higher Class Schools (not Public), (London: George Edward Eyre and William Spottiswoode, for Her Majesty's Stationery Office. 1880). School Supply (Scotland). Renfrew, Paisley (Burgh). p. 117.*

⁷⁷ *Scotch Education Department. - School Supply. A RETURN showing by Counties for each School District in Scotland the Rateable Value, the School Rate, the Population, the Number of Children of School Age (5-14), and the Amount of Accommodation, and the Number in Average Attendance - in - I.- Public Schools; II.- State-aided Schools (not public); III.- Other Elementary School recognised as Efficient; IV.- Higher Class Public Schools; and V.- Higher Class Schools (Non-Public), VI. - Technical Schools under the Management of the School Board; VII.-Technical Schools not under the Management of the School Board. (London: for Her Majesty's Stationery Office. by Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1897). Summary p. 144.*

⁷⁸ *Scotch Education Department. - School Supply. A RETURN showing by Counties for each School District in Scotland the Rateable Value, the School Rate, the Population, the Number of Children of School Age (5-14), and the Amount of Accommodation, and the Number in Average Attendance - in - I.- Public Schools; II.- State-aided Schools (not public); III.- Other Elementary School recognised as Efficient; IV.- Higher Class Public Schools; and V.- Higher Class Schools (Non-Public), VI. - Technical Schools under the Management of the School Board; VII.-Technical Schools not under the Management of the School Board. (London: for Her Majesty's Stationery Office. by Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1897). School Supply (Scotland). Renfrew cont., Paisley (Burgh). p. 122.*

Table 3.3: Paisley (Burgh), 1896. Number of children. School Accommodation and Attendance.

1896	Paisley (Burgh)	Average attendance
Population of the District 1896. Estimated by School Board.	73,000	
Number of Children, of School Age (5-14). Estimated by School Board	14,600	The Board proposed to provide more than 1,000 extra places.
School Accommodation Total	13,058	10,824
Public school	8,529	8,122
State-aided schools (non-public)	3,622	2,250
Higher Class Public Schools	707	324
Higher Class Schools (non-public)	200	128

Source: Please see Appendix 3: Source References: Figures and Tables. Chapter 3.

Clearly provision of education, and uptake thereof, in the nineteenth century was a complex matter. Superficial judgements should be avoided. Differences between Scotland overall, rural and urban areas have been demonstrated in Tables 3.1., 3.2. and 3.3. In relation to, the County of Renfrew and Paisley Burgh, comparisons of the data in Table 3.1., 3.2. and Table 3.3. shows that apparent improvements may be short lived and only by analysing attendance figures can a clearer picture emerge. Education became the responsibility of Local Authorities in Scotland, under the Local

Government Act of 1929.⁷⁹ At which point, arguably, a more consistent approach to education was intended throughout Scotland.

The employment of children was, however, far more complicated, as the following illustrates: 'No children are employed in this mill, the firm being strongly opposed to child labour.'⁸⁰ Notwithstanding, this on the same page of this source, it was recorded that there were 400-500 half-timers, aged from ten years and of the 3,500-4,000 female workers, ages ranged from 13 years upwards.⁸¹ An Act, of 1831-32, was passed to limit the labour of children and young persons. It was specified following this Act:

...in no Mills or Factories, whatsoever...shall a Child be employed in any description of Work, whatsoever, until he or she shall have attained the Age of Nine Years.⁸²

Thus, perceptions of childhood are proved to be relative to the culture and society within which they pertain.

It is clear that the influence of the Coats and Clarks transcended the workplace and company influence was everywhere.⁸³ In effect workers would have had some difficulty avoiding the presence of the Coats and

⁷⁹ Jane McDermid, 'School board women and active citizenship in Scotland, 1873-1919.' *History of Education*, 38:3, 333-347. p. 346.

⁸⁰ Margaret H. Irwin, Report by Miss Margaret H. Irwin, (Lady Assistant Commissioner), on the conditions of work in some of the textile centres in the western district of Scotland, in *Employment of Women Reports, Royal Commission on Labour*, C. 6894-XX11. (London: for Her Majesty's Stationery Office, by Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1893). p.192.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p.192.

⁸² *Bill to restrain labour of children and young persons in mills and factories of United Kingdom, 1831-32*. Bills and Acts, Paper Number 46. Image 3, p.3. <<https://parlipapers-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/parlipapers/result/pqpdocumentview?accountid=14540>> [accessed 16 December 2017].

⁸³ Kininmonth, (2016). 'Weber's Protestant work ethic: a case study of Scottish entrepreneurs, the Coats family of Paisley. *Business History*, 58:8, pp. 1236-1261, pp. 1247-1252.

Clarks.⁸⁴ They were dependent on the company to a considerable extent, for work, housing, pensions, and recreation.⁸⁵ Coats and Clark families as employers appeared to maintain a personalised level of contact with employees, in Paisley, which preserved feelings of loyalty from the workforce.⁸⁶ The presence of kinship has been demonstrated, in this dissertation, not only among workers but amongst employers also.

There can be no doubt that, in Paisley, paternalism was present, as described by Ackers, and as has been tested against primary and contemporary sources in this dissertation. Regardless of the perceived fit of Ackers' framework related to paternalism, it is impossible to discern, at this stage, more than a century later, if the above was attributable to subtle coercive management strategies or simply employers acting responsibly towards workers and sharing their success with them. It invites the question: is the use and abuse of the term paternalism a construct of the twentieth and twenty first centuries which would have had little relevance for those who lived and worked during the nineteenth century? This was a period of sustained economic and social change during which the early nineteenth century mainly agricultural economy, and social structures were superseded by growing industrialisation and urbanisation and thereby a period of redefining societal norms.

As the amalgamated companies of Coats and Clark expanded, and in time, as the founders died, the personal connections naturally became more

⁸⁴ Knox, *Hanging by a thread. The Scottish cotton industry, c.1850-1914*, p.119.

⁸⁵ Blair, *The Paisley Thread Industry*. pp.80-83.

⁸⁶ Knox, *Hanging by a thread. The Scottish cotton industry, c.1850-1914*. pp. 132,133.

tenuous. Undoubtedly there are many who will have said, in the past, that the Coats and Clark families did a lot for Paisley. Indeed, some may still espouse this view. However, it is also worthy of comment, as suggested earlier, this was a symbiotic relationship between employers and workers, their success was mutually dependent.

The lengthy transition from primarily weaving to thread manufacturing, in Paisley, was an important industrial development, with economic and social consequences. It was not the result of failure on the part of weavers, who were to an extent disadvantaged by their own early success, as fashions, market forces and legislation changed. Likewise, the success of thread manufacture, was to a large degree, based on existing infrastructure, textile skills and knowledge, the readily available female workforce and the entrepreneurship of the Coats and Clark families. However, underpinning this success was crucially the invention of the sewing machine and the growth of global capitalism. It has been demonstrated in this chapter that the social and legislative changes which took place fundamentally affected the lives of the inhabitants of Paisley. Industrialisation, urbanisation and the growth of global capitalism brought with them related diverse legislative systems, and changes, in Britain, and therefore Scotland, some of which have been discussed here.

This study of the gradual transition from primarily weaving to thread manufacture, as the major source of employment, and social change, in Paisley, has clearly demonstrated the importance of a long-term global perspective. The shift in the predominance of one textile industry over the other was part of a prolonged process. It has been shown that the economic and social changes which took place in Paisley did not occur in isolation, but, were part of a process of widespread sustained economic and social change. It has been clearly established that the contraction of the weaving sector, in Paisley, and expansion of thread manufacture resulted from legislative and economic pressures, combined with local circumstances, technical innovations and entrepreneurship.

It has been highlighted many of the changes which took place in Paisley were inherently part of a far bigger picture, related to the growth of population, industrialisation, urbanisation and the transition from a Scottish economy based mainly on agriculture to one founded on manufacturing, within the context of the growth of global capitalism and protection of Britain's economic primacy. The conclusions which have been reached are considered sound, the long-term focus has successfully situated events, in Paisley, within the system of interlinked, multi-faceted economic and social changes which occurred in the nineteenth century, not only in Scotland, but globally.

Secondary sources consulted in this study, whilst they proved to be both interesting and informative, were inhibited by the nature of their focus from considering longer-term perspectives. In forming the conclusions, of

this dissertation, certain constraints related to analysing primary sources must be recognised, as mentioned in Chapter 1 primary sources can pose specific problems. Data can at times appear contradictory, and is, on some occasions. Census data, which has been widely used in this research, poses issues of consistency related to enumeration questions asked, categories of employment used and geographic boundary changes. Acts of Parliament, which have been used, to some effect, in this dissertation, present their own challenges, in that research can be time consuming, and may prove fruitless, unless there is a very specific focus to online searches or the quest for paper copies. This dissertation highlights that a diverse range of valuable primary sources are available, which the bibliography will confirm. Although, some records are no longer extant and this possibility must be considered whilst conducting research. Sometimes in a small, possibly neglected archive invaluable data may be found as was the case in the James Clark, thread manufacturers, Paisley archive.

Contemporary works, such as that of Matthew Blair provided a view of Paisley industry and society which cannot be found in modern studies. It is important to note this book does not appear to have been written for an academic audience and was not referenced as such. However, this study does provide a valuable overview and personal accounts. The text was quoted on occasions verbatim, to avoid losing the very nuanced meanings of Blair's writing. Likewise, the work by Derek A. Dow related to Paisley Hospitals was invaluable when considering health provision in Paisley, although a degree of caution was required in the use of this material, as it appears to have been written, in 1988, for general, not academic interest.

It has been demonstrated, in Chapter 2, that the shift from primarily weaving to thread manufacture, in Paisley, as the major source of employment, was the result of legislative change, economic pressures, technical innovations and entrepreneurship, and not the failure of human agency. As has been shown this was part of a long term gradual process which resulted in structural, economic, and social changes, in Paisley, within the context of an enduring predominately female workforce in the textile industries. The long-term predominance of female workers in thread production, and the possibility of the marginalisation of them, was discussed in Chapter 2. The long-term growth of the employment of female workers, in thread manufacture, particularly in Paisley has been clearly demonstrated in Appendix 1. A level of stability in weaving as a source of employment for men, endured in Paisley, far longer than for Scotland overall, as is clearly shown in Appendix 2.

The fundamental shift in types and scale of manufacturing also brought about other changes related to infrastructure, society, paternalism, health and education as has been illustrated in Chapter 3. Clearly there was the dichotomy of an unequal society, involving prosperity for some and poverty for others. The parliamentary papers which have been discussed illustrate some of the effects which legislation had on manufacturing, education and the lives of the people of Paisley.

Paternalism, as defined by Ackers, was undoubtedly a feature of Paisley society, and affected many areas of life, as has been tested in Chapter 3. It is also clear from the sources discussed in Chapter 3 that the town of

Paisley and the inhabitants therein experienced fundamental changes, affecting their daily lives, during the nineteenth century related to the transition from weaving to thread as the primary source of employment. Industrialisation and urbanisation brought about opportunities, but, it also brought problems related to housing, health, child labour and education for some inhabitants of Paisley, as noted above it was an unequal society.

The long-term focus of this dissertation has facilitated a broader understanding of the changes which took place in the textile industries of Paisley. The foundations of the textile industries there, as has been demonstrated, were laid in the eighteenth century. It was through a prolonged incremental process that the transition from weaving to thread manufacture, as the main source of employment, occurred. It was not, as is sometimes suggested, in studies with a shorter chronological focus something which took place over a comparatively brief period.

It has been suggested by some, and may still be, that thread manufacture did a lot for the town and inhabitants of Paisley. The economic pressures which facilitated the growth of the 'threadopolis' also eventually contributed to, as described earlier, the contraction of the thread industry there. It is only by exploring the long-term global influences, as has been done in this dissertation, that a greater understanding may be achieved of thread manufacture, in Paisley. An enterprise which at one time dominated world thread production and was originally undertaken in a relatively small Scottish town.

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Location:

The Scottish Business Archive, University of Glasgow.

Data used with permission.

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GB 248 UGD/ 199/7- Records of James Clark thread manufacturers, Paisley, Renfrewshire, Scotland. GB 248 UGD /199/7/13/2: James Clark & J J Clark Cash Book, 1828-1838.

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Table 1: Thread Manufacturing 1841-1891 by Location, Age and Gender.

Thread Manufacture: all branches, also known as Cotton Thread Manufacture, 1871, Thread Manufacturer, Dealer, 1881, Thread Manufacture, 1891.						
Male Workers			Female Workers			
	Total number of male workers	Workers aged 20 years and upwards	Workers under 20 years of age	Total number of female workers	Workers aged 20 years and upwards	Workers under 20 years of age
Scotland: total number of thread workers enumerated.						
1841	155	111	44	645	251	394
1851	0	0	0	1,843	921	922
1861	317	236	81	2,367	1,037	1,330
1871	520	338	182	3,115	1,516	1,599
1881	539	404	135	4,702	2,461	2,241
1891	812	612	200	6,602	3,014	3,588
County of Renfrew: total number of workers enumerated in this county, which was also known as: Renfrewshire, in 1851.						
1841	30	22	8	317	176	141
1851	0	0	0	1,175	650	525
1861	184	148	36	1,702	765	937
1871	457	292	165	2,546	1,257	1,289
1881	343	271	72	3,551	1,929	1,622
1891	532	440	92	5,280	2,839	2,441
Paisley: total number of workers enumerated in Paisley Town & Parish in 1841, which was also known as: Paisley Burgh, in 1851, Paisley & 559 (1), in 1861, Paisley, in 1871, and Burgh of Paisley, in 1881 & 1891.						
1841	27	20	7	317	176	141
1851	0	0	0	740	407	333
Cotton Manufacture						
1851	1,971	1,455	516	1,800	1,305	495
1861	150	121	29	1,571	703	868
1871: Workers in Flax and Cotton, no specific return for Thread Manufacture, Order 11, 3b which is included in this return.						
1871	767	570	197	2,673	1,374	1,299
1881	276	225	51	3,201	1,793	1,408
1891	373	307	66	4,468	2,405	2,063

Sources:1841

Abstract Return pursuant to Act for taking Account of Population of Great Britain (Occupation Abstract, Part II. Scotland, 1841), Occupation abstract, M.DCCC.XLI. Part II. Scotland. Command Paper. Paper Number: 588

Scotland:

Males & females. Abstract of Answers and Returns under the Population Act, 3 & 4, Occupations, Summary of Scotland continued. Image 90, p.88

County of Renfrew and Paisley Town & Parish:

Males & females. Abstract of Answers and Returns under the Population Act, 3 & 4, Occupations, County of Renfrew continued. Image 73, p.71. [accessed 13 September 2017].

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1851

Census of Great Britain 1851. Population Tables, 2.2. Ages, Civil Condition, Occupations, Etc. (London: George Edward Eyre & William Spottiswoode, 1854).

Scotland:

Males: Occupations of the people, Scotland continued. p. 910.

Females. Occupations of the people, Scotland continued. p. 913.

Renfrewshire:

Males: Occupations of the people, Southern Counties. Renfrewshire continued.p.934.

Females. Occupations of the people, Southern Counties. Renfrewshire continued.p.937.

Paisley Burgh:

Males: Scotland Occupations of the People occupations of males under 20 years- 20 years and upwards- in Principal Towns continued. p.1018.

Females: Scotland Occupations of the People occupations of females under 20 years- 20 years and upwards- in Principal Towns continued. p.1021.

Males, Cotton Manufacture: Scotland Occupations of the People, occupations of males under 20 years- 20 years and upwards- in Principal Towns continued. p. 1018.

Females, Cotton Manufacture: Scotland Occupations of the People, occupations of males under 20 years- 20 years and upwards- in Principal Towns continued. p. 1021.

1861

Census of Scotland 1861, 2: Population Tables and Report Volume II. (Edinburgh: Murray and Gibb, 1864).

Scotland:

Males. Occupations of the People in Scotland, 1861.Occupations of the Males in Scotland at different Ages, 1861. p.100.

Females Occupations of the People in Scotland, 1861.Occupations of the Females in Scotland at different Ages. p. 109.

County of Renfrew:

Males. Occupations of the People in Scotland, 1861.Occupations of the Males in County of Renfrew at different Ages, 1861. p.239.

Females. Occupations of the People in Scotland, 1861.Occupations of the Females in County of Renfrew at different Ages, 1861. p.243.

Paisley & 559 (1):

Males. Occupations of the People in Scotland, 1861. Scotland, according to their Registration Boundaries- arranged alphabetically. p.315.

Females. Occupations of the People in Scotland, 1861. Scotland, according to their Registration Boundaries- arranged alphabetically. p.323.

1871

Census of Scotland 1871. 2. Population of Scotland 1871, Vol. II (Edinburgh: Murray & Gibb, 1874).

Scotland:

Males & females. Table XIV.-Occupation of the people in Scotland, 1871. Occupations of the Inhabitants of Scotland, p.203.

County of Renfrew:

Males & females. Table XIV.-Occupation of the people in Scotland, 1871. County of Renfrew, p.368.

Paisley:

Males & females. Table XIV.- Occupations of the people of Scotland, Occupations of the inhabitants in the town districts of Scotland. Order, 11, sub-orders 3, In Flax and Cotton, p. 515.

1881

Census of Scotland 1881, (Edinburgh: Neill & Company, 1882). Appendix Tables.

Scotland:

Males & females: Table XV. Occupations of the People of Scotland, 1881. Summary of the occupations of the inhabitants of Scotland, distinguishing the sexes, under and above twenty years of age. p. 403.

County of Renfrew:

Males & females: Table XV. Occupations of the People of Scotland, 1881. Occupations of the inhabitants of the County of Renfrew at different ages. p. 531.

Burgh of Paisley:

Males & females: Table XV. Occupations of the People of Scotland, 1881. Occupations of the inhabitants of the Parliamentary Burgh of Paisley at different ages. p. 815.

1891

Census of Scotland, 1891. 2. Population of Scotland, 5 April 1891, with Report. Vol. II.-Part II. (Edinburgh: Neill & Co., 1893).

Scotland:

Males and females. Table XV. Occupations of the People of Scotland. Occupations of the Inhabitants of Scotland at different Ages. Order 17, 3, p. 15.

County of Renfrew:

Males and females. Table XV. Occupations of the People of Scotland, Occupations of the Inhabitants of The County of Renfrew at different Ages. Order 17, 3 p. 143.

Burgh of Paisley:

Males and females. Table XV, Occupations of the people of Scotland, 1891, Occupation of the inhabitants of the Parliamentary Burgh of Paisley at different ages. Order 17, 3, p.457.

Table 2: Weaving 1841-1891 by Location, Age and Gender.

Weaving: branches not specified*						
Male Workers			Female Workers			
	Total number of male workers	Workers aged 20 years and upwards	Workers under 20 years of age	Total number of female workers	Workers aged 20 years and upwards	Workers under 20 years of age
Scotland*						
1841	15,102	12,228	2,874	6,516	3,688	2,828
1851	0	0	0	62	57	5
1861	4,238	3,470	768	5,962	3,510	2,452
1871	3,709	3,299	410	14,803	8,284	6,519
1881	1,718	1,631	87	6,678	4,138	2,540
1891	3,264	2,834	430	10,338	3,881	6,457
County of Renfrew* total number of workers enumerated in this county, which was also known as: Renfrewshire, in 1851.						
1841	647	515	132	57	12	45
Hand loom	648	500	148	46	20	26
Power loom	10	8	2	148	70	78
1851	0	0	0	1	1	0
1861	603	410	193	324	144	180
1871	568	485	83	1,518	763	755
1881	376	32	344	949	635	314
1891	552	509	43	570	343	227
Paisley: total number of workers enumerated in Paisley Town & Parish in 1841, which was also known as: Paisley Burgh, in 1851, Paisley & 559 (1), in 1861, Paisley, in 1871, and Burgh of Paisley, in 1881 & 1891.						
1841	481	373	108	47	3	44
Hand loom	588	454	134	30	10	20
Power loom	3	3	0	50	29	21
*1851	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shawl manufacture						
1851	0	0	0	1,591	958	591
1861	531	342	189	294	133	161
1871: In Mixed Material and Indefinite Factory Workers, no specific return for Weaving, Order 11, 4 which is included in this return						
1871	673	499	174	1,446	931	515
*1881	283	267	16	357	255	102
*1891	431	407	24	308	180	128

Sources:**1841**

Abstract Return pursuant to Act for taking Account of Population of Great Britain (Occupation Abstract, Part II. Scotland, 1841), Occupation abstract, M.DCCC.XLI. Part II. Scotland. Command Paper. Paper Number: 588.

Scotland:

Males & females. Abstract of Answers and returns under the Population Act, 3 & 4, Occupations, Summary of Scotland continued. Image 90, p.88.

County of Renfrew and Paisley Town & Parish:

Males & females. Abstract of Answers and returns under the Population Act, 3 & 4, Occupations, County of Renfrew continued. Image 73, p.71. [accessed 13 September 2017].

<<https://parlipapers-proquest-com>.

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1851

Census of Great Britain 1851, Population Tables, 2.2. Ages, Civil Condition, Occupations, Etc. (London: George Edward Eyre & William Spottiswoode, 1854).

Scotland:

Males: Occupations of the people, Scotland continued. p.910.

Females. Occupations of the people, Scotland continued. p.913.

Renfrewshire:

Males: Occupations of the people, Southern Counties, Renfrewshire continued. p.934.

Females. Occupations of the people, Southern Counties, Renfrewshire continued. p.937.

Paisley Burgh:

Males: Occupations of the people, Southern Counties, Renfrewshire continued. p. 1018.

Females. Southern Counties. Occupations of the people, Renfrewshire continued. p.1021.

Males, Shawl Manufacture: Scotland Occupations of the People, occupations of males under 20 years- 20 years and upwards- in Principal Towns continued. p.1016.

Females, Shawl Manufacture: Scotland Occupations of the People, occupations of females under 20 years- 20 years and upwards- in Principal Towns continued. p.1020.

1861

Census of Scotland 1861, 2: Population Tables and Report Volume II. (Edinburgh, Murray and Gibb, 1864).

Scotland:

Males: Occupations of the people in Scotland, 1861. Occupations of the males in Scotland, at different ages, in 1861. p.100.

Females: Occupations of the people in Scotland, 1861. Occupations of the females in Scotland, at different ages, in 1861. p. 110.

County of Renfrew:

Males: Occupations of the people in Scotland, 1861. Occupations of the males in the County of Renfrew, at different ages, in 1861. p.239.

Females: Occupations of the people in Scotland, 1861. Occupations of the females in the County of Renfrew, at different ages, in 1861. p. 243.

Paisley & 559(1):

Males: Occupations of the people in Scotland, 1861. Scotland, according to their Registration Boundaries - arranged alphabetically. p.315.

Females: Occupations of the people in Scotland, 1861. Scotland, according to their Registration Boundaries - arranged alphabetically. p. 323.

1871

Census of Scotland 1871. 2. Population of Scotland 1871, Vol. II (Edinburgh: Murray & Gibb, 1874).

Scotland:

Males & females: Table XIV.-Occupation of the people in Scotland, 1871. Occupations of the inhabitants of Scotland, p.203.

County of Renfrew:

Males & females: Table XIV.-Occupation of the people in Scotland, 1871.

Occupations of the inhabitants of the County of Renfrew - continued, p.368.

Paisley:

Males & females. Table XIV.- Occupations of the people of Scotland, Occupations of the inhabitants in the town districts of Scotland. Order, 11, sub-order 4, In Mixed Material and Indefinite Factory Workers p. 515.

1881

Census of Scotland 1881, (Edinburgh: Neill & Company, 1882).

Scotland:

Males & females: Table XV. Occupations of the People of Scotland, 1881. Summary of the occupations of the inhabitants of Scotland, distinguishing the sexes, under and above twenty years of age. p. 403.

County of Renfrew:

Males & females: Table XV. Occupations of the People of Scotland, 1881. Occupations of the inhabitants of the County of Renfrew at different ages. p. 531.

Burgh of Paisley:

Males & females: Table XV. Occupations of the People of Scotland, 1881. Occupations of the inhabitants of the Parliamentary Burgh of Paisley at different ages. p. 815.

1891

Census of Scotland, 1891. 2. Population of Scotland, 5 April 1891, with Report. Vol. II.-Part II. (Edinburgh: Neill & Co., 1893).

Scotland:

Male & females: Table XV. Occupations of the People of Scotland, 1891. Occupations of the Inhabitants of Scotland at different Ages. Order 17, 3 and 5, p. 15.

County of Renfrew:

Male & female: Table XV. occupations of the People of Scotland. Occupations of the Inhabitants of the County of Renfrew at different Ages. Order 17, 5, p. 143.

Burgh of Paisley:

Male & female: Table XV, Occupations of the people of Scotland, 1891, Occupation of the inhabitants of the Parliamentary Burgh of Paisley at different ages. Order 17, 5, p. 457.

Chapter 2 Analysis of Industry and Employment.

Source References: Figures & Tables.

Figure 2.1: Population of Paisley, 1801-1821-1841-1861-1881 by Total, Female and Male Inhabitants.

1801, 1821 and 1881: Catriona M. M. Macdonald, *The Radical Thread: Political Change in Scotland. Paisley Politics, 1885-1924.* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000).

Appendix 1, Table 1.1, Table 1.2 and Table 1.3. p. 283.

1841: *Accounts of Population and Number of Houses according to Census, 1841, of each County in Great Britain, Channel Islands and Isle of Man; Comparative Statement of Population and Houses, 1801, 1811, 1821, 1831 and 1841; Account of Population of each City and Burgh in Scotland.* House of Commons Paper Number 52. Account: Population, Cities, and Royal and Parliamentary Burghs. Image 15. p. 15.

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[lib.gla.ac.uk/parlipapers/result/pqpdocumentview?accountid=14540](https://parlipapers-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/parlipapers/result/pqpdocumentview?accountid=14540)>.

[accessed 13 September 2017].

1861: *Census of Scotland 1861.* 1861. Command Paper 2870. Table VII. Image 15, p.15

<[https://parlipapers-proquest-com.ezproxy.](https://parlipapers-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/parlipapers/result/pqpdocumentview?accountid=14540)

[lib.gla.ac.uk/parlipapers/result/pqpdocumentview?accountid=14540](https://parlipapers-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/parlipapers/result/pqpdocumentview?accountid=14540)>.

[accessed 13 September 2017].

Figure 2.2: Number of Families, in Scotland, and Paisley Abbey Parish and Paisley Burgh combined, employed in various sectors, in 1831.

Population of Great Britain, 1831, 2. Enumeration Abstracts. Enumeration Abstract Vol. II. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 2 April 1833. Summary of Scotland, Occupations, p. 1040 and Shire of Renfrew, Occupations, p. 1020.

Table 2.1: 1838, Distribution of hand-loom by location and type relative to population.

Hand-Loom Weavers Assistant Commissioners' Reports 1-2, 1839-1840.

Ordered by the House of Commons, to be printed, 27 March 1839. Table of the Weaving Towns and Villages of *Scotland* to the South of the *Forth* and *Clyde*; together with the Number of Hand-Looms, the Material woven, and the population of each Place. pp. 2,3.

Table 2.2: Weaving 1841-1861 by Location, Age and Gender.

1841.

Abstract Return pursuant to Act for taking Account of Population of Great Britain (Occupation Abstract, Part II. Scotland, 1841), Occupation abstract, M.DCCC.XLI. Part II. Scotland. Command Paper. Paper Number: 588.

Scotland:

Males & females. Abstract of Answers and returns under the Population Act, 3 & 4, Occupations, Summary of Scotland continued. Image 90, p.88. County of Renfrew and Paisley Town & Parish:

Males & females. Abstract of Answers and returns under the Population Act, 3 & 4, Occupations, County of Renfrew continued. Image 73, p.71. <<https://parlipapers-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/parlipapers/result/pqpdocumentview?accountid=14540>>. [accessed 13 September 2017].

1851

Census of Great Britain 1851, Population Tables, 2.2 Ages, Civil Condition, Occupations, Etc. (London: George Edward Eyre & William Spottiswoode, 1854).

Scotland:

Males: Occupations of the people, Scotland continued. p. 910.

Females: Occupations of the people, Scotland continued. p. 913.

Males: Occupation of the people, Southern Counties. Renfrewshire continued. p. 934

Females: Occupations of the people, Southern Counties. Renfrewshire continued. p.937.

Paisley Burgh:

Males: Scotland Occupations of the People occupations of males under 20 years- 20 years and upwards- in Principal Towns continued. p.1018.

Females. Scotland Occupations of the People occupations of females under 20 years- 20 years and upwards- in Principal Towns continued. p.1021.

Males, Shawl Manufacture: Scotland Occupations of the People occupations of females under 20 years- 20 years and upwards- in Principal Towns continued. p.1016.

Females, Shawl Manufacture: Scotland Occupations of the People occupations of females under 20 years- 20 years and upwards- in Principal Towns continued. p.1020.

1861

Census of Scotland 1861: Population Tables and Report Volume II. (Edinburgh: Murray and Gibb, 1864).

Scotland:

Males: Occupations of the people in Scotland, 1861. Occupations of the males in Scotland, at different ages, 1861. p.100.

Females: Occupations of the people in Scotland, 1861. Occupations of the females in Scotland, at different ages, 1861. p. 110.

County of Renfrew:

Males: Occupations of the people in Scotland, 1861. Occupations of the males in the County of Renfrew, at different ages, 1861. p.239.

Females: Occupations of the people in Scotland, 1861. Occupations of the females in the County of Renfrew, at different ages, 1861. p. 243.

Paisley & 559(1):

Males: Occupations of the people in Scotland, 1861. Scotland, according to their Registration Boundaries - arranged alphabetically. p.315.

Females: Occupations of the people in Scotland, 1861. Scotland, according to their Registration Boundaries - arranged alphabetically. p. 323.

Figure 2.3: Employees of James Clark & J J Clark Thread Manufacturer, 26 January 1839 and 25 January 1840, by total workers, female, and male, by family name 1839 and 1840 and of total workers, female and male, paid less than £1, On 26 January 1839 and 25 January 1840.

GB 248 UGD/199/7 - Records of James Clark thread manufacturers, Paisley Renfrewshire, Scotland GB 248 UGD/199/7/8 - Ledgers (3 entries), GB 248 UGD/199/7/8/3 James Clark & J J Clark Sales Ledger/Wages 1818-1839. Workers Pay List, 26 January 1839 and 25 January 1840.

Table 2.3: Thread Manufacturing, 1841-1861 by Location, Age and Gender.

1841

Abstract Return pursuant to Act for taking Account of Population of Great Britain (Occupation Abstract, Part II. Scotland, 1841), Occupation abstract, M.DCCC.XLI. Part II. Scotland. Command Paper. Paper Number: 588.

Scotland:

Males & females. Abstract of Answers and returns under the Population Act, 3 & 4, Occupations, Summary of Scotland continued. Image 90, p.88.

County of Renfrew and Paisley Town & Parish:

Males & females. Abstract of Answers and returns under the Population Act, 3 & 4, Occupations, County of Renfrew continued. Image 73, p.71.

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1851

Census of Great Britain 1851, Population Tables, 2.2 Ages, Civil Condition, Occupations, Etc. (London: George Edward Eyre & William Spottiswoode, 1854).

Scotland:

Males. Occupations of the people, Scotland continued. p.910.

Females. Occupations of the people, Scotland continued. p.913.

Renfrewshire:

Males: Occupations of the people, Southern Counties. Renfrewshire continued. p.934.

Females. Occupations of the people, Southern Counties. Renfrewshire continued. p.937.

Paisley Burgh:

Males: Scotland Occupations of the People occupations of males under 20 years- 20 years and upwards- in Principal Towns continued. p.1018.

Females: Scotland Occupations of the People occupations of females under 20 years- 20 years and upwards- in Principal Towns continued. p.1021.

Males, Cotton Manufacture: Scotland Occupations of the People occupations of males under 20 years- 20 years and upwards- in Principal Towns continued. p.1018.

Females, Cotton Manufacture: Scotland Occupations of the People occupations of females under 20 years- 20 years and upwards- in Principal Towns continued. p.1021.

1861

Census of Scotland 1861: Population Tables and Report Volume II. (Edinburgh: Murray and Gibb, 1864)

Scotland:

Males: Occupations of the People in Scotland, 1861. Occupations of the males in Scotland, at different ages, 1861. p.100.

Females: Occupations of the people in Scotland, 1861. Occupations of the females in Scotland, at different ages, 1861. p. 110.

County of Renfrew:

Males: Occupations of the people in Scotland, 1861. Occupations of the males in the County of Renfrew, at different ages, 1861. p.239.

Females: Occupations of the people Scotland, 1861. Occupations of the females in the County of Renfrew, at different ages, in 1861. p. 243.

Paisley & 559(1):

Males: Occupations of the people in Scotland, 1861. Scotland, according to their Registration Boundaries - arranged alphabetically. p.315.

Females: Occupations of the people in Scotland, 1861. Scotland, according to their Registration Boundaries - arranged alphabetically. p. 323.

Chapter 3 Society, Paternalism, Health and Education.

Source References: Figures & Tables.

Table 3.1:

1851: Number of Scholars, in proportion to population, in Counties of Renfrew, Lanark, Sutherland and number for Scotland.

1871: Number of children ages 5 to 13 years, in receipt of education, calculated as a percentage of population in Renfrew, Lanark and Sutherland, 1871.

1851: Number of Scholars, in proportion to population, in Counties of Renfrew, Lanark, Sutherland and number for Scotland.
Return of the Proportion to Population in each County of Scotland, 1851. House of Commons Papers, Paper Number 302. Image 1, p. 1.
<<https://parlipapers-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/parlipapers/result/pqpdocumentview?accountid=14540>>. [accessed 24 November 2017].

1871: Number of children ages 5 to 13 years, in receipt of education, calculated as a percentage of population in Renfrew, Lanark and Sutherland, 1871.
Tables of Number of Population, Families, Children at School and Houses in Scotland, 1871. Table VII.- Population, &c., of Parliamentary Burghs in 1871, (excluding shipping). Command Paper, Paper Number 380. Image 13, p. 15.
<<https://parlipapers-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/parlipapers/result/pqpdocumentview?accountid=14540>>. [accessed 24 November 2017].

Table 3.2: Number of School age children, 5-13 and school places. By location and category of school, 1878. Estimated percentage of school age children relative to population.

Scotch Education Department. - School Supply. A RETURN showing by Counties for each School District in Scotland the Rateable Value, the School Rate, the Population, the Number of Children of School Age (5-13), and the Amount of Accommodation in (I.) Public Schools; (II.) State-aided Schools (not Public); (III.) Other Elementary School recognised as Efficient; (IV.) Higher Class Public Schools; and (V.) Higher Class Schools (not Public), (London: George Edward Eyre and William Spottiswoode, for Her Majesty's Stationery Office. 1880). School Supply (Scotland). Renfrew, Paisley (Burgh). pp. 116, 117.

Other data in Table 3.2, School Supply (Scotland), Summary, p.136.

Table 3.3: Paisley (Burgh), 1896. Number of children. School Accommodation and Attendance.

Scotch Education Department. - School Supply. A RETURN showing by Counties for each School District in Scotland the Rateable Value, the School Rate, the Population, the Number of Children of School Age (5-14), and the Amount of Accommodation, and the Number in Average Attendance - in - I.- Public Schools; II.- State-aided Schools (non- public); III.- Other Elementary School recognised as Efficient; IV.- Higher Class Public Schools; and V.- Higher Class Schools (Non-Public), VI. - Technical Schools under the Management of the School Board; VII.- Technical Schools not under the Management of the School Board. (London: for Her Majesty's Stationery Office. by Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1897). School Supply (Scotland). Renfrew cont., Paisley (Burgh). p. 122.