Victorian Values
in Scotland and England

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A DISCUSSION of Victorian values taking place in Edinburgh invites and demands a comparison of England and Scotland with an insistence that would be unlikely in a London context.[1] Responding to this demand presents many problems. Victorian values is a sharply contested concept as the initial 1983 debate showed all to clearly.[2] In addition we have the hidden guest at the feast, namely Britain, once centre of an Empire. Scotland, itself, remains part of a contested relationship, Scotland-Britain, in other words the Union of 1707. It is a contest which has filled the political, cultural and indeed daily life of Scotland for nearly 300 years. Thus in his 'Auld Licht Idylls' J.M. Barrie described Snecky Hobart, the bellman of the weaving settlement of Thrums; 'Though Scots in his unofficial conversation, he was believed to deliver himself on public occasions in the finest English.'[3] It was a careful and instinctive balancing of English power and Scottish community. From an English perspective, the relationship England-Britain is unproblematic. In discourse as varied as Raphael Samuel's splendid essay

[2] *New Statesman*, 27 May 1983; James Walvin, *Victorian Values*. A companion to the Granada Television series (London, 1987); Eric M. Sigsworth (ed.), *In search of Victorian Values. Aspects of 19th century thought and society* (Manchester, 1988).
[3] J. M. Barrie, *Auld Licht Idylls* (London, 1892), p. 210.

on patriotism to the campaign speeches of Michael Hesletine in the 1990 Conservative leadership contest, the two words are interchangeable.[4]

Central to the relationship has been the major contribution which Scotland made to the creation of Victorian values themselves. That contribution we call the Scottish enlightenment is well known. Less acknowledged are a series of innovations in social and cultural practice which were developed in early 19th-century Scotland and then exported south to become a successful part of the dominant values of the 19th century. Mechanics Institutions began in Glasgow and were exported to London in 1824. In the following three decades their diffusion was widespread.[5] Savings Banks came from rural Ayrshire. They were enshrined in an act of parliament in 1817 and experienced an even more rapid diffusion across the major urban centres of England.[6] Temperance was brought down from the Belfast-Glasgow axis to the industrial areas of England. The Scottish cultural produce was widely adopted. The original movement was interested in banning spirits drinking, the cause of much distress in Scotland. It took the English a few years to find that this was of little value in the beer drinking counties. On the initiative of a small group of men in Preston, the formula was changed to teetotalism.[7] It is an interesting and rare example of a policy developed for Scotland being foisted on the English. We should notice that these cultural products all came from an area of social action in which middle and working class people sought to act without reference to the state. Central to the contested nature of Scotland is the lack of clearly identifiable state institutions. There is no head of state, no parliament, no cabinet but that did not mean no Scotland.

At a personal level the sons of northern manufacturers and whig aristocrats came north to keep a term or so in Scotland's universities. The graduates of Scotland went south. They took with them a much broader philosophical base from which to contribute to the values of British society. They brought the Scotch philosophers' sense of history

[4] Raphael Samuel, 'Introduction: exciting to be English', in Raphael Samuel (ed.), *Patriotism. The Making and unmaking of British National Identity, Vol one, History and Politics* (London, 1987).

[5] Mabel Tylecote, *The Mechanics Institutions of Lancashire and Yorkshire before 1851* (Manchester, 1957); James Hole, *An Essay on the History and Management of Literary, Scientific and Mechanics Institutions* . . . (London, 1853), pp. 4–12; Henry Brougham, 'Practical Observations upon the Education of the People, 1825' from *The Speeches of Lord Henry Brougham*, vol. 3, (Edinburgh, 1837), pp. 110–13.

[6] John Tidd Pratt, *The History of Savings Banks* (London, 1830); H. Oliver Horne, *A History of Savings Banks* (Oxford, 1947).

[7] Brian Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians. The Temperance Question in England, 1815–1872* (London, 1971); Daniel C. Paton, 'Drink and the temperance movement in nineteenth century Scotland' (Edinburgh PhD, 1977).

and progress over time. They brought a tradition of organized knowledge and teaching. They were more adept in the use of abstract or, as the English would have it, 'metaphysical' concepts. By way of the Holland House whigs Edinburgh graduates were in at the start of Victorian values, demanding limits on the power of the Crown and representation for property as part of parliamentary reform.[8] Thomas Chalmers in *The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns* united his evangelical concerns with political economy, and an acute sense of the importance of community which is not just rural but also particularly Scottish.[9] Scotland had a weak eviscerated state but a strong sense of community. When James Kay, Edinburgh graduate, went south he took with him not just a medical qualification but the values gained sitting at the feet of Thomas Chalmers to whom he dedicated his first book.

> You, who minister in the sacred office, must have more frequent opportunities than I, of observing with regret, that many who recognize the constant presence of a presiding Providence, fail in practically acknowledging the perpetual influence of a mighty source of moral causation . . .

The mixture of practical and moral is the key element here. Kay attacked the Poor Law, '. . . depriving the virtuous poor of the incentives to industry and glutting the market with labour'. His views of education were still partially formed; '. . . There is no sufficient provision for the education and the religious and moral instruction of the poor; and their ignorance and misery often tempt them to desperate deeds.'[10]

Kay took the traditions of the statistical movement from Scotland to his enquiries in English towns like his fellow Scottish graduate G.C.Holland in Sheffield.[11] Others were active in the formation and spread of the Mechanics Institutions. Kay joined Southwood Smith and Leonard Horner amongst the inspectorate of the new civil service of the 1830s.[12] Those who grew up in Scotland learnt to act at the level of community and to

[8] Anand C. Chitnis, *The Scottish Enlightenment and early Victorian English Society* (London, 1986), esp. pp. 160–62; George Davie, *The Democratic Intellect. Scotland and her Universities in the 19th century* (Edinburgh, 1961).

[9] Thomas Chalmers, *The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns*, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1821); Stewart Mechie, *The Church and Scottish social development, 1780–1870* (London, 1960), pp. 47–63; see also the contribution of Professor Stewart Brown to this symposium.

[10] James Kay, *Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes* (Manchester, 1832; reprint Didsbury, 1969) pp. 4 and 16.

[11] M.J. Cullen, *The Statistical Movement in Early Victorian Britain. The Foundations of Empirical Research* (Brighton, 1975); G Calvert Holland, *The Vital Statistics of Sheffield* (London, 1843).

[12] Richard Johnson, 'Educational Policy and Social Control in Early Victorian England', *Past and Present*, **49** (1970).

combine moral and civil imperatives. The two states within which they lived were weak or distant. The ruling class to which they might relate was increasingly bound into the larger dominant element of those two states and their attendant cultures.

The English in return found something cold and chilling about the organized practical logic which the Scots brought with them. 'Scotch feelosopher' was a term of abuse for Cobbett. Dickens, when he wanted to sum up all that was wrong with working class education, choose a Scottish stereotype, Mr. McChoakcumchild.[13] Another form in which Scottish influence came south was the classroom teaching which David Stow developed in Glasgow in the 1830s.[14] The Scots had a clear notion of themselves not just as better educated at certain levels but able to argue in a more thorough and abstract manner. When Hugh Miller, the stonemason, geologist, newspaper editor for the evangelical wing of the Kirk travelled through England, he sat in the public room of his inn in Newcastle eavesdropping on an argument about the atonement involving two Sheffield mechanics. He was scathing: 'the methodists were wild nondescripts in their theology'. The remark would scarcely have arrested a theologic controversy on the same nice point in Scotland,' he commented after one silence, 'certainly not among the class of peasant controversialist so unwisely satirized by Burns'. 'You Scotch are strange people,' one of the commercial travellers told him. 'The development of the popular mind in Scotland is a result of its theology', was Miller's reply.[15]

Scottish cultural exports south were more than this. When Samuel Smiles left Haddington in 1829, he carried with him a letter from his father. It was a chilling mixture of affection, discipline and family identity. There was a powerful sense of an all seeing, all powerful God and a distrust of anything beyond the boundaries Haddington, East Lothian, Scotland. Duty and guilt were writ large between the lines.

> Haddington 17th October 1829
> Dear Son,
> You are now about to leive us, permit us to give you an advice, the place in which dwelling for a time wher much depravety and wickedness is prevelant now when you are away from our parential eye, think on Hagar's prayer,

[13] Chitnis, p. 183.

[14] David Stow, *The Training System adopted in the Model School of the Glasgow Educational Society* (Glasgow, 1836), pp. 67–75 and 235–7; David Hamilton, *Towards a Theory of Schooling* (London, 1989), pp. 75–115 traces the emergence of the classroom or 'simultaneous' teaching in the context of early 19th century Glasgow and looks back to the ideological influence of the thought of Adam Smith.

[15] Hugh Miller, *First Impressions of England and its People* (Edinburgh, 1877), pp. 8–10.

my God Seith me, be ernest at a thron of Grace . . . Your conduct from
this time forward will either be a joy or sorrow to your affectionate father
and mother and be assured if you do as becometh a Son who venerates
their parents, nothing shall be wanting on our part for your good, you will
be provided with the meins of making you respectable in the worald, you
will also have our prayers and Affectionally esteimed by us; but, if you act
contrary, to your own disgrace, and our Shame, your now fair prospects will
be forever blasted, we will withold our support, and give it to another if more
deserving, but we cherish the hope that your conduct will be as becometh
a Christian and be deserving of our approbation . . .[16]

So Smiles went to the big bad city of Edinburgh with this tucked in his
pocket. He took it with him when he went south. It is the only document
which survives from this period. The end product was 'Self-Help' and
its associated lectures and books. As all close readers of this literature
know this was not a heartless product. It was the product of a man who
advocated self reliance, struggle and self creation as the only sound way to
respect and independence.[17] It was a lesson that had begun in the chilling
but affectionate eye of God Almighty in Haddington. As his intellectual
and political interests expanded in the south, the lesson was extended in
the face of the aristocrat led state and the threatening mass politics of
Chartism. The experience of middle status Scotland was an experience of a
state managed by an increasingly remote aristocratic elite. From Highlands
to borders, the middle ranks of Scotland learnt to distrust the aristocratic
families which ran the state. That distrust was more complete and without
recourse to mitigation than the English experience. The message of 'Self
Help' appealed to many English middle and working class people. By
the 1850s it was a British message despite its Scottish origin. These rags
to riches tales were not of course new in the 1850s. What Smiles had
contributed in his great secular sermons was a keen sense of morality and
moral self creation. In much the same way Thomas Carlyle had taken the
radical hero Cromwell and turned him into a moralized example of self
creation and leadership.[18] Again compare *Chamber's Edinburgh Journal*,
product of two Edinburgh brothers, with the *Penny Magazine*. One is
warm, moralizing and human in its content. The other is as cold as an
encyclopedia. The Edinburgh product was written for the respectable
middle and working class by some of their own number. The London
product was written for the same group by their social and intellectual

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[16] Leeds City Archives, SS/A III/1.
[17] R.J. Morris, 'Samuel Smiles and the Genesis of Self Help; the retreat to a Petit Bourgeois
Utopia', *The Historical Journal*, **24** (1981), 89–109; Ken Fielden, 'Samuel Smiles and Self
Help', *Victorian Studies*, **12** (1968), 155–76.
[18] Ian Campbell, *Thomas Carlyle* (London, 1974).

superiors and it shows.[19] Much has been written about the anglicization of Scotland; more thought needs to be given to the Scottish input to this process in the first half of the 19th century. Already three features which lay behind Scotland's contribution to Victorian values begin to show. The lack of a central state capable of integration with Scottish society, a direct and bitter confrontation with aristocracy beyond anything experienced in England and an individualistic relationship with a chilling but affectionate God.

This enormous and fruitful exchange was possible because Scotland and England were a part of the same urbanizing industrial society, the same market economy.[20] This means that any attempt at comparison is dangerous ground, a world of carefully shaded meaning. The most secure ground comes from the Act of Union itself. Surely, the church and the law are different, and as a result the education system and the physical and legal structure of property is different. Scotland claims a better educated and worse housed population than England. Yet on closer examination how real are these differences. In 1851, some 58% of English and 61% of Scots were in church on census Sunday. There was one difference. Scottish attendance tended to be better in the urban areas whilst the English were better attenders in the rural parts.[21] Careful calculation suggests that the Scots spent much the same proportion of their resources on education as the English, although outcomes in terms of third quarter of the 19th century literacy seem to favour Scotland.[22] The cities full of tenements can be related to the transfer costs of the Scottish property system but equally they were a product of the lower incomes of the Scottish working class, some 5% lower in the 1880s.[23] The Scottish economy was the low income, export orientated margin of the British 19th-century economy.[24] This fact was as important as Kirk and Court of Session in interpreting shades of

[19] William Chambers, *Memoir of Robert Chambers with the Autobiographical Reminiscences of William Chambers* (Edinburgh, 1876); Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader. A social history of the mass reading public, 1800–1900* (Chicago, 1957) pp. 332–8.
[20] R.J. Morris, 'Introduction,' and 'Urbanization and Scotland,' in W. Hamish Fraser and R.J. Morris (eds), *People and Society in Scotland*, vol. 2, 1830–1914 (Edinburgh, 1990).
[21] Callum G. Brown, 'Religion, class and church growth', in Fraser and Morris, op.cit.; Callum G. Brown, *The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730* (London, 1987).
[22] E.G. West, 'Resource Allocation and growth in early nineteenth century British Education', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, vol. 23 (April 1970) 73–7; R.A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity: illiteracy and society in Scotland and northern England, 1600–1800* (Cambridge, 1985) 1–19.
[23] R.G. Rodger, 'The Law and Urban Change', *Urban History Yearbook* (1979) 77–91; R.G. Rodger, 'The Invisible Hand, Market Forces, Housing and the Urban Form in Victorian Cities', in Derek Fraser and Anthony Sutcliffe (eds), *The Pursuit of Urban History* (London, 1983).
[24] R.H. Campbell, *The Rise and Fall of Scottish Industry, 1707–1939* (Edinburgh, 1980).

difference in values. The Poor Law was different. There was a greater use of outdoor relief, a less authoritarian regime in the poorhouse (which was not a workhouse), but then the poor, especially the able bodied poor, had no rights. In some respects the two systems converged. In the 1830s, the rate of pauperism in England and Wales was a massive 7%, whilst Scotland recorded 3.25%. By the 1860s the gap had narrowed and was gone by the end of the century when both countries were just over the 2% mark.[25] The Scots imported many values and practices from the south, but retained a greater faith in outdoor relief and profited from a much weaker form of central supervision.

One consequence of the greater poverty and community base of Scottish society is a suspicion that 'family' meant something different in Scotland. The English image of family was very household centred. The Scottish concept of family was a more chaotic set of relationships. It had to be. In the cities the dominance of single and double ends made the disciplined family ideal of sexual discipline and gender and age hierarchies difficult to locate in the household. In the countryside, tied housing made the concept of a secure home difficult to conceive. For middle and working class people alike, long distance migration changed the meaning of family ties. In the 19th century Scotland lost huge portions of its population to migration. Family was not home sweet home but the ballads of parting and the attempts to maintain contact by letter.[26] The need to see family as a set of relationships may have been one influence on Poor Law policy. Scotland was far more prepared to use outdoor relief for the aged poor and was much earlier in the use of fostering for pauper children, practices which were not only cheaper but embedded the poor in networks of relationships rather than institutional categories. In terms of modern culture I ponder on the cosy turmoil of the family networks of the Broons and compare this with a cultural product of northern England, the Andy Capp cartoon with its sexist and household violence.[27]

It was in the nature of Scottish national identity that the divergences were most apparent. Let me consider a number of images. The first is the suffragette march along Princes Street in 1909 (Figure 1). The Women's Social and Political Movement came late and cautiously to Scotland and was imported from England, yet the several banners are in Scots and the march was led by a women piper. Now by the end of the 19th century

[25] Ian Levitt, *Poverty and Welfare in Scotland, 1890–1948* (Edinburgh, 1988); Ian Levitt, 'Poor Law and Pauperism', in John Langton and R.J. Morris (eds), *Atlas of Industrializing Britain* (London, 1986) pp. 160–3.

[26] M.A. Anderson and D.J. Morse, 'The People', in Fraser and Morris (op.cit.).

[27] This owes much to a conversation with Ian Levitt and other 'Sunday Post' readers; see *The Broons, selected from the Sunday Post* (Dundee [Christmas], 1977).

the bagpipes had become firmly male and military in their identity, so that the challenge involved in this could only be fully understood in a Scottish context.[28] Next, Empire Day in Aberdour with the Scottish Lion rampant central to the celebration of the British Empire (Figure 2). Central to Scotland's Victorian values was a particular sort of patriotism which recreated Scotland as a nation within a nation. Scotland gathered together a wide variety of cultural symbols during the 19th century.[29] There was Burns, and by mid century Burns suppers, and then Walter Scott and his monument which dominated Edinburgh's Princess Street. Tartan was transformed from its highland origins to a universal symbol of Scottish identity. With tartan came Bonnie Prince Charlie and Mary Queen of Scots, two Catholics who became the romantic heroes of a Protestant nation.[30] The crown jewels were taken out of a box in 1818 for the Prince Regent. Mons Meg was returned to Edinburgh castle at the request of Walter Scott in 1829.[31] In the second half of the century the gateway and esplanade of the 'medieval' Edinburgh castle were laid out. These provided a great stage set upon which the nation could display its regiments and set out the memorials to its dead. The new middle class suburbs filled with villas and superior tenements which were decorated with stone thistles, saltires and baronial turrets. The meaning of this national identity was different from the aggressive expansionist meaning of British/English. The work of Mr. Graeme Morton on the Edinburgh middle classes shows quite clearly that the dominant form of nationalism was a unionist nationalism. The Society for the Vindication of Scottish Rights was firmly against anglicization but equally pro Union. This perception of nationalism was expressed in Noel Paton's proposal for a national monument in 1859. It was to feature Wallace and Bruce (two more symbols)

> Intelligent Englishmen know full well the source of Britain's strength and greatness, and that to the independence achieved under Wallace and Bruce, the UNION of Scotland with her sister kingdom, on terms satisfying to both, owes not only all its practicality, but the greater portion of its success.
>   In my design . . . the recognition of the peaceful triumphs of a later and

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[28] Elspeth King, *The Scottish Women's Suffrage Movement* (Glasgow, The People's Palace, 1978).

[29] David McCrone, 'Representing Scotland: Culture and Nationalism', in David McCrone, Stephen McKendrick and Pat Straw (eds), *The Making of Scotland: nation, culture and social change* (Edinburgh, 1989).

[30] Alexander Smith, *A Summer in Skye* (London, 1865) shows how these elements were brought together in the mind of a Paisley pattern designer cum Edinburgh poet in the 1850s.

[31] *McDowall's New Guide in Edinburgh, being a description of all the localities, antiquities and buildings of any interest in the city and vicinity* . . ., (Edinburgh, c. 1850) reference from Mr. G. Morton; H.J. Hanham, *Scottish Nationalism* (London, 1969).
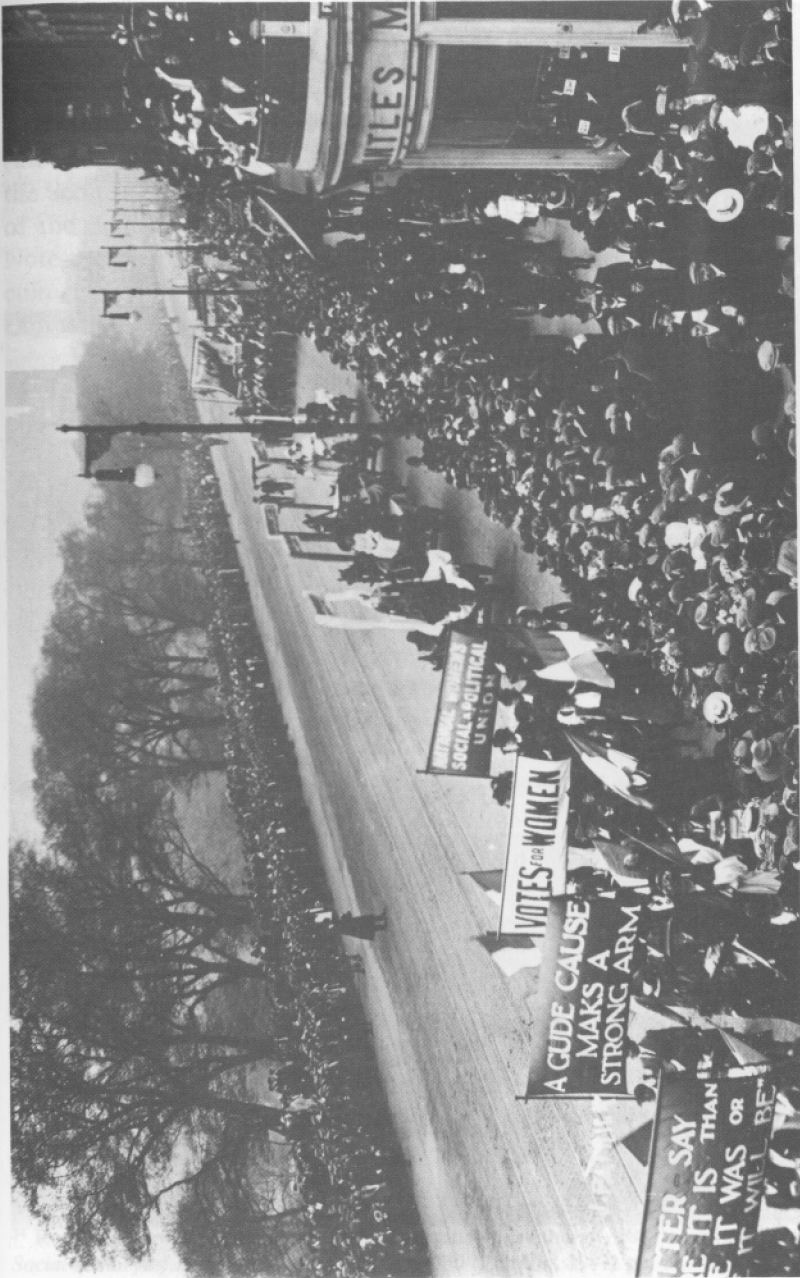
Figure 1. Suffragette demonstration, Edinburgh 1909. *People's Palace (Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries)*.

Figure 2. Empire Day, Aberdour 1902. *National Museums of Scotland*.

happier day, when the sword of intestine war had been for ever sheathed in these lands, and the Scotch and the 'auld enemies', the English, had become, under the providence of God, one great, free and united people.[32]

By 1900, Scottish people had created clear choices for themselves, Scottish or British. To be Scottish might overlap with being British as in the celebration of the Empire. It could be antagonistic as in the formation of the Scottish football league. It could be complementary as in the formation of the Scottish TUC and Scottish elements of the labour movement.[33] Note that these expressions of Scottish identity often involved plundering cultural resources from England. Thus football, a major form of nationalist expression for all classes in Scotland was lifted from the English public schools. The constitutional theory was implicit, at the union in 1707, foreign affairs, trade and military policy together with representative legal powers had been handed to the Westminister parliament and that was all. The most fundamental assertion of Scottish national identity in the 19th century had been the Disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843, when nearly half the ministers and members walked out of the Assembly in a dignified procession. The issue was the interference of lay patrons in the conduct of the church and the support of that interference by the courts and parliament of Westminister. The leaders and supporters of the Disruption believed that the Westminster government had a duty under the Union to sustain the institutions of Scottish society, law, church and education, but had no right to interfere in the nature of those institutions.[34]

The legal and religious existence of Scotland combined with the weak Scottish government bequeathed by the Union produced another aspect of Scottish values and practice. Scotland had a higher regard for community and locality as a basis for action than the English. It is this that lies behind the paradox of the Scottish Poor Paw which was at once meaner but less authoritarian than the English version. The poor had fewer rights but were subjected to a weaker discipline. After the Union, Scotland happily ignored Poor Law legislation with the connivance of the Court of Session which decreed that any law which was ignored for a few years no longer applied. Even when the law caught up with Scotland in 1844, the parish remained the unit of administration.[35] At first this ensured the authority of property

[32] 'Proposal' in Edinburgh Room, George IV Bridge, qYNA 9355W, Acc 42194, again reference from Mr. G. Morton.
[33] Ian MacDougall, *Labour in Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1978).
[34] Revd Thomas Brown, *Annals of the Disruption* (Edinburgh, 1893); Callum Brown, *The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730* (London, 1987) pp. 38–40.
[35] Audrey Patterson, 'The Poor Law in nineteenth century Scotland', in Derek Fraser (ed.), *The New Poor Law in the nineteenth century* (London, 1976); Ian Levitt and Christopher Smout, *The State of the Scottish Working Class in 1843* (Edinburgh, 1979).

owners but by 1920s allowed considerable influence to local democracy in the application of poor law directives from a weak Board of Supervision. When the parish basis of welfare administration was abolished in 1929, it was admitted that this 'would disturb one of the foundation stones of Scottish society.'[36]

This same sense of locality and community was evident in Scottish town government. Low incomes, the instability of the economy, cramped housing and the surplus population of a well ordered countryside all put intense pressure on Scottish urban conditions. At the same time central direction was weaker than anything experienced in England. At times this failure of central direction was almost comical as with the 1866 Sanitary Act which proved unworkable in Scotland because the final appeal was in the English Court of Queen's Bench. Attempts to provide general legal powers for urban authorities lagged well behind England. The first public health act only appeared in 1867. However Scottish towns carried with them the authoritarian traditions of the Royal Burghs. Building regulations were stricter than anything in England. Crowded working class housing was ticketed, giving the police power to raid homes at any time of day or night to check overcrowding.[37] At their best the Scottish towns became centres of innovation and initiative. The early days displayed a rather charming faith in community as at Stirling which attempted draining and paving by voluntary subscription.[38] This rapidly gave way to a spectacular series of local initiatives in the large cities. Glasgow carried out the Loch Katrine water supply scheme as early as 1859. The 1866 Glasgow Improvement Act remodelled 88 acres of the city centre.[39] By the 1880s the Trust acting for the Corporation had been drawn into building and in 1902 the Corporation owned 2,488 houses. In Edinburgh improvements carried out under the patronage of Lord Provost William Chambers paid attention to housing, sanitation and communication. At the other end of the scale were places like Coatbridge which had hardly begun to think about water supply. Although transatlantic observers saw Glasgow as the leading innovator in

[36] Ian Levitt, *Poverty and Welfare in Scotland, 1890–1948*. p. 160, quoting Walter Elliott. Elliott moved poor law responsibilities to the country and burgh, doubtless hoping that this would dilute the influence of labour and communist councillors in the more socially homogeneous parishes.

[37] R.J. Morris, 'Urbanization', in W.H. Fraser and R.J. Morris (eds), *People and Society in Scotland*, vol. ll, 1830–1914 (Edinburgh, 1990) p. 83–7.

[38] Finlay McKichan, 'A burgh's response to the problem's of urban growth: Stirling, 1780–1880', *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. 57 (1978) pp. 68–86.

[39] Tom Hart, 'Urban growth and Municipal Government: Glasgow in Comparative context, 1846–1914', in A. Slaven and Derek H Aldcroft (eds), *Business, Banking and Urban History* (Edinburgh, 1982) pp. 193–216; Bernard Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia. Glasgow and the United States. 1820–1920* (Aberdeen, 1984).

the 1900s, England can produce the same range of the active and the squalid, but there is not the same respect for local initiative and power that Scotland provided. An extreme version of this respect was embodied in the Lindsay or Burgh Police (Scotland) Act of 1862, which allowed extensive powers for the self creation of burghs. Seven ratepayers in any community with more than 700 people could, with the help of the Sheriff declare themselves a burgh. One result was a rash of police burghs around Glasgow which provided a variety of havens from the taxes and from the building regulations of the big city.[40]

But Victorian values is as much a debate about the 1980s and the relationship of perceptions of the past to power, policy and morality in the 1980s as it is a debate about the nature of the past itself. The 1980s was a decade in which visions of the future died. Socialism and Marxism had both sunk in a welter of bureaucracy and self interest. Keynesian control had died in a bout of inflation and growth economics was threatened by ecological perceptions. The invisible hand of the market economy was turning out to be neither invisible nor universally benevolent. Hence that mixture of economic freedom and social authoritarianism which we call Thatcherism turned to history for justification; 'I was brought up to work jolly hard, . . . to live within our income.' Family, patriotism, self reliance, self respect, personal responsibility, in short, traditional values, '. . . were the values when our country became great.' It all seems to have started with a television interview in 1982 and the debate and its rhetoric spread rapidly around the 1983 election campaign.[41] It was a powerful reuse of history to legitimate a far reaching bundle of policies designed amongst other things to weaken the welfare capacity and responsibilities of the state. The response both positive and critical was immediate, but it was almost all an English and a British response.[42] The conclusion was clear, Victorian values was a partial, partisan and trivialized version of the values and practices of the Victorians but an excellent and effective justification for changes taking place in the 1980s. That is, except in Scotland. In Scotland, there was no debate. Local authority housing was purchased with caution and the change of ownership brought no political dividend. The political response reduced the number of Tory MPs in Scotland to only ten in 1987. In 1988, it was Scotland's turn. After the general election of the previous year the Tories were clearly convinced that Scotland had got it wrong and that with a little persuasion, voters would change their minds. Margaret Thatcher

[40] R.J. Morris, op.cit., p. 88.
[41] Margaret Thatcher, *The Revival of Britain. Speeches on Home and European Affairs, 1975–1988* (London, 1989).
[42] *New Statesman*, 27 May 1983; *The Listener*, 2 June 1983; these were followed by the Granada television series in 1986, see Walvin, op.cit.

made a number of key speeches in that year in Scotland. Central to this was the 'Sermon on the Mound', delivered to the General Assembly of that year. [43] The sense of quiet outrage this provoked is difficult to reconstruct. It was believed to have been an attack on Scottish values and identity. Yet a re-reading of the speech shows very little which most members of the Kirk could take exception to. It was about faith, family, personal responsibility and patriotism. Yet this speech probably brought hopes of a Tory revival in Scotland to a premature end for two reasons both related to the use of history. The first was a matter of place. For that very English Prime Minister to lecture the premier assembly of the national church was an intrusion which caused deep unease. The Presbyterian Church of Scotland has always reserved the right to comment on the lay sphere of politics but has been equally jealous of interference from government. In addition, this was a period in which the Thatcher establishment made a ferocious and counterproductive attack on the Scottish identity. Speeches by Lawson and Tebbit accusing the Scots of being junkies for state handouts were followed by a headline in *The Sun*, 'stop yer snivelling Jock.' A week before Mrs. Thatcher had addressed the Tory women's conference at Perth claiming, '. . . the Scots invented Thatcherism' with frequent references to Adam Smith. The British Empire, the ladies were told, could not have flourished if the Scots had not been there to build the roads and cure the sick. Edinburgh was praised for its scenery, '. . . not to mention a handy golf course and a distillery or two.' These were powerful historical references, but the Scots engineer of Kipling's poems had long gone and the image of Scotland as a tourist resort led easily from the golf course to the grouse moor. The correspondence and editorial columns of *The Scotsman* rocked with gentile anger and hostility. The chair of the Scottish Council on Disability defended Adam Smith, his was 'a socially responsible and moral system of economics.' It was 'effrontery' 'to use his name for ideological purposes.' Adam Smith, said another correspondent '. . . showed a deep moral concern for the long term outcome of commercialism'.[44] This disastrous period for the Scottish Tory party was completed when '. . . the English Prime Minister presented the Scottish Cup at Hampden Park . . .' to the enthusiastic booing of the crowd, who had been thoughtfully provided with red cards to 'send off' Thatcher. Malcolm Rifkind, the Secretary of State for Scotland, in his kindly and patient way explained that the Tories were the oldest party in Scotland and that the Union was one of the finest achievements of the Scottish people and should be defended as

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[43] The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland takes place annually in the Assembly Hall which lies behind New College on The Mound which links the Old and New Towns of Edinburgh, hence the ironic title given this speech by the Scots.

[44] *The Scotsman*, 17 May 1988.

such.[45] As we have seen his was a correct reading of a powerful historical tradition in Scotland, but meanwhile Thatcher and her Victorian values were send homeward, although whether it was 'to think again' must be a matter of some speculation.

So where does all this leave the status of Victorian values in the relationship between the identities of Scotland and England.

First, there was a flow of ideas south. These ideas were conceived in the context of a weak central government in Scotland. They were also influenced by the much poorer integration of aristocratic power into the hierarchies of Scottish society. The anti landlordism of the late-19th-century Liberal Party really had meaning in Scotland. The Scottish input to Victorian values were based upon a confident juxtaposition of evangelical and materialist systems of meaning; God and geology in Hugh Miller, faith and political economy in Thomas Chalmers. There was the confidence in self creation exemplified in the writing of Samuel Smiles. In all of them there was a sense of the value of the individual operating in the moral framework of small communities.

How was all this transformed in England? These ideas had to come to terms with the deep seated aristocratic paternalism located in the state as well as in a powerful urban Tory presence. It had to come to terms with a stronger state; the state of inspectors and boards. Hence, in that context the Scottish ideas of individuality, self creation, the interpenetration of moral and material concerns, the faith in community and locality came to acquire a much firmer anti state meaning. In England these ideas had to come to terms with a more fragmented religious practice and system of meaning.

Secondly we can identify a variety of contrasts and convergences in the social and ideological nature of two closely related societies operating in the same urban industrial market economy. The most important divergence was in the manner in which the Scots provided themselves with a choice of identities by living within a recreated Scottish identity which sustained an equivocal independence within a unionist imperialist British identity, and was very different from the English/British imperial amalgam generated further south.

But the real contrast was in the response to the Victorian values of the 1980s. The attempts to incorporate Scotland into this system of legitimation were at best failures and usually counterproductive. Indeed the response to such attempts at incorporation may well have meant that 'Victorian values' became in themselves a stimulus to cultural innovation within Scotland. The Scottish cultural revival of the last 20 years has always had a strong historical content, from the 7:84 Theatre Company's, *Cheviot, the Stag and the Black*

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[45] *The Scotsman*, 12 May 1988.

Black Oil to the 'Dance called America' from the music group Run Rig.[46] The Scottish Constitutional Convention, which recently issued its report, placed itself firmly 'in the mainstream of Scotland's constitutional history.' (Canon Kenyon Wright, chair of the Convention's Executive) The opening document was a 'Claim of Right' which referred back to a document of the same name which had justified the 1843 Disruption of the Kirk – just one of the ghosts which had been raised by the 'Sermon on the Mound'.[47] After long discussion, this Convention opted for 'Home Rule' a constitutional arrangement which the late 20th century refers to as devolution. This looks very like a late 20th century version of independence within the Union. The document has a confidence and sense of innovation which is rarely reflected in English perceptions of Scotland. The Convention clearly saw itself as a source of innovation which will benefit the constitutional structure of Britain as a whole. In the products of the Convention as in the responses to the 'Sermon on the Mound' there was a notable absentee, namely Protestant Scotland. As late as 1923, the General Assembly had approved documents which referred to the Catholic Irish as a threat to Protestant Scotland.[48] In the Convention, this exclusive nationalism had been replaced by an inclusive nationalism which referred to the economy, society and culture located on the territory of Scotland. The title 'Claim of Right' has historical references with very deep Protestant significance, yet it was used with scarcely a comment by a body dominated by the Scottish Labour Party, an organization which in the 20th century had done more than any other to bring the Catholic Irish into Scottish political life.

Does Scotland's lack of response to Victorian values display a much greater assurance in national identity in the 1980s than England has achieved? There were other signs that this was so. Football violence was identified with England. Ranger's Football Club proudly evicted a fan for racist comments about once a year.[49] In Scotland anti poll tax demonstrations were dignified, orderly, constitutional and ignored. Quite different from the violence and hysteria further south. The cult of 'heritage' has a much less pervasive hold in Scotland. Cultural disputes surrounding Glasgow's role as European City of Culture in 1990 involved major failures for two institutions. The much valued People's Palace failed to gain political support, and a temporary commercial venture called Glasgow's Glasgow failed to gain the support of the paying public. Ignored in the row was the real winner, the Burrell Collection, a great magpie's nest up on the

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[46] McCrone, op.cit.

[47] Owen Dudley Edwards (ed.), *A Claim of Right for Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1989).

[48] Callum Brown, op.cit. p. 238 quotes the document: the Irish 'by reason of their race . . . (were) . . . dividing Scotland, racially, socially and ecclesiastically.'

[49] *The Scotsman*, 23 November 1990.

hill where Glasgow and its public revel in European culture. In the 19th century, Scotland learnt to be a nation within a nation. This identity did not mean independent statehood, but it did include the defence of valued institutions like the national church. The availability of this choice of identities may well be one reason why Scotland, despite horrific economic pressures, has handled the problems of Britain's loss of empire and world standing more gracefully than England, and why the prospect of Scotland in Europe seems to hold fewer fears than the prospect of the loss of English/British sovereignty in Europe. After all having formed Scottish Victorian values under the shadow of a London government, who is afraid of forming Scottish post modern values in the shadow of Brussels? Perhaps the English should read more Scottish history.