

THE VOTERS OF CLACKMANNAN IN 1832

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The *Register of Voters in the County of Clackmannan 1832-3-4* is a slim booklet bound in faded blue paper (1). It was printed in Alloa by James Lothian, the later founder of the *Alloa Advertiser* (2), probably in December 1834 during the period of intense political excitement between William IV's unexpected dismissal of Lord Melbourne's whig government and the general election held in January 1835, scarcely more than two years after the reformers' landslide victory in 1832. The register was almost certainly brought out at short notice probably for use in the canvass of electors prior to the renewed contest and shows signs of having been prepared in haste: with two pages reversed and several errors and misprints. The electors are listed by parish in roughly alphabetical order, with their occupations and places of residence, first those who had enrolled in 1832 under the provisions of the Scottish Reform Act, and then those enrolled at the 1833 and 1834 registrations. In addition my copy, the only one of which I know, has handwritten entries, presumably added by a local political agent, recording the names of 117 electors registered in 1832. Against the names of most of the 1832 electors there is an A or a B to indicate whether they had voted in December 1832 for the successful whig candidate Admiral Charles Adam, or his conservative opponent, Robert Bruce of Kennet; the names of those who did not vote are left unmarked. Consequently, although the register was published just before the 1835 election it is most valuable as a source for the study of the electorate created by the 1832 Reform Act and of how the electors voted at the first general election held after the passing of reform.

Sources like this are comparatively rare. In 1832 and for thirty years after there was no provision for the official publication of the rolls of Scottish county electors. Occasionally one of the contesting parties in a county would arrange to have a copy of the sheriff's manuscript register printed for use in the canvass. I have found examples from the 1832 election for eight and a half of the thirty counties, several from later in the 1830s but very few after that until 1862-6 when regular official publication began (3). Still more rare in Scotland is a printed register or pollbook that records how county electors voted under the system of open polling that existed before the introduction of secret ballot in 1872. Two were published immediately after the election in 1832, one in Ayrshire, the other in Renfrewshire; Clackmannan makes a third and the only other example known so far, apart from some fragments, compares the votes given at elections in Dumfriesshire in 1868 and 1869 (4).

The list printed by James Lothian is not a complete record of the electors and their votes in 1832. The compiler of the list omitted 36 men who he believed, with justification, were no longer qualified to vote even though their names were still on the sheriff's register. They included a group of seven who had been enrolled in 1832 as joint-proprietors of the Alloa Glassworks. The compiler would have known that the partners had sold the glassworks during 1834 (5). Fortunately the original manuscript register of electors in Clackmannan for 1832 (SC64/63/27) and the original manuscript pollbooks for the 1832 election (SC64/63/37-38) have been deposited in the Scottish Record Office so it has been possible to recover the names of the missing 36 electors and how they voted, and in places to correct or amplify the printed list.

The Reform Act created a joint-constituency from the small adjoining counties of Clackmannan and Kinross which had previously taken turns to be represented in alternate parliaments. The printed register contains the Clackmannan portion of the new constituency, or more precisely the electors in the parishes and parts of parishes that were amalgamated in 1832 to form the county of Clackmannan for the purpose of representation: Alloa, Clackmannan, Dollar and Tillicoultry; the Clackmannan and Perthshire parts of Logie (a third part was in the county of Stirling); Culross and Tulliallan which were then detached parishes of Perthshire; and Alva a detached parish of Stirlingshire. Tory members of parliament, Sir William Rae and Sir George Murray, claimed that the object of the merger of the two counties and adjacent parishes was to increase the electoral influence of the whig Adam and Abercromby families (6), but it can also be seen as a rational re-ordering of some very untidy parish geography to create a more viable constituency in which the probable electorate would be about 900. In the enlarged county of Clackmannan 491 electors were enrolled in 1832 and another 391 in Kinross, altogether twenty-four times as many voters as there had been in the two counties before reform: sixteen in Clackmannan and twenty-one in Kinross (7).

As these figures show it is the limited franchise in Scottish counties before 1832 that makes feasible the study of the post-reform constituency in Clackmannan. In an English county it would be virtually impossible because one could not distinguish so clearly between the old and the new electors. English county electorates before reform were enormous compared to those in Scotland, and the Reform Act did not alter their size or occupational composition to anything like the extent that occurred north of the border (8). In Clackmannan all but fifteen of the 491 electors on the 1832 register had qualified for the first time under the provisions of the Scottish Act. It is therefore possible and of some interest to ask what kinds of men obtained the vote in the county of Clackmannan in 1832 in so far as that can be gauged from their listed occupations. And we have the further advantage of being able to study how they cast their votes at the first election.

Both candidates belonged to prominent local families and had previously ivpri-si'nli'd one or other of the counties. Admiral Charles Adam (1780-1853)

willi influential family and political connections had made a successful career in the navy. He was the second son of the distinguished lawyer and political associate of Charles James Fox, William Adam of Blairadam in Kinross-shire. George Keith Elphinstone, Admiral Viscount Keith, who died in 1823, was his uncle and patron. He had entered the navy when he was ten, obtained a captaincy before he was nineteen, served in various stations during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, and afterwards for several years commanded the royal yacht (9). His political position in December 1832 was strong. He had been elected to the house of commons as member for Kinross-shire in May 1831, so he could claim some credit for the passing of the reform legislation. His family was politically the most influential in Kinross-shire; he was supported by the Abercrombies, cousins of the conservative candidate, but the leading Whig family in the county of Clackmannan; and the trustees of his late uncle, Viscount Keith, held the estate of Tulliallan and were the superiors of the town of Kincardine (10), whose inclusion in the county was an undoubted gain to the whig cause.

Robert Bruce of Kennet (1795-1864) was the most important resident landed proprietor and colliery owner in the parish of Clackmannan. During the French wars he had served in the Grenadier Guards, as an ensign in the Peninsula and as a captain at Waterloo where he was wounded. He remained in the army for almost ten years after the war, then sold out in 1824. From 1820-24 he represented Clackmannan in parliament but he gave up politics at about the same time he left the army, apparently to settle down, marry, and manage his estate (11).

Nomination of the candidates took place on 20 December at Dollar where several processions of Adam supporters converged with bands playing and flags and banners flying. A line of carriages conveyed more supporters; one carriage from Alloa even had a boat slung on it; and an immense flag was brought from Kincardine. The enthusiastic Adam supporters milled around the hustings, many with placards inscribed 'Adam and Reform' in their hats. Bruce arrived with one band and a small party of conservative friends to be met with groans and hisses. Almost the entire crowd was for Adam though twenty to thirty of Bruce's colliers had been brought along to give him support and to interrupt the admiral (12). The poll was held over the next two days at Alloa and Kinross, resulting in an overwhelming victory for Adam. On 24 December the processions of exuberant reformers returned to Dollar for the formal declaration of the result and to chair the new member (13).

Who were the electors for the county of Clackmannan in December 1832? A few, referred to as 'old freeholders', had been qualified to vote under the restricted and complex franchise that existed before the passing of the Reform Act. They were allowed to retain their votes for their own lifetimes, but many never exercised the right. On the Clackmannan roll in 1832 there were 15 'old freeholders', of whom seven did not vote. The majority of electors had been enrolled for the first time under the franchise provisions of the new legislation at the registration court convened by the sheriff at Alloa in the autumn of 1832. The new electors qualified mostly as proprietors or

tenants. Proprietors of subjects with an annual value of £10 which could be land, houses, business premises, and other forms of property such as feu-duties, were entitled to vote. They included landowners with hundreds of acres and small village proprietors who qualified on a house and garden valued close to the minimum requirement and who consequently were often referred to with disdain as the 'ten-pounders'. Most who qualified as tenants were farmers; on a long lease of 57 years or more they could qualify on holdings with an annual value of £10; on a shorter lease of at least 19 years the required annual value was £50; in addition a tenant with no lease but who had been in actual personal occupancy of the land for twelve months and paid a rent of £50 also qualified for a vote. Some men described as 'farmers' on the roll were proprietors cultivating their own land; and some 'proprietors' were actually owner-occupying farmers. Ministers of the Church of Scotland generally qualified as liferent proprietors or occupants of the manse and glebe, and parish schoolmasters on a similar basis. There was uncertainty at the first registration courts over whether ministers of dissenting congregations enjoyed the same right to the franchise as their counterparts in the established church; in 1832 the Reverend William Fraser, minister of the Second Associate Congregation in Alloa, had his claim rejected initially but was admitted by the court of appeal (14).

The 491 electors were a tiny minority among the total population of almost 21,000 in the eight parishes; there was probably one elector for every nine or ten adult males (15). Nevertheless they were a diverse body, and the variety of occupations in the register conveys some impression of the surprising range of economic activities found in such a small area. Clackmannan had some of the best arable farming in the country, on the carseland along the shores of the Forth and in the valley of the Devon; and sheep were raised on the hill pastures of the Ochils. Yet Clackmannan had the least agricultural electorate of all the counties for which early registers have been found. Only 114 of the 491 electors described themselves as farmers (23%) and in half the parishes they were less than 15% of the registered voters. Even if farmers are grouped with the 'old freeholders, landed proprietors and military and naval officers, only a third of the constituency (164) is accounted for. Of the remaining two-thirds the majority, to a greater extent than in most counties, were employed in activities other than farming, though not necessarily unconnected with the land: coal and iron mining, the manufacture of woollen textiles, pig-iron, glassware, bricks and tiles, ale, whisky and leather, the bleaching of linen and the milling of grains; and still of considerable importance there were the mercantile, shipping and shipbuilding interests of Alloa and Kincardine, the main centres of trade and population in the county.

Many of the non-agricultural electors were in occupations common to most counties. There was a small group of 'professionals': eight ministers of religion, three physicians, four surgeons, three writers, two advocates and seven schoolmasters or teachers. Over one in ten of the electors was in retail trade: twelve grocers and a spirit dealer, seven innkeepers, five bakers, seven fleshers, five tailors, twelve shoemakers, two booksellers and a linen draper. Another one in ten approximately was an artisanal worker, often in the building trades:

fourteen masons, twelve wrights (including two millwrights and a cartwright), two slaters and two builders (one of them in Glasgow); twelve smiths and a coppersmith, three cabinetmakers, three coopers, two saddlers and a printer (James Lothian himself). There were also 32 merchants and dealers, six of whom qualified in Alloa were actually in business in Leith or Edinburgh. Road transport was represented by nine carters, four carriers, a road surveyor and a tollkeeper. And there were three gardeners and six labourers. Finally in this group there were 34 feuars, that is generally small proprietors of ground on which they paid feu-duties to a superior. Mostly they were part of the town and village population with the same occupations as other 'ten-pounders', though these are often not stated in the registers.

Other electors represented the business interests that gave the county its particular identity. The manufacture of woollen blankets, tartans and shawls in the hillfoot villages of Alva, Menstrie and Tillicoultry, and in Alloa was represented by twelve manufacturers (including members of well-known firms such as the Archibalds and Patons) and ten weavers. The brewing of ale at Alloa and Cambus and the distilling of whisky at Carsebridge. Cambus and Kilbagie were represented by six brewers, six distillers, five maltsters and two maltmen; and the milling of grains by William Henderson the tacksman of Cambus mills and two 'multurers', the tenants of mills at Alva and Newmill. Glassmaking was represented by seven of the proprietors of the Alloa Glassworks, all it seems resident in Edinburgh and none of them actually glass-manufacturers (16). The bleaching of linen was an important source of employment in Dollar where William and Robert Haig of Dollarfield operated a large bleachfield. But 8% of the entire electorate was connected with the shipping interests of Alloa and Kincardine. There were 30 shipowners (seven in Alloa, 23 in Kincardine), five shipmasters and two shipbuilders, as well as a boatman and a blockmaker. David Mason, whose designation was 'tacksman of boat-house', was master of the Alloa ferry.; and John Martin, was the 'agent', for the Marine Insurance Association (17). Only a small number of the new voters were engaged in the mining and iron industries; the best known being the mining engineer Robert Bald (18). Two described themselves as coal managers (including John Craich of the Alloa Coal Company), another as a coal griever. A fourth was overseer at Carronshore part of the famous ironworks on the other side of the Forth; and Alexander Espie was a moulder at the Devon ironworks. The brick and tile works left no apparent mark in the register, but Alexander Bald, younger brother of Robert, is known to have been not simply a 'merchant' in Alloa as stated in the list of electors but a timber merchant and manufacturer of bricks (19). Some activities had solitary representatives, such as Alexander Paterson of the tannery at Tullibody. The presence of William Inglis a forester from Culross is a reminder of the extensive plantations of woodland in the county, that of James Coutts in Kincardine as the only salter suggests an industry in decline. Other electors included an auctioneer, a factor, a sheriff's officer and a messenger at arms, a potter from Dunmore across the Forth and Thomas Galloway a musician from Edinburgh.

A summary of the Clackmannan electors' occupations, about 65 in all, does convey a sense of the county's distinctively mixed economy. In none of the other counties for which registers have survived from the 1830s did farmers constitute such a small proportion of the electorate; and in few was there such a range of other economic activities represented on the roll. Nevertheless, the 491 electors were not representative of the whole population of the county; they were a minority among adult males and no women were enfranchised. Even in most of the occupations listed in the register those who qualified for a vote were the exceptions, as one can see from the census of 1841 which for the first time tabulated occupations (20). Despite a decade's growth in population, and the limitation that the table for Clackmannan does not include the attached parishes, the evidence is adequate for a general assessment. The majority of farmers, manufacturers, merchants, shipowners, distillers and physicians appear to have been enrolled, but among artisans, retail traders, carriers and carters the proportion enfranchised was much smaller. Adult males in the narrowly defined county in 1841 included 33 bakers, 38 grocers, 81 tailors, 145 boot and shoemakers, 168 carpenters, joiners and wrights, 106 masons, 102 smiths, and 64 carriers and carters, many more in each case than the number on the register from all eight parishes in 1832. Moreover, there were large bodies of workers who were scarcely represented if at all. In 1841 there were 1,013 general and agricultural labourers and 461 coal miners in the county. Among the 1832 electors there were six labourers and no coalminers.

What was significant about the labourers was not their occupation but their personal circumstances. It is impossible to say how each one of them acquired his qualifying property, by inheritance, purchase or marriage. The crucial point was that out of several hundred labourers in the county they were proprietors of sufficient property to qualify as electors. The franchise provisions were restrictive but they had the effect that any man who possessed the necessary property qualification could be enrolled irrespective of his occupation, and in a county like Clackmannan with its diverse economy that meant that men from a wide variety of occupations became electors, though the small numbers enrolled in many trades suggest that those who did qualify were more likely to be employers than employees. Possession of the minimum qualification was the lowest common denominator among the electors; beyond that they were a small but assorted collection of individuals. Consequently a study of the register enables us to form an idea of who was enfranchised in one particular county in 1832 and provides a corrective to generalisations about the county electorate created by the Reform Act.

At the election in December 1832 Adam received more than two-thirds of the votes cast in Clackmannan and four-fifths of those in Kinross, which gave him a comfortable victory by 527 to 196 (21). From the register one can examine the bases of support in Clackmannan for the two candidates, and even identify a number of apparent patterns in the voting, but it must be stated at the outset that explaining these patterns is largely a matter of speculation. Adam and Bruce shared the votes of old freeholders, proprietors and farmers fairly

evenly, while the shipping interest, merchants, manufacturers, village feuars, retail traders, artisans, carters, carriers and labourers were overwhelmingly for Adam (see Appendix for details). On closer examination more specific differences can be seen. Adam had the backing of most shipowners – 22 voted for him, only two for Bruce - but his support was concentrated in Kincardine; of the seven shipowners in Alloa only three gave Adam their votes, one opposed him and three did not vote. The textile manufacturers voted unanimously for Adam; and there was a clear majority for him among merchants in spite of some opposition in Alloa. Artisans and craftsmen including shoemakers, weavers and coopers were among Adam's strongest supporters, voting for him by 59-11, with no more than three neutral, but grocers, bakers and fleshers voted only 15-8 in his favour. The drink producers were split; three brewers and three maltsters in Alloa parish voted for Bruce while five distillers, the other three Alloa brewers and a maltster in Tulliallan supported Adam. The number of individuals in each professional occupation was small but the patterns in their voting are interesting. The three physicians supported Bruce, but the two surgeons who voted preferred Adam. Of five lawyers only one, a writer from Dunblane, voted for the admiral, though schoolteachers polled five to two in his favour. None of the parish clergy of the established church supported Adam. Two voted for Bruce (the Reverend Dr Andrew Mylne, the minister of Dollar and principal of the Dollar Institution, and the Rev. James Smith, Alva), three like many of their colleagues in other counties chose not to vote (the Rev. Peter Brotherstone, Alloa, the Rev. Henry Anderson, Tillicoultry, and the Rev. John Balfour, Culross), and the four others were not enrolled. Adam's only clerical supporters were two dissenting ministers (the Rev. William Anderson, minister of the Relief Church in Blairlogie, and the Rev. William Fraser, minister of the Second Associate Congregation in Alloa); a third, the Rev. Patrick Comrie from Penicuik in Midlothian, did not go to the poll. Adam did however receive the vote of a retired preacher named Thomas Bell.

The following table shows the breakdown of Adam's and Bruce's votes according to the parish in which the electors were qualified, including the number who did not vote.

Table 1 Voters by parishes

	Adam	Bruce	DNV	Total
Alloa	102	36	35	173
Clackmannan	19	35	6	60
Dollar	21	8	7	36
Logie	25	18	8	51
Tillicoultry	17	7	3	27
Alva	13	11	3	27
Culross	11	15	7	33
Tulliallan	76	3	5	84
Total	284	133	74	491

Adam received most of the votes in six parishes, but Tulliallan contributed almost half his majority in the county so decided was the support of

electors, both in the town of Kincardine and among the farmers of the parish. He also obtained many votes in Alloa, but there is evidence there of a determined conservative minority (including as has been seen a number of brewers, maltsters and merchants) and a surprisingly large number of electors did not vote at all; in fact almost half of all non-voters were in Alloa, which may indicate the effect of pressures on electors in the town and in the landward areas of the parish. Adam polled well too in Dollar and Tillicoultry, but in Alva, and Logic where 15 of Bruce's 18 supporters were farmers, the contest was closer. Bruce had a majority in Clackmannan where his own estate was situated, and in Culross where, because the town electors were separately represented in the Stirling district of burghs, the electorate was composed chiefly of landowners and farmers.

The unusual character of the county is again shown by the fact that voters in the towns and larger villages outnumbered other voters by 270 to 221. If places with ten or more electors are extracted from the parishes, as in Table 2, three points emerge: that Adam was dominant in the towns and villages with the exception of Clackmannan; that Bruce obtained a majority of his votes in the rural areas, where the contest was more even; and that in several places support for one or other of the candidates was unanimous or or very close to it.

Table 2 Towns and larger villages voters

	Adam	Bruce	DNV	Total
Alloa	72	23	19	114
Tullibody	8	0	2	10
Clackmannan	0	12	0	12
Sauchie	11	2	0	131
Tillicoultry	13	2	1	16
Dollar	12	4	1	17
Alva	13	5	3	21
Kincardine	60	2	5	67
Total	189	50	31	270
Elsewhere	95	83	43	221

The probable explanation of the patterns of voting revealed in the table lies in the inter-play of the social, economic, individual and community pressures that figured so prominently in the local politics of this period: not merely the supposed influence of wealthy landowners on those townspeople who sought to gain or retain their custom, but also the influence on electors of opinion (including religious opinion) within the community, of relatives, friends, workmates and customers, most of them not qualified to vote but capable of exerting considerable pressure within a small village or town. Only two men from Kincardine were prepared publically to declare their support for Bruce at the poll, an act which must have taken both political conviction and fortitude. There is evidence of the strength of political feeling in Kincardine, where the electors were proud of their solidarity compared with Alloa. At a public meeting shortly before the election the Kincardine electors, it was reported, declared

their determination to resist "the little knot of Conservatives in Alloa" who had threatened voters that they would suffer in their pockets if they supported Adam and reform. The meeting declared they would refuse to buy 'anti-whisky', 'anti-ale' and 'anti-bread' produced by their opponents in Alloa (22). The solidarity of Kincardine was felt throughout the parish, even the farmers voted 10-1 for Adam.

The most obvious contrast in voting is that between Clackmannan town and Sauchie, the two main centres of population in the parish. It is probably not surprising that in Clackmannan, and Kennet village where he was the resident proprietor, Bruce received the votes of men in occupations which elsewhere were almost unanimous for Adam: a wright, a mason and a blacksmith, two grocers, a baker and a tailor and the only one of twelve shoemakers to vote for Bruce. The electors' occupations by themselves cannot explain the differences in voting behaviour but it seems likely that where the electors lived and worked did affect how they voted. The two places were not so very different and only two miles apart; both were inhabited principally by colliers and their families; and the main estates around them were owned by conservative proprietors. The difference would seem to be that Bruce was the most important conservative proprietor generally in residence, which often enabled a landowner to develop an influential relationship with local people through his economic and personal involvement with the community as employer, customer and patron. Regrettably for Bruce his influence did not extend far beyond Kennet village and the town of Clackmannan, and landowners were not the only people to exercise influence, which took many forms ranging from the non-electors' withdrawal of custom from a shopkeeper or publican to what one contemporary described as the 'clamour of neighbours' (23). And in spite of whig claims in 1832 the deployment of various kinds of pressure on the voters was not confined to any one party. At the nomination in Dollar Adam denied allegations that the Abercromby and Adam families were out to dominate the electors (24). He asserted, "The Abercromby and Adam cause is powerful because it is the cause of Reform", which after the months of political excitement that accompanied the passage of the reform bills was undeniable, and that very enthusiasm for parliamentary reform as the good cause created conditions in which it was extremely difficult to hold opposing views openly in a town such as Kincardine, or even in villages like Sauchie or Tullibody.

Without denying the significance of the reform and associated issues one can acknowledge the existence and interplay of those pressures and influences which may help us to understand the patterns of voting discernible in different parts of the county. They may also explain the surprisingly large number of electors in Clackmannan and other counties who did not vote in 1832; 15% in Clackmannan, 21% in Kinross. Virtually all the electors were newly enfranchised; only a few months earlier they had gone through an elaborate process to establish their claims to be enrolled. Yet in almost every county contested at the first general election from one in eight to one in five of the registered electors did not vote. Some had died before the election, others were

unavoidably kept from the polls, but others decided to remain neutral, or were persuaded that it was in their best interests to do so. 74 of the 491 electors in Clackmannan did not vote; among them four of the eight ministers, three out of seven shipowners in Alloa, and nearly one in five farmers.

It was the farmers who, many contemporaries believed, were particularly exposed to pressure and influence, and there is evidence to suggest that many voted for the candidate favoured by their landlord, or remained neutral. It is not easy to demonstrate this conclusively and impossible to explain the voting behaviour of any particular individual. The farmers voted as shown in **Table 3**. The final column shows the percentage of farmers among the parish electors.

Table 3 Voting of farmers

	Adam	Bruce	DNV	Total	% in Parish
Alloa	8	2	7	17	9.8
Clackmannan	4	13	5	22	36.7
Logie	9	15	3	27	53.0
Dollar	3	0	2	5	14.7
Tillicoultry	2	4	2	8	29.6
Alva	1	3	0	4	14.8
Culross	9	9	2	20	64.5
Tulliallan	10	1	0	11	13.1
Total	46	47	21	114	23.2

Because the numbers are small and the evidence circumstantial where it exists at all one can only speculate about tenants' voting and how it actually related to the political inclinations of their landlords. Many tenants will have held their own views for or against the reform issue or concerning the alleged threat posed to agricultural protection by the whig government. Some will have been religious dissenters. One cannot say that these views were unimportant or had no bearing on how tenants voted, or in some instances did not vote.

In some parishes the voting of tenant farmers closely matched the known political preferences of the principal landowners (25). For example, in Alva James Johnstone was the only major proprietor; the four enrolled farmers may all have been his tenants; three voted with Johnstone in support of Bruce, while the fourth, who voted for Adam, may have enjoyed some independence being qualified as the proprietor of two houses (26). The influence of Bruce and other tory proprietors appears to be reflected in the 13-4 vote in his favour in the parish of Clackmannan though five farmers did not vote. Farmers identifiable as tenants on the estates of Sauchie (Earl of Mansfield), Forest (Earl of Mar) and Kennet voted 9-1 for Bruce. On the other hand two who held their land from the whig Lord Dundas voted for Adam. In Tillicoultry where two principal landowners were Bruce supporters, Johnstone of Alva again and Robert Wardlaw-Ramsay, all one

can say is that the farmers' vote of 4-2 for Bruce with two neutral may reflect their influence in the parish.

The whigs too had parishes where they obtained strong support from the tenants. In Tulliallan the leading proprietors were the trustees for Viscount Keith, Adam's uncle. When allowance is made for some influence from the town of Kincardine and its politics on the landward areas of the parish it is not surprising that the farmers voted 10-1 for Adam. In Dollar, where the only three farmers to vote polled for Adam, it seems reform principles were well represented among the landowners. John McArthur Moir of Hillfoot and Robert Haig of Dollarfield voted for Adam and attended a dinner in his honour at Dollar in January 1833 (27). William Clark of Dollarbeg, who was an 'old freeholder' and sheriff-substitute for the county, did not vote at the 1832 election but he was present at a dinner for Adam held at Alloa in December 1833 on the anniversary of his election; and James Erskine of Aberdona, another landowner in the parish though not enrolled at the first election, also attended the Alloa dinner (28). None of these was the largest landowner in the parish; that was the Globe Insurance Company, holding what had been the property of Craufurd Tait of Harviestoun but no evidence has emerged regarding its political influence if any (29).

Sometimes the evidence points to probable cross-currents of influence. In the parish of Alloa the small group of farmers was divided. Those who polled voted 8-2 for Adam, but seven others did not vote at all. Lord Abercromby was the leading whig landowner with a mansion house at Tullibody. His influence was no doubt enhanced by its being deployed in the popular cause of reform; but rival interests in the town of Alloa may have sent conflicting messages out to the farms; and the largest estate in the parish was that of the Earl of Mar whose family had been closely associated with the development of Alloa and who does not appear to have been a friend of reform.

It is unfortunately in Logie and Culross where most of the voters were farmers that it is most difficult to identify significant landlord-tenant connections. In spite of Lord Abercromby being the principal landowner in Logie farmers voted 15-9 for Robert Bruce. Of the fifteen who voted for Bruce three were tenants of James Johnstone of Alva, five farmed at Blackgrange (Patrick Stirling of Blackgrange was enrolled in 1834) and three at Gogar, which may indicate the source of some influence. In Culross, where nine farmers voted for each candidate with only two abstentions, the chief tory influence would have come from Valleyfield House, seat of Sir Robert Preston, one-time associate of Pitt; certainly William Hogg, the factor at Valleyfield, voted for Bruce. One tory proprietor on the register was Robert Bruce Dundas of Blair House; he and two of his tenants voted for Bruce, whereas Robert Clark of Comrie and his tenant who farmed the Mains of Comrie voted for Adam, but as in other districts of the county without more precise information linking tenants and landlords it is difficult to draw conclusions beyond the general perception that for whatever reason tenants did tend to vote with their landlords and may have abstained rather than oppose them. Because of the county's distinctive character landlord influence over their tenants had ultimately little effect on the outcome of the 1832 election in Clackmannan; farmers made up less than a quarter of the electorate and their votes were evenly shared by the two candidates. It was the

electors of Alloa, Kincardine and the hillfoot villages, with their diverse range of occupations, who were most numerous and who voted overwhelmingly for Adam. However, in Kinross-shire, Adam's own territorial base, the electorate was much more agricultural than in Clackmannan: 43% of the 391 electors were farmers (30), and as Adam obtained 243 votes to Bruce's 63 he must have received a considerable share of the farmers' votes, in addition to those of electors in the towns of Kinross and Milnathort. The combination of support in the two counties guaranteed Adam's success in 1832 and provided a strong base for the liberal party there for several decades. Adam defeated Bruce again at the 1835 election, though by a reduced margin 447-285 (31). That was the last occasion on which a conservative challenged the liberals' control of Clackmannan and Kinross until 1874 when J.R. Haig opposed the sitting member William Patrick Adam, the admiral's son, who at the age of nine had accompanied his father to the declaration of the poll in Dollar in 1832 and himself represented the counties from 1859 to 1880.

Appendix

	Adam	Bruce	DNV	Total
Old Freeholder	3	5	7	15
Proprietor	14	11	6	31
Officer Mill Naval	2	2		4
Farmer	46	47	21	114
Feuar	22	8	4	34
Minister (Ch of Se)		2	3	5
Minister (Dissent)	2		1	3
Preacher	1			1
Physician		3		3
Surgeon	2		2	4
Writer	1	2		3
Advocate		1	1	2
Schoolmaster	5	2		7
Innkeeper	4	2	1	7
Spirit Dealer		1		1
Grocer	8	3	1	12
Baker	3	2		5
Flesher	4	3		7
Tailor	4	1		5
Shoemaker	11	1		12
Bookseller	1		1	2
Linendraper	1			1
Mason	10	3	1	14
Wright	7	2		9
Millwright	2			2
Cartwright	1			1
Slater	2			2
Builder	1	1		2
Smith	9	2	1	12

Coppersmith	1			1
Cabinet maker	3			3
Manufacturer	13			13
Weaver	9	1		10
BJeacher	1		1	2
Distiller	5		1	6
Brewer	3	3		6
Maltster	1	3	1	5
Maltman	1		1	2
Cooper	1	1	1	3
Merchant	19	5	4	28
Corn Merchant/Dealer	1	1		2
Wood Merchant	1			1
Cattle Dealer	1			1
Carter	7	1	1	9
Carrier	4			4
Gardener	1		2	3
Labourer	5	1		6
Shipowner (Alloa)	3	1	3	7
Shipowner (Kincardine)	19	1	3	23
Shipmaster	2	1	2	5
Shipbuilder	1		1	2
Master of Ferry	1			1
Boatman	1			1
Blockmaker	1			1
Coal Manager	2			2
Mining Engineer	1			1
Coal Grieve	1			1
Overseer	1			1
Other*	9	9	3	21
TOTAL	284	133	74	491

"Other Occupations—

Adam — an agent, a potter, a printer, a road contractor, a tollkeeper, a saddler, a salter, a sawyer and a tanner.

Bruce- an auctioneer, a factor, a messenger at arms, a sheriff's officer, a moulder, a multurer, a forester, a musician and the manager at Kennetpans.

Did Not Vote - a saddler, a multurer and the tacksman Cambus Mills

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The author's copy. A reprint of the register has been published, May 1993, Clackmannann District Library, Alloa, 24pp.
2. J. Lothian, *Alloa and Its Environs* 2nd edition, Alloa, 1861, p.12.
3. The eight counties are Aberdeen, Fife, Forfar, Kincardine, Perth, Midlothian, Roxburgh and Stirling; the half is Orkney. The Sheriff's Manuscript Registers from 1832 have been found for Clackmannan, Inverness, Kinross, Kirkcudbright, Peebles, Ross and Cromarty, the Hawick district of Roxburgh, Selkirk, Stirling and Wigtown. It was the County *Voters Registration (Scotland) Act* of 1861 that first provided for the publication of the registers of county electors. The British Library holds runs of printed registers for several Scottish counties from 1863.
4. The Ayrshire pollbook does not contain the names of electors who did not vote; the famous *Red and Black List* for Renfrewshire includes all electors and could therefore be added to the list in note (3).

5. John L. Carvel, *The Alloa Glass Work. An Account of Its Development Since 1750.* (published privately, 1953) p. 17. It is an indication of how poorly the Sheriff's Register for Clackmannan was maintained that the seven were still on the register on their original qualifications in 1851, 17 years after they had ceased to own the glass works. See SC64/63/31. In fact 30 of the 36 electors omitted from the printed list had still not been expunged in 1851, including Sir Robert Preston of Valleyfield who had died in May 1834 at the age of 94.
6. Hansard, third series, vol.3, c.322, 9 March 1831, and vol.12, cc.1206-7, 21 May 1832. A reply to Murray appeared in the whig *Scotsman*, 2 June 1832, p.3 c.4. See also Michael Dyer, " 'Mere detail and Machinery', The Great Reform Act and the effects of redistribution on Scottish representation, 1832-1868", *The Scottish Historical Review* LXII, 1983, pp. 21-3
7. The Manuscript Register for Kinross-shire (CC2/1/6/3) is held in the Perth and Kinross District Archives at the Sandeman Library, Perth. The numbers of 'old freeholders' are taken from Henry Cockburn's anonymous article in the *Edinburgh Review* LII, 1830, p. 210.
8. Estimates for the increase in the English county electorate range from only 50% to 80%.
9. See *The Dictionary of National Biography* Vol. I, p.85 for his later career.
10. *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, 1845, X, Perthshire, pp. 868, 871.
11. M.F Conolly, *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Men of Fife*, Cupar, 1866, pp.88-90.
12. *Scotsman*, 22 Dec. 1832, p.3 c.5-6.
13. *Scotsman*, 26 Dec. 1832, p.3 c.2.
14. Recorded in the Sheriff's Register, SC64/63(MM)/27.
15. Calculated from parish details in the 1831 Census, *Parliamentary Papers* 1831 (348) xviii, pp.377, 398-9, 404.
16. They were some of the partners who owned the glassworks from 1825 until 1834. Archibald Anderson and Robert Thomson were merchants, Peter Brown a linendraper, James Campbell a major in the Army, John Cunningham an advocate, John Fletcher McFarlane a surgeon, and James McDonald a manufacturer.
17. *Dunfermline Almanac* 1835, pp.55, 51.
18. Robert Bald (1776-1861), author of *A General View of the Coal Trade in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1812).
19. His literary interests and associations earned him an entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. I, p.948.
20. 1841 Census, *Occupation Abstract*, part II Scotland, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1844 (588) xxvii 385, pp. 15-17.
21. F.W.S. Craig, *British Parliamentary Election Results 1832-1885* (London, 1977), p.579.
22. *Scotsman*, 19 Dec. 1832 p.2 c.4.
23. Donald Home WS to Duke of Buccleuch 15 Nov. 1839, *Scottish Record Office*, GD224/582/7.
24. *Scotsman*, 26 Dec. 1832 p.3 c.2.
25. Sources for this section, in addition to the register, include the *New Statistical Account: the 1802 Valuation Roll for Clackmannan*, *Scottish Record Office* E901/9/4, which was of limited value; and the 1835 *Valuation Roll for Perthshire*, E901/26/4.
26. James Johnstone of Alva (1801-88) later changed his politics; from 1851 to 1857 he was liberal M.P. for the counties.
27. *Scotsman*, 19 Jan. 1833 p.3 c.1.
28. *Scotsman*, 28 Dec. 1833 p.3 c.3.
29. *New Statistical Account VIII, Clackmannan*, pp.101, 111. Calculated from the *Register of Electors for Kinross-shire*; note (7)
30. Craig, *ibid* 21 above pp.579-80.