

Divining the local sacred

local authority, local rites, local emotion, local ethics, local action and class

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by

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Abstract

This argument rests on the claim that i) *local authority*, ii) *rites*, iii) *emotions*, iv) *ethics* and v) *action* are co-constitutive, mediated somewhat by vi) *intra-class divisions* and that the outcome of this is vii) *the local sacred*.

The claim is that the local level matters. Local authorities foster particular varieties of the sacred created over long periods. Each is the outcome of local rites at first contested, then affirmed and re-affirmed over time. Long-term diachronic and synchronic comparisons of two local authorities, using methods chosen pragmatically, divined two local authorities' contrasting 'religious lives'.

One location demonstrates regular, large-scale and spectacular gatherings, which sustain a shared categorical distinction between a 'Dirty Old Dartford' and a 'Brighter and More Beautiful' future Dartford. Impatient *Improvers* displaced indignant *Economisers*, ethical distinctions which correspond only approximately to protagonists' class positions.

The second location demonstrates quiescence today. However, though Uxbridge, by common consent, is identified as 'okay', it was once animated by fierce seventeenth century disputes over collection of market tolls and later by mid nineteenth-century *Chartist* attempts at 'vindication of the working man', articulated locally by Gerald Massey and John Bedford Leno in *The Uxbridge Spirit of Freedom and Working Men's Vindicator. Conducted by Working Men* (1849). I trace how pronounced ritualised disputes were then supplanted by quieter gatherings such as fruit and vegetable competitions, agricultural shows and horticultural displays. In this way an ordinary and quiet life of domesticity was treasured. Again, class was only part of the account of *burgagers* versus aristocrat, then artisan versus *petty bourgeois* (Steinmetz and Wright, 1989).

To understand local authority-formation it is necessary to understand its varying ritual and sacred impetus. For this task I develop especially Durkheim's *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* ([1912] 1915) and more recent neo-Durkheimian writing.

However, in considering the development of local authority Regulation Theory is acknowledged and the 'relative autonomy' thesis as applied locally (Smith, 1984) which also rests on historical analysis, but of class. But neither Smith nor other neo-Marxist regulationists investigate ritual and affect while much regulation theory is altogether ahistoric. I also find major discrepancies between Marxist regulation theory and the evidence; doubting – especially at the local level - links supposed to exist between *regimes of accumulation* and *modes of regulation* (cf. Peck and Tickell, 1992) claimed as necessary to accumulation.

While the local actors studied could be said to have enacted class interests - and for this reason we must consider the contribution which neo-Marxist Regulation theory might make – the *animation* of an interest is treated instead using a neo-Durkheimian approach. Interests remain inert unless invested with passion and this seems unlikely without ritual enactment.

The sacred has powerful constructive and destructive social potentiality (Durkheim, [1912] 1915) but it is notoriously difficult not only to define but also to identify. As

will be demonstrated, local authorities do much to harness, demarcate and contain the local sacred by careful placement of special totemic objects in defined spaces.

The elements of this model of local authority may be used to divine the local sacred empirically. It can be employed by researchers, town centre managers and the local population.

Keywords: *authority, animation, Durkheim, elementary forms, emotions, class, ethics, interests, local, 'religion', rites, sacred*

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Erratum: The passage beginning ‘Selected exemplars...’, pages 269-281, duplicates the passage also beginning ‘Selected exemplars...’, pages 383-395. Please disregard the earlier passage.

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Chapter One: Introduction

‘Go!’ said she, once more (and now her voice was like a cry). The soldiers are sent for – are coming. Go peaceably. Go away. You shall have relief from your complaints, whatever they are!’

‘Shall them Irish blackguards be packed back again?’ asked one from out of the crowd, with fierce threatening in his voice.

‘Never, for your bidding!’ exclaimed Mr. Thornton. And instantly the storm broke. The hootings rose and filled the air, - but Margaret did not hear them. Her eye was on the group of lads who had armed themselves with their clogs some time before. She saw their gesture - she knew its meaning – she read their aim.

Elizabeth Gaskell, 1855

(An incensed crowd of mill workers demands angrily that strike-breakers be sent away in *North and South* ([1855], 1995, 177). Authority was called upon in the form of the military. *North and South* is a comparative study of place-related feeling variations - and class-. It has common ground with this dissertation).

This is a comparative study of the authority formation of two local authorities and of their affective lives over long periods of time. It is proposed that present-day public affect is an outcome of past contestations between previous local authority formations. It will be shown how two selected authorities in Britain demonstrate significant differences in public emotions as evidenced by contemporaneous records. One local authority’s public emotions are expressed as ‘quiet’ and ‘okay’, the other as declamatory, improvement-minded and ironic. Connections are suspected between

1. local authority formation (development of state authority)
2. local rites (their local rites (their modalities, frequency and scale)
3. local public emotions (declamatory or muted)
4. local ethics (towards ‘improving’ or towards ‘economising)
5. variations in local enthusiasm for action (differences in animation)
6. and the unfurling of a local sacred

The Boundaries of the Study

This is a study of *local* authority. It is beyond the scope of this study to also focus on the central state and its authority. However, the impact of central state legislation whereby legislation enacted by the central state impacts on and interacts with the local infrastructure – or vice versa – is acknowledged and discussed.

Public Emotions

The starting point for this study was the realization that public emotions vary from place. Public emotion is an ill-defined term but in the context of this dissertation public emotion refers to the affective life of the local authority. In more general terms, Perri 6 et al. (2007, 1) refer to public life as being ‘full of emotions’. The definition in this study is more bounded: the author’s vantage-point is that of the local authority (and its infrastructures). Therefore, the author is interested in council meetings, town centre partnership meetings, public ceremonies, some outside, but mostly within two locales. It is suspected that there are connections between authority formation and local public emotions. The underlying assumption is that local authority meetings, ceremonies, public meetings are fractal in nature. Eliciting the connections between local authority formation and local emotion (and other elements to be discussed) should elicit these elements and their interrelationship and that this ‘model’ can be applied to all local authority affective (emotional) life.¹

A Philosophical Stance

The author’s philosophical stance imbues the entire dissertation. It imposes its authority through adherence to particular theory, methodology and method, and interactions between method, sources and findings. To depart from it would compromise the dissertation’s integrity and intelligibility. The author adheres to sociality as the key to explanation. ‘Sociality’ and the ‘social’ are ill-defined phrases (cf. Halewood, 2014) in the literature. However social and *sociality* are taken to mean here that the starting point of any theoretical investigation is not the individual but the collective. The social

¹ 6 (2007, 5) describes how writers have ‘despaired’ over finding common ground in defining ‘emotion’, affect, and ‘feeling’. In my study emotion is used interchangeably with affect, but affect is used to refer to public emotions experienced publicly.

contradicts methodological individualism, whereby the individual agent is the starting point of theoretical investigation (Giddens, 1971, 210). With the latter approach the group is merely an aggregate of atomised individuals. Adherence by the author to the social guided her conceptualisation of the research problems, theories investigated, and methodological approaches and method.

Local Authorities are repositories of local feeling

The thesis is that local authorities are public creations, repositories and custodians of local feelings and that re-enactment of local rites is ‘dynamogenic’ (Durkheim, [1913] [1914] 1969) and important to the preservation of local emotions. Literatures are sought which speak to these items: (neo)-Durkheimian and (neo)-Marxian.

Unfortunately, Marxian regulation theory has little to say about affect and Durkheimian theory very little to say about class. Although local antiquarians and newspaper sources use barely any social science terminology, they nevertheless provide rich and relevant evidence of each of the above items. Much of the evidence is available through contemporaneous or near-contemporaneous testimonies. Documentary archives also speak to the above items, strengthening inferred connections between them. The evidence will show that local activism and conservatism are indeed associated with different class positions. But it seems unlikely that ‘class positions’ animate action.

The argument is that modern local governments would not have been formed and would have little enthusiasm to act without the original development and repeated enactment of local rites. However, although rites are a necessary part of the explanation, they are insufficient. Because of differing local political/class formations over long periods of time with differing ritual modalities differing forms of ethics prevail in the two local authorities studied.

Two Methodological Puzzles

While this study claims to have developed a methodology with widespread application, using neo-Durkheimian and neo-Marxian theories to understand place-variations, it comes at the expense of a methodological puzzle returned to in the Discussion:

Neo-Durkheimian theories of affect and neo-Marxian theories about class sit well with the evidence but uncomfortably with each other. Likewise, a Durkheimian account of

moral regulation rooted in ritual and a neo-Marxian account of *state regulation* rooted in class bring a lot to an understanding of the evidence while differing greatly from each other. The usual stance among social scientists is to displace one paradigm with another through ‘magisterial’ assertion; however, the solution proposed will be to treat ritual and class, and moral- and state regulation as orthogonal dimensions (x, y) against which *any* local outcomes might be plotted for *any* location.

It is difficult to establish which comes first. Is it rites, emotions, ethics, authority, animation, or, for that matter, interests that provide the explanation? And it is difficult to be sure which among them are being explained. Therefore, the author hesitates to call these, ‘independent-’ or ‘dependent’ ‘-variables’ or ‘causal factors’. Although an explanation for *authority* is probably the intended destination, once local authority is established, it can be treated as causal of which rites are chosen, for example, and of the ethics that attach to them. Each element can be treated as either or both independent and dependent; co-constituting and co-constituted. For these reasons it is judicious to describe them as ‘mutual-markers’, ‘indexes’ or ‘inter-connected themes’. This should become clearer as the evidence is presented.

The over-arching theme is authority - contemporary local authority - considered as the tangible outcome of earlier rites, feelings, ethical commitments and explicit intra-class disputes.

In summary then, the suspicion is that the formation of modern local government is linked directly with, on the one hand, the modality, intensity and frequency of ritual gatherings over very long periods and, on the other hand, with the passion of another class fraction for civic improvement and the success (or failure) of another class fraction (about which Durkheim says nothing). Iteration of theory and early evidence will underline the usefulness of diachronic and synchronic comparison of how class interest, ritual, feelings, ethics, authority formation (moral- and statutory regulation) and the conservation of authority, intersect distinctly in local practices. It will be shown why places differ according to specific permutations of class and ritual.

Durkheim’s Sacred

This study is undertaken from the standpoint of local authority but the two local authorities under consideration are self-defined by different intensities and qualities of the sacred. They profess what can, in Durkheimian terms, be described as two distinct

‘religions’; they demonstrate two different tempos and they place a value on different outcomes. They have demonstrably different cares and beliefs and one has been consistently more urgent than the other, while something similar could be said of their populations. One is concerned with a ‘Brighter and More Beautiful’ future and the other with attaining and maintaining a state which has been described by very many as ‘okay’.

Durkheim, as mentioned, proposes that there is more to life than individual actors maximising what has become known as their ‘utility’. How individuals think, feel and act is enabled by less obvious phenomena such as the ‘collective consciousness’; ‘categories’; ‘classifications’, and - among many (co-constitutive) ‘elementary forms – ‘the sacred’. Durkheim’s writings are suggestive, even persuasive, especially when accompanied by empirical illustrations, but also fragmentary. A comprehensive grasp of what it all adds up to is difficult to achieve and each of his propositions can be difficult to pin down in practices. This is not to say that the concept of the utility-maximising agent – and of the origins of their thoughts, feelings and actions – are any easier to identify, nor that advocates of ‘methodological individualism’ have done much better than the neo-Durkheimians in explaining why individuals think, feel and act as they do.

Durkheim’s account of the sacred is both ‘grand’ and detailed profusely with empirical descriptions linked to what he calls his ‘refurbished’ theory of knowledge. He also writes in an attempt to encompass all places at all times. The concerns of this dissertation are more localised: still with the sacred (and the other elements) but with an interest in why public affect varies from place to place and why places have their particular ‘local sacred’ as the author calls it. These concerns will be reprised in the Findings and Discussion. It is suggested that a global account of the *global* sacred (albeit through exemplars of various rites and different tribes) becomes much easier to grasp when framed by a comparison of *local sacreds* and this will be further detailed in the Methods and Methodology chapter.

The sacred was emergent for the author both theoretically and empirically. Whereas what were to be some of the key elements of the dissertation were clarifying prior to the commencement of the study, the sacred, on the other hand, as a key element, was an emergent feature. Therefore, for the reader’s convenience the sacred is flagged at the beginning. A partial exegesis of the sacred is attempted in the Durkheimian part of the

Literature Review but because of its importance it is flagged throughout. This delineation is particularly necessary since certain concepts such as Durkheim's sacred *are* articulated in a piecemeal manner throughout *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* ([1912] 1915), a key work. It was only after repeated iterations between the literature and the evidence that the theoretical and empirical significance of the sacred emerged. For presentation purposes a conceptualisation which emerged towards the end of the research and writing is therefore presented at the beginning, in this introduction.

Durkheim's study of emotion and ritual, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* ([1912] 1915), unfurls in a fragmented fashion and it is only when considered as a whole that the significance of the *sacred* and its relationship with emotion and rites begins to emerge, and, even then, in the form of a theory that is too complex and extensive to grasp as a whole. Durkheim is not always clear and sometimes states propositions that he contradicts elsewhere. This means that there is more than one Durkheim. The quest to understand Durkheim evokes fierce disagreements between those who claim to know him properly. (It is suspected that the ferocity of some debates has something to do with the sacred, in so far as Durkheim's writings have a special place in the affections of his followers who will be animated to defend them against transgression).

It is suggested that Durkheim's legacy is best treated not as established wisdom, but as work in progress. There is some value in attempting to operationalise concepts which can be attributed as being 'neo-Durkheimian' in the absence of a consensus as to what would be more simply 'Durkheimian'. This is a pragmatic response to what can become highly abstract debates. One can then see what works in terms of enabling increased discernment of place variation which is the author's main concern.

In summary, ambiguities in *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (referred to as *Forms* henceforth) incite heated disagreement among scholars, and, while a serious review of contending interpretations will be presented, in this study the preference is to clarify the sacred especially; doing so empirically as altered through place-specific ritual enactments over time.

For Durkheim, in *Forms*, emotions are religious in nature (i.e. social), as are the ritual enactments generating these emotions. It is suggested that the sacred is something

enacted (rather than firstly/mainly a belief) via rites and expressed through emotions, and that the divining of the sacred has to take place through an examination of these other attributes which add up to the sacred. The possible relationships between the rites and beliefs are discussed later, however. Marx does not concern himself with the sacred but the protagonists in the formation of local authority (Big and Small capital) have differing ethical dispositions, holding different views on improvement and on economising. Big and Small Capital each possess their own local sacred. This divining, it is suggested, must take place because the sacred is not articulated, necessarily, rather it is instantiated. This investigation can be theoretical, on behalf of the academy, but also on behalf of practitioners and with practitioners. The sacred in *Forms* is constituted through enactments and through these enactments emblems are endowed with sacredness. Durkheim gives the example of the flag's significance for the soldier even though 'it is only a piece of cloth' ([1912] 1915, 227).

In this study it will be seen that empirically the sacred is exemplified through totemic objects such as statues and through local verses, plaques, as well as through totemic places or spaces. These serve as local exemplars for contemplation and also act as heuristic devices enabling access to the local sacred, in the absence of quotidian rites for instance.

The 'Varieties of the Sacred'

For Durkheim the social contains ambiguities which are crystallised in an articulation of the sacred, which is not a straightforward unitary concept (in the same way that society is not for Durkheim). The sacred is both pure and impure and the sacred is contradicted by the profane. These concepts are not fully worked out in *Forms*. The impure sacred represents a puzzle theoretically but also empirically. Empirically, the protagonists in Dartford relish the ambiguities of Dartfordian sociality (including poems about dirt, references to 'Dear Old Dirty Dartford' and so forth. The Improvers attacked the Economisers and vice versa. For each ethical disposition the other disposition instantiated impurity whilst itself instantiating purity, it is proposed. In order for these propositions to have substance it is necessary to highlight the way that the academy has attempted to clarify what constitutes the various forms of the sacred as well as the profane and where these accounts diverge. However, an awareness of these interpretations is harnessed to the purposes of this dissertation. The method adopted in this study is to divine the local sacred over time.

Early Iterations: Local Authority Consensus-Building

It cannot be claimed especially that the starting point for this comparative study of two English local authorities was a review of the literatures. The dissertation was iterative in nature, shaped, modified and re-shaped through very many rounds of reflection on empirical and theoretical considerations. These iterations continued throughout, becoming more pointed, amounting in due course to a method.

Iterations took place even prior to the dissertation's commencement: the author participated in local authority consensus building through undertaking a survey on its behalf. This survey was to inform it powerfully. The concerns explored in this dissertation began before the official commencement of the dissertation when I was employed to conduct a study of business and residents' evaluations of a town centre. The report of the survey is fully undertaken in the first person, since the author describes her feelings about Uxbridge, the seat of administration for the London Borough of Hillingdon (also referred to as LBH in this study) and how these were socially generated. In order to contextualise and make sense of the logic and flow of the study there follows a brief account of this town-centre project which I designed and executed:

I was commissioned by a former Town Centre Manager of Uxbridge (in the London Borough of Hillingdon) to investigate shopper and business sentiment through two surveys. A straightforward five-point Likert scale-based questionnaire investigated a series of town centre attributes as experienced by business owners and managers, and residents. These surveys needed to meet the needs of policy makers and were not designed to engage with academic literature.

With regards to the 'shopper survey' which I designed and administered a very striking feature of the responses was their lack of dispersion: Almost every respondent rated the town centre neither 'poor' nor 'excellent, but 'moderate'. In the free-text box provided, a very high percentage of those responding stated that they felt that Uxbridge was 'okay'. 'Okay' was their spontaneous and unprompted choice of expression; not merely a prompt on a Likert scale.

Respondents were also asked to report their emotions on the day of their visit to Uxbridge, on four scales including dimensions such as 'very sleepy', to

‘very wide awake’ and ‘very unstimulated’ to ‘very stimulated’. On these two dimensions Uxbridge again scored as ‘moderate’ and a little more positively on the dissatisfied/satisfied and unhappy/happy dimensions. My inquiry found that with regards to ‘Alternative Shopping Location’ shoppers were agreed: while there they felt more awake, stimulated and happier. The point is that without hesitation, shoppers reported the same, or similar, distinct feelings about place-experiences. In other words, they felt that places differed enough to affect their feelings about them. As the respondents were strangers to each other this suggested that here was a place (or places) that were having a common effect on them.

A parallel survey of Uxbridge businesses, again designed by the author, was drafted in the knowledge that if sufficient enthusiasm could be found, then certain ‘town centre improvements’ might be triggered. This possibility shaped the questionnaire design. Business owners and managers were asked about how they rated Uxbridge’s performance in a way that was consistent with the Shopper Survey. Shoppers tended to rate Uxbridge a little more highly on performance than did businesses for which it was less than ‘okay’. Shoppers and businesses scored the town highly on cleanliness, while the majority of businesses wished for mundane improvements such as removal of trade-refuse and more effective graffiti removal. As the declaration of a ‘business improvement district’ (BID) would accomplish exactly these kinds of improvement, the survey served to foster interest in what policy makers had in mind in any case. In this sense I realised later that the business survey was an instrument which would in itself affect business evaluations. To a greater degree than the shopping survey, the business survey was fostering a dialectical mixture of dissatisfaction and hope in owners and managers.

This empirical undertaking led me to reflect, both at the time and more deeply later after embarking upon the dissertation, on the whole process and my part in it. Technically this consisted of: designing the business survey; administering both surveys (in the streets, malls, and; in the case of the businesses, on their premises or by mail), the compilation of an official report on the business survey for my sponsor, the ‘Uxbridge Initiative’, containing comparisons with the shopper survey report and Town Centre, and a prepared presentation on the report to business and local authority members of the

Uxbridge Initiative. At the presentation I was composed and measured, and so were my audience. They approved my findings. It was a polite and comfortable event.

I reflected upon how part of what the local authority had undertaken was a consensus-building exercise involving its partners on the Uxbridge Initiative Committee as well as local businesses and shoppers. The local authority meetings and public-private meetings in Uxbridge the author attended were diplomatic and measured. Minutes of previous meetings were agreed with gentle murmurs. The gatherings were neither exciting, nor dull. They were again 'okay', avoiding controversy by observing and respecting our terms of reference.

I was struck how Uxbridge was seen as 'okay' by both business owners and managers as well as by shoppers and by the proportion of shoppers who found that Uxbridge while not stimulating, yet still found that, overall, *the experience was enjoyable*. I found that the feelings reported by the respondents coincided with her feelings when she spent time as a *flâneur* in the town. The shoppers interviewed were low-key as were the participants in meetings attended. An 'okay' state suited their pre-dispositions and officials seemed to be making a special effort not to disturb the calm.

Certain key words and further questions stood out from that point:

- The role of the local authority in the process of which I was a part
- The striking uniformity of public emotion (witnessed and felt on the street whilst administering surveys and participating and observing public and public-private meetings)
- Local ethical dispositions (elicited through respondents' prioritising street-cleanliness, for instance)
- Why was there such consensus and equanimity?

I therefore arrived at a local study by different means: out of simple curiosity over an emerging pattern and without a specific background in the literatures referred to above. From the outset there was the thought that how persons felt about place might be an outcome of how that place was administered by its local authority. Local emotions were not random, but shared, probably without realisation of the fact. A claim is that the public emotion generated by and through present day local authorities and their infrastructure is an outcome of past contestations and enactments by earlier local authority formations. This requires detailed inspection of local public affective life over

time in order to account for local authorities' present day public affective life. Therefore, the theoretical starting point of this study, nevertheless, is that local authorities each have specific repertoires of public emotion, ethical dispositions and ritual practices which vary significantly from authority to authority.

The Theoretical Sources

The Durkheimian account is indispensable in that it offers a theory (albeit incomplete and lacking in clarity) of public rites and public emotion. However it became clear that present-day affect cannot be understood in terms of the present and that it would be necessary to reach back into the past and to divine the affective history of local authority in order to understand more fully the reasons for difference or similarity in the ethical dispositions of local authority. Also, as the author was to find, affective histories are not smooth and progressive, but punctuated by disruptions which could have had different outcomes. This is not a historicist study of local emotions.

Drawing on Durkheim's articulation of the sacred and emotion in *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* ([1912] 1915), an account is sought for the variations between what Durkheim would surely call the 'religious' lives of local authorities. For Durkheim *all life* is 'religious' in character, as is explained later. However, the Durkheimian approach lacks an account of class relations which, as will be seen, is required for this study. Therefore, Marxian theory, particularly its derivative, Regulation Theory, is drawn on critically alongside a critical treatment of [neo]-Durkheimian scholarship.

Marx provides an explanation of inter-class relations and intra-class relations which is elicited in an attempt to explain nineteenth century contestations between big and small capital locally. Unfortunately, Marx does not attend to the causal mechanisms of rites and emotions, so central to this thesis. Neo-Marxian Regulation Theory, with its 'modes of regulation' and 'regimes of accumulation' is also examined. The terminology requires some explanation here:

A Semantic Confusion Concealing Different Theoretical Inclinations

The French term for regulation theory is 'la théorie de la régulation'. However, as Jessop and Sum (2006, 240) point out, the 'idea' of 'regulation' (to the Anglophone) seems to imply that state intervention can 'somehow suspend capital's contradictions and guide accumulation without crises'. In fact, 'régulation' is actually near in meaning

to what Jessop calls ‘social regularization’ whereas ‘legal and state regulation’ would be called ‘réglementation’ in French (2006, 240).

Jessop proposes that early regulationists were, indeed, interested in ‘the state’s primary role in codifying the institutionalized compromise necessary to any accumulation *en régime*’ and that because of this the term may indeed have credibility but that the majority of ‘[Regulation approach] scholars’ have shown scant interest in ‘the details of economic policy or any forms of state intervention’ (2006, 240). This was because their interest lay in the source of crisis ‘rather than policy-induced or state-engineered escape’ (2006, 240) and Jessop proposes that, more recently, this lacuna has been addressed:

...through theoretical and empirical research on the mode of mode of public presence in the economy, on economic policy, and on issues of economic governance, that is, the various forms of strategic coordination of interdependent economic activities. In this light, MoRs [Modes of Regulation] define the parameters within which governance operates.

The causalities which Jessop expresses are difficult to work out and his suggestions do not make clear where the term ‘acquired some credence’ (presumably in Anglophone countries?). However, he highlights those trends which have relevance for this thesis, trends towards a more governance orientated approach. In reality, though, the different elements may be so inter-related that a theory of regulation and a theory of regularization are co-constitutive of one another.

The Durkheimian and Marxian constructs are grand theoretically, and broad brush. The local is not attended to by Durkheim in a comparative way; he emphasises the ‘common source’ of all ritual ceremonies, for instance ([1912] 1915, 327). Marx describes the conditions of workers ([1867] 1974) but with the exception of his description of Manchester written with Engels, and his cumulative comparisons of rural and urban ‘districts’, he does not dwell on the local affective variations which concern the author.

It can be argued that Durkheim’s *Forms* is the climax of his creative thinking and the ultimate expression of his conceptualisation of the individual, not as one of the atoms which aggregate, but as being formed through and by social relations. His conception of these relations is realised through his incomplete theory of ritual and emotion. Religion is largely equated with society by Durkheim and his propositions concerning the sacred as social and enacted through rites are imbricated with all his other propositions in *Forms*. However, his notion of the sacred is notoriously difficult to

unravel. This is because the nature of relations between the sacred, between emotions, between rites, and what he calls beliefs, (which relate to the sacred) is not clear in *Forms*. An inspection of selected debates around these relations is attempted later.

This study is comparative in method and comparative in many ways. This involves comparison of:

- Two very different theoretical approaches
- Diachronic comparison of first one local authority and then another, over time (focussing on rites, emotions, ethics and actions)
- Comparison of affective variations *within* one local authority
- Synchronic comparison between the two local authorities

Dartford is highly animated, much attached to frequent ceremonies, with frequent references to past and future Dartfords by the local authority. Uxbridge, the seat of authority in LBH is much less animated publicly, although very attentive to the cleanliness of its streets, and to the benefits of homeownership and living life on a domestic scale.

The research has been undertaken largely, but not exclusively, from the perspective of local élites, past and present, including local authority officials and their partners, local MPs, town centre managers, and businesses. However, in the mid-nineteenth century the roles of the local élite are less clear-cut or professionalised and an influential factory-owner might sit on several local public boards for instance.

In industrialising mid-nineteenth century Dartford, and on the nationwide political scene, fierce contestations took place between a self-styled ‘improvement’ faction and an ‘economising’ faction. The improving faction sought to improve public infrastructure, replace hundreds of private sewage pits with a comprehensive sewage system and a cleaner environment whereas the economising faction advocated self-help, asserting the priority of the domestic realm over the collective realm.

These political instincts coalesced around differing ethical dispositions – ‘improving’ around heteronomy, ‘economising’ around autonomy, at least by the latter part of the nineteenth century. Yet, Uxbridge was the scene, a little earlier, of distinctly different forms of contestation – between the Chartists and bourgeois Uxbridgians, including clergy and shopkeepers. Only *eventually* did these different instincts clarify into one political tendency or another.

The research seeks to account for these relationships between local authority, local emotion, local rites, local ethics, and local action (or inaction) over time and comparatively. For instance, what is the teleology? Are the relationships of a co-constitutive nature? Thus, this study is in large part a methodological innovation and not just an account of variations in local authorities' public emotion, instantiated with a local sacred. This study seeks to determine the specific relationship between the elements identified as co-causal or co-constitutive of local authority formation.

A presumption is made that present-day public affect is cumulative and that present-day rites are an outcome of past enactments by earlier local authority formations. This does not mean, however, that the study is founded in a 'Whig' view of history. On the contrary, authority has the capacity to be undermined, diverted or torn apart and has hung in the balance at both locations in the past.

It is not even a history of two local authorities. It uses 'exemplars', chosen because they epitomise the engendering of public affect, local authority and ethics by means of ritual practices. The cases are selected and refracted through this method with special attention to the perspective of the local 'elites' and their attempts at local authority formation. Research is included into present-day local élites based on almost fifty semi-structured interviews and by participant observation, supplemented with extensive because they epitomise the engendering of public affect, local authority and ethics by means of ritual practices. The cases are selected and refracted through this method with special attention to the perspective of the local élites based on almost fifty semi-structured interviews and by participant observation, supplemented with extensive archival research of library and museum collections, particularly old pamphlets, maps, photographs and prospectuses.

The starting point remains fundamentally that the individual and her/his agency is enabled socially. Durkheim's sociology, the discipline he did so much to establish, rests on this assertion, differentiating his discipline from Spencer's utility-maximising individuals as Durkheim explained in *The Division of Labour in Society* ([1893] 1984). Indeed, what Durkheim and Marx have in common is complete rejection of 'bottom-up' methodological individualism.

Mellor, from a Durkheimian perspective, (2000, 279-280) explains key problems with rational choice theory. In particular, the presumption that action must be 'purposive' (meaning that there must be a link/causality between reason and action) is a problem

because this causality is impossible to establish since individuals may not act when they might have good reason to act, and act when they have no reason to. The maximisation of the self-interest argument integral to rational choice theory is also faulty, Mellor writes; one fault being that it assumes ‘the knowledgeability of social actors’.

The choice of exemplars in this study upholds the Durkheimian approach cumulatively. The Durkheimian account is pro-social, arguing that social relations are constituted through differing forms of solidarity and does not presume ‘pre-social’ individuals who choose to interact and *only then* aggregate into social entities (becoming social).

Although Marx’s conceptualisation of social relations is very different from Durkheim’s, as Weldes (1989, 365) points out, Marx’s ‘relational ontology’ (founded in inter- and intra- class conflict) is incompatible with rational choice and Marx never conceptualised the individual as privileging the group. Marx and Engels (1964, cited in Weldes, 1989, 368) emphasise that ‘the human essence is no abstraction inherent in each single individual’. Marxian ‘interests’ are objective, as distinct from a ‘liberal’ conception of subjective interests (Balbus, 1971).

However, the vital difference between Durkheim and Marx is that, for Durkheim, sociality is enacted through ritual, whereas it is enacted through inter- and intra-class relations for Marx. Solidarity means something very different to both writers: class-solidarity forged in conflict for Marx, and moral cohesion animated through ritual (and guilds) in Durkheim. Marxian ‘interest’ is entirely different to the ‘self-interest’ of rational choice theory. The point here is that sociality is a lens through which the study is refracted. Sociality is enacted through ritual (public) in Durkheim and (intra-)class relations in Marx.

The local authority from which Local Authorities are made

Local authority is central to this dissertation primarily because its creation, and disputes as to what purposes local authority should be put to, were at the centre of the local rites which will be described in detail. Local authority matters to the author because it mattered to local protagonists. Moreover, as local authority developed, the power to enact particular rituals, at larger and larger scales, was acquired by one of the Local Authorities under study; whilst the other endeavoured to use its authority to maintain calm, diplomatic relations – the state of ‘okayness’ alluded to above. Local Authorities became Masters of Ceremony.

The study will be distinguishing between local authority (in lower case) and Local Authority (in upper case). What is the distinction? Residents might complain about what they call 'The Council', identified as that organisation which provides services, and which levies the Council Tax. 'The Council' seems to have 'totemic' (Durkheim [1912] 1915) authority arousing gratitude and anger in varying degrees. It is thing-like.

The Local Authority is the proximate form of government and administration responsible for local services for the population, its powers devolved by central government, which also confers legitimate power on it. Local Authorities (capital L and A) are juridico-legal institutions with 'machinery', staffed by knowledgeable personnel and exhaustive procedures. However, it is what Local Authorities possess which interests us more. They are invested with local authority (lower case l, lower case a), therefore with *legitimate power* (Weber, [1921] 1968) possessed in the eyes and feelings of their employees and politicians. Nevertheless, 'local authority' did not always rest within Local Authorities. Business owners had considerable local authority, for example, and households too had micro-local authority. Vicars, Churchwardens, Commissioners, Constables and Magistrates also possessed local authority. The investment, removal and re-distribution of the local authority of these personages was accomplished ritually, as will be explained: the investment of local authority in Local Authorities was central to the many exemplars selected. In other words, the enlargement and diminution of local authority claimed by, or attributed to different Local Authorities was the subject of much ritualised expressivity and ingenious, theatrical staged rhetorical contests which addressed geographical boundaries which were also changed over time. These alterations, of course, altered what are considered as places. Indeed, the abolition of one Local Authority in particular (through amalgamation with others) seems to have transformed what had been local authority into a potent mixture of nostalgia and righteous hostility towards the new (amalgamated) Local Authority.

The re-distribution of local authority between lower-tier and upper-tier Authorities introduces further complication to local emotion, while animosity between neighbouring Local Authorities may be visceral and worse still between Local Authorities contesting the same jurisdiction. The moral 'heat' involved can take decades to dissipate, taking as long as it took to engender in the creation of that Local Authority in the first place. The stuff of Local Authority is local authority. It is suspected that this powerful, yet immaterial sacred substance, is made through ritual.

Places and Local Authorities

Locales

Local Authorities have considerable power to define places to the satisfaction of residents, but only if they – the Local Authorities – are invested with local authority that is not also confounded by local government re-organisations and separation of responsibilities into separate tiers. This was recognised in the now archaic ritual practice of ‘Beating the Bounds; a ritual that has lost its once considerable moral energy and violence, having been overtaken by subsequent boundary changes and accurate map-making.’²

It will be argued later that the formation of the Uxbridge Poor Law Union in 1836 bestowed greater authority upon the town to the detriment of its neighbours. The Union’s powers were extended over neighbouring parishes, but the sense of place is not stretched so easily. For example, latter-day attempts to generate public enthusiasm for the much-further enlarged London Borough of Hillingdon, in the form of a civic play, were unsuccessful and even mocked gently.

Flynn (1981) describes Local Authority attempts to develop an ‘infrastructure of consensus’ designed to elicit willing consent, whilst Smith (1984) notes that consultative exercises managed to engineer the ‘demands’ which Local Authorities *wished* to elicit (to which their existing policies were published as seeming response). It is easier to understand the power of consultative exercises over their participants if they are re-interpreted as rituals, and not just as extensions of state regulation.

Under charismatic and inventive leadership English Chambers of Commerce (which have none of the constitutional standing which they enjoy in France) can, with a great deal of ritual effort, establish meaningful relationships with their Local Authorities and Town Centre Committees (local traders graced with the presence of ward councillors). Meanwhile, Parliamentary constituencies (known as ‘divisions’ in the Counties) overlay Local Authority boundaries with other affective histories. Local affects, as will be

² In pre-industrial England ‘The cultivated fields of one community butted against those of its neighbour’. Intricate boundaries reinforced the necessity of ‘beating the bounds’ and was a ‘ritual’ ‘of considerable antiquity and great importance’ (Pounds, 2000, 76). This ‘served to acquaint the young with the extent of the parish and to reference the memory of the old. The bounds should be “common knowledge”, and this judgment was repeated at countless visitations and the sessions of the archdeacon’s courts’ (76). By the eighteenth century most of the land had been mapped and therefore the necessity for beating the bounds declined (79). Although the original reason for the rituals has disappeared a number of locales have revived them, including Oxford, Norwich and Croydon.

shown, are precarious because local loyalties often do not share the same template: one party may have a majority in a Local Authority whose boundaries contain Members of Parliament from different parties. A strongly 'localist' MP might adopt the role of a 'super-councillor', well-known for constituency work, to the distinct annoyance of Local Authority Councillors.

Local emotions are made objects (social facts, as Durkheim might have described them) which can be compromised and unmade.

The Local, Globalisation, and Cosmopolitanism

An ambition of this dissertation is to re-assert the value of local studies, and to reinstate them in a fresh form. The conceptualisation of local studies expressed in the community studies literature of the nineteen-fifties and sixties only partially fulfils this ambition. This literature was based on plotting places on a 'rural-urban continuum' which does not suit the localities in this study which are approximately equally 'urban' and therefore not distinguishable from each other by such means. Nevertheless, there is much value to be had in re-focussing on places as material and moral entities which are formed and sustained through local rituals over time (cf. Newby, H., 2008), as will be explained later.

A subsequent literature which partly superseded community studies, focussed on 'imagined' (Anderson, 1991) or 'imaginary' communities (Wegner, 2002). Benedict Anderson explores the community as something imagined, transcending the boundaries not just of place but even of the nation-state. Anderson's articulation of community stands in contradistinction to the established idea of community, since it relates to intangibility, immateriality, even without place-specificity. In this way research attention may be redirected from the local to the national and global. While looking much further backwards in terms of its derivation, Anderson's writing also resonates with Durkheim's.

By de-emphasising place as a necessary feature of affiliation, the imagined community concept has played some part in the decline of locality studies, which community researchers had anticipated in terms of an empirical 'eclipse of community' (Stein, 1972). An assumption of homogeneity or at least of homogenisation, by degrees, is also shared with neo-liberal economics, in which all places are exposed to similar global processes. Insofar as everywhere demonstrates 'urban' qualities, the 'rural-urban

continuum' (after Tönnies ([1887] 2017), Simmel ([1903] 2010) and Redfield (1930), which had been used to differentiate places, lost much of its usefulness. And the same could be said to the extent that common culture has emerged, expressed in affiliation to global brands, for example.

Again recently, the value of local studies has been questioned by cultural analysts for whom globalization may be re-interpreted positively as a process of cosmopolitanisation. According to Sørensen (2016, 200) – writing critically about cosmopolitanism – many see cosmopolitanism as a welcome response to globalisation, or even a desirable feature *of* globalisation. Blackshaw (2010), citing Beck (2006), outlines an emergent 'critical cosmopolitan sociology', which extends the notion of imagined communities to suit a new sub-discipline with a global agenda, unbounded by localist or nationalist policy preoccupations.

Extant and abandoned notions of community will be discussed as there is an history of ideas which needs disentangling. Notwithstanding their deficits, many community studies conducted between the 1930s and late 1960s drew their inspiration and methods from Durkheim and Marx, doing so in ways that are useful (cf. Frankenberg 1966).

Durkheim incorporated Kant critically into his own philosophy and cosmopolitanism draws some shared inspiration from Kantian notions regarding advancement towards peaceful co-operation through laws and rights (*recht*)³ to universal hospitality expressed in Kant's *Pamphlet on Perpetual Peace* which, as Sørensen (2016, 201) reminds us, was published first in 1795 and in a second edition in 1796. Greve (2016, 4), develops the idea of 'cosmopolitan virtues as socially, situated in place, time and ritual'. That is, cosmopolitanism requires places and spaces within which to thrive, opening a new door to local study.

Ambivalence within the academy as to how notions of community, place and beyond should be approached is indicated in Sørensen who remains critical of Kant's conception of cosmopolitanism, even seeing Kant's notion of free movement as a problematic underpinning to capitalist ideologies (2016, 215). In short, the academy

³ Sørensen (2016, 205) explains that 'recht' is very difficult to translate, encompassing, in his view, the 'practice of travelling', and 'the law and right of the world citizen'. Sørensen points out that Kant refers to this 'composite meaning', citing Kant's reference to 'a Latin phrase in parenthesis, i.e. '(*ius cosmopoliticum*)' (Kant, 1988). He differentiates his view from that of Kleingeld (2012), writing that 'In her view a cosmopolitan does not have to travel at all' (Sørensen 2016, 205).

remains ambivalent about whether places matter; how and why they matter and whether it makes any sense to consider places as distinctive repositories of sentiment.

The Two Authorities

This, then, is a comparative study of two local authorities' ritual repertoire formation over long timelines (several hundred years). The local authorities studied are:

- the London Borough of Hillingdon, (hereafter 'LBH'), a unitary authority which exercises nearly all powers of local government within its boundaries except for those possessed by the Mayor of London's office and Transport for London. It is located on the western edges of Greater London
- Dartford Borough Council (hereafter DBC), a second-tier district council with fewer powers, within Kent County Council's boundaries, just outside the Greater London boundary, approximately twenty-five miles from London, situated on the southern banks of the River Thames.

The chief theoretical sources drawn upon are (neo)-Durkheimian and (neo)-Marxian. The preference is for the former source, for, as will be shown, it accommodates observed variations more successfully. However, no study claiming to encompass local authority can fail to make reference to Weber's three forms of authority: 'charismatic', 'traditional' and 'rational-legal'), to be compared with Durkheim's 'moral authority' and Marx's 'state authority'.

The Research Questions

I have three inter-related questions:

1. How can local authority formation over time be explained with reference to authority, rites, emotions, ethics, action, class, and the sacred? What are the relative attributes and deficits of Durkheimian and Marxian theory when applied empirically?
2. How can the sacred be conceptualised in the contexts of Uxbridge and Dartford? What forms do rituals, emotions and the sacred take in these settings and how do Uxbridge and Dartford compare?
3. What insights can be achieved from comparison?

Contributions

The Contributions outlined below are elaborated upon in the Discussion and Conclusions Chapter:

1. A neo-Durkheimian research-related strategy which can be applied to *place* in order to discern the local sacred comparatively. It has the capacity to discern similarities, differences, and points of convergence and divergence between places. The strategy draws mainly on Durkheimian but also Marxian theory. From these two theories the ‘elements’ relating to ritual and class are elicited. These elements, which are co-constitutive of one another, can be applied to *place* to divine the local sacred in its repeated instantiation over time. Using this strategy, it is possible to determine and differentiate the specific configuration of authority and rites through which a local sacred is derived. This level of discernment in a theory (or strategy) is necessary in place-comparison.
2. A methodology whereby the neo-Marxian account is tested for its explanatory capacities and discernment, against the discriminatory capability of Durkheimian interpretation. This should lead to a more profound understanding of place and place variation for any location. (For Marxian methods cf. Hill, 1975 and Foster, 1974).
3. An elicitation of why rites fail or succeed and under which circumstances (cf. Collins, 2004). Lack of ‘emotional energy’ is not necessarily a reason for failure (contra Collins). High ‘emotional energy’, such as Chartism in Uxbridge and the Ship Canal project in Dartford, do not always signal success (contra Collins). The reasons rites fail is intertwined with other features such as the under-development of authoritative regulatory mechanisms.
4. Discernment of anomalies in Marxian periodisation through empirical investigation. Cases did not confirm to ‘periods’ as Marxist would expect.
5. Understanding, derived empirically from studying mid nineteenth century Dartford, that civic expression of class interests cannot be read-off from class positions.

6. Development of a strategy whereby the researcher works sympathetically with local authorities to solve problems through object theatre. This strategy should acknowledge and express the local sacred. This was trialled successfully in Uxbridge with two leading figures.

The Layout of the Thesis

The thesis is organised as follows. Chapter One outlines the general themes informing the thesis, as well as the research questions and a summary of the contributions. Chapter Two reviews the Marxian and neo-Marxian account, then the Durkheimian and neo-Durkheimian account, followed by the Weberian account in the light of the research questions. Chapter Three explores the local. Chapter Four outlines the methodology used in the study. Chapter Five consists of the Findings for Dartford and Chapter Six the Findings for Uxbridge. Chapter Seven consists of the Discussion which compares the local sacreds of Dartford and Uxbridge and advances the Findings theoretically and of a Conclusion through which the research questions are addressed and the contributions discussed.

Chapter Two: Selected Treatments of Authority, Ritual, Affect, Class and Regulation: A Theoretical Discussion

Introduction

The argument is that local authority (legitimate power) accrues over time and that the formation of local authorities' authority is best understood over a period of a century and a half, the boundaries of the study being defined by historic accretions of local authority possessed by two local authorities chosen for their contrasts. Within this context, an ambition of the dissertation is to understand the connections suspected among local rites, local public emotions, local ethics, local authority formation, class, variations in local enthusiasm for action and for the instantiation of local sacreds over time. A key proposition advanced is that rites, emotion, ethics, authority and enthusiasm are co-constitutive. Because local rites have varied from place to place local emotions vary too. An attribute of any theory employed must be its capability to account for place-variations.

The aim in this chapter is to introduce the inherent strengths and deficits of neo-Durkheimian and neo-Marxian approaches (the potential explanans), bearing in mind forensic comparisons between two localities (the explanandum) introduced only *en passant* at this stage. The author had already identified potential explanans and explananda, having developed a strong intuition that local emotions are shared (due to a prior project she undertook into town centre affect in Uxbridge). This evolved quickly into a working hypothesis that public emotion is generated through past and present local authority formations and an early empirical observation was that public emotions varied from place to place. The literatures selection was the result of early iterations and practical interventions in which the author engaged.

Durkheimian ritual-based explanations of local authority are necessary alongside Marxian Urban Regulation Theory, which can also lay claim to explaining why local authorities exist. Durkheim says much about rites and emotion, social animation and the sacred but does not say much about local authority nor class whereas Marx offers an explanation of state authority-based class relations on inter- and intra- class conflicts but does not advance a theory of emotion. The focus of the study is on the ritual enactments of local authority (either Local Authorities or earlier nascent juridico-legal

formations, such as Lighting Commissioners and Vestries). The preference is for the Durkheimian account.

The questions asked of the literature review are selective and as follows:

- Why do animating rites have the lasting effects which they appear to have had; for which Durkheim is indispensable?
- What is it that class conflict may contribute to long-term local emotions?
- What does evidence of rites and enthusiasm highlight as missing from the Marxian account?

Durkheim, Marx and Weber's theories are often treated as precursors of present-day sociological scholarship. This study seeks to develop a 'focal theory' by revisiting Durkheim's texts, retrieving his arguments through exegesis and recension, with these questions in mind. Marx and Regulation Theory are also re-visited (on a lesser scale) with the same aims.

A balance is sought between profound abstraction and an observation language that speaks clearly to empirical contexts, treated comparatively.

Fierce disagreements exist among scholars claiming for themselves an authentic Durkheim or Marx, creating academic enclaves. Even in the absence of fierce contestation, opposing ideas and interpretations become enclaved. However, these debates, or positions are discussed strictly in terms of relevance to the dissertation. In order to qualify for inclusion a debate must have direct relevance to the emerging research questions.

This dissertation is concerned with the local and the 'locale', comparatively. As alluded to, Durkheim does not focus on the locale, comparatively, and Marx is not interested in affective variation between places. There is a lacuna here to be addressed. Therefore, relevant literatures concerned with the local and the locale of neo-Durkheimian and neo-Marxian provenance are inspected.

The Marxian and Durkheimian accounts are compared. However, Weber cannot be omitted because, in principle, his notion of rational-legal authority should be relevant. However, since this is a study of authority investigated through the lens of ritual and moral authority and of class (and of sociality) his relevance is limited. Durkheim's

conception of authority (moral authority) is the lodestar against which Weber's bureaucratization of charisma and disenchantment thesis is assessed which is compared with Durkheim's account of moral authority. The accounts are assessed in terms of their relative usefulness for this dissertation.

Section One: The (Neo)-Marxian Treatment of Authority, Ritual, Affect, Class and Regulation: A Theoretical Discussion

In this section the neo-Marxian treatment of the 'elements' under investigation in this study are assessed.

'Authority' for Marx

'Absolute Surplus Value' and 'Relative Surplus Value'

For Marx 'contradictory class relations' (of mutual dependence *and* antagonism) bring change activated by conflicting class interests which derive from those class relations. For him this 'is history'. Much more will be said later about neo-Marxian theories of state regulation, but the gist of his position is found in his discussion of the struggle over the length of the working day set out in *Capital Volume I* ([1867] 1974) which forms the lynchpin of the Marxist theory of the state for the purposes of this study.

According to Marx, in its early phase, capital - whose sole, socially-defined purpose is *expansion* - can only accumulate with the given means of production, that is, extracting 'absolute surplus value' by driving workers to labour faster, harder or for longer with the existing technology, or as Marx terms it, within the existing 'organic composition of capital'.⁴ Surplus value is that difference between the working time ('labour time') expended by workers on the commodities they make and the labour time that has already been expended on the commodities which they have consumed in order to meet their 'customary level of subsistence' that day.

Like any other commodity, 'labour power' – the worker's alienable capacity to work - takes labour-time time to produce (Marx, [1867] 1974); but labour power is a unique commodity in that it can generate more 'exchange value' (Marx, [1867] 1974) than is

⁴ The ratio between 'living labour' (wage labour, variable capital) and 'dead labour' (fixed capital, machinery, buildings)

consumed in its production (more exchange value than is contained in the customary substance goods consumed in making a worker capable of work). Labour-time and surplus value are equivalent terms. Surplus value equals total labour time (exchange value) expended on production, minus the labour time (exchange value) expended on the production of workers' means of subsistence.

In this phase of limited technical advance, Marx notes that the state legislated *increases* in the length of the working day, consistent with what neo-Marxian regulation theorists term the (then prevailing) 'mode of accumulation'. With technical advances in the 'forces of production' (i.e. as the 'organic composition of capital' shifts in favour of the 'dead' capital contained in machinery) 'relative surplus value' can be extracted through the efficiency with which workers apply their 'labour time' to more and more units of production. The efficiency gains accruing to 'monopoly capital' due to its market advantages over handicraft production are so great that capital can be accumulated within shorter time periods. It is then that the state begins to regulate *reduced* working hours. This suits the interests of capital-intensive owners and their workers but compromises the interests of labour-intensive producers further and in a sense compromises their workers' interests too. Like big capital and small capital, big labour and small labour can become enemies, including, as will be shown, in the realm of 'collective urban goods and services' and not just over the length of the working day.

The shift from 'absolute' to 'relative' surplus value is accompanied by a shift in the mode of regulation urged by 'big capitalists' and resisted by 'small capitalists'. Marx is clear that similar conflicts exist around public health, with worsening squalor associated with 'absolute surplus value accumulation' followed by state-led improvements in water-supply, sewerage and primary education. Marx studied the published minutes of evidence recorded by successive parliamentary commissions and committees of inquiry. In short, state authority changes in form according to the outcome of '*intra-class* struggles', in this case *within* the bourgeoisie associated with the shift from absolute to relative surplus value.

The Relationship between Class and Authority Formation

What of the relationship between class and authority formation? Marx cites those capitalists speaking for and against state-limitation of the working day but does not appear to discuss why those in favour prevailed. Was it a shift in favour of 'relative

surplus value' that tipped the balance and if so what was the exact historical mechanism linking what Marxists now call the 'mode of accumulation' and the 'mode of regulation'?

What Marxists now call the 'instrumental' view of the state has it that its' policies are a response to prevailing 'capitalists' demands', and, if treated this way, the authority to regulate emerged as a consequence of the triumph of one 'fraction of capital' over another. The state machinery this created: the Factory Inspectorate and Medical Officers of Health then enjoy some 'relative autonomy' of action, which will be observed later at the local level; at which point instrumental class power begins to recede 'logically and necessarily'; big capital having fulfilled its 'historic mission' (as far as the development of state authority is concerned).

It is the 'structuralist' Marxists (below) who argue that what the 'advanced' capitalist state does (and limits to its action) has more to do with capitalism than with capitalists (Smith, 1984), eventually developing the capability to act as a 'vicarious capitalist' ahead of any demand to do so and in the complete absence or even contrary to any 'instrumental capitalist' demand as to what the state's policies should be.

An Explanatory Weakness

The development of the state's capacity and willingness to regulate is found by re-visiting those parliamentary reports (Marx, 231, fn. refers to 'Reports of the Inspector of Factories' including those of 1856; 1858; 1861; 1862). These set out verbatim the *rituals* (repeated many hundreds of times) by which evidence was presented: respectful ushering of working-class witnesses into a prestigious court-setting; quasi-judicial questioning; lay- and expert witness testimony, cross-questioning and offers of 'turn-transitional relevant points' (Sacks et al., 1974) interspersed on the page by shocking graphic illustrations (for example, of women and children lowered into a Lanarkshire mine by a crude windlass) and dispassionate tabulated 'facts' on infant mortality, all aimed to move the feelings of 'right thinking' and 'fit and proper persons'. While the author is suspicious of the historians' argument that it was the 'spirit of the age' that brought increased regulated improvements (cf. Fraser, 1973; 1976; 1979) – as this is more tautology than explanation – nevertheless the ritual means by which the 'spirit of improvement' was awakened is noteworthy. Marx's many discussions of 'ideology' do not appear to recognise this, despite Marx having read witness testimonies and the

exchanges between witnesses and their questioners. Marx does not draw on an affective explanation, even though the accounts are affecting.

Summary: The point here is that class (both occupational and as defined by ownership and non-ownership) and regulation (both moral- and state) are defined and explained very differently in the Durkheimian and Marxian accounts, though incompletely in each. Nevertheless, as will be demonstrated, class and regulation in *both* senses accompany each other in local practices to be described. Documentary evidence is replete with references to ritual, passion, ethics, calls for action by nascent local authorities and evident local awareness of protagonists' occupational and ownership/non-ownership class positions as well as ethical dispositions and emotions.

The usefulness of Durkheim's account lies in his explication of ritual affect (animation) and of the sacred, the mechanisms of which are best left until later in this review. The usefulness of Marx is that the contending actors which he specifies are the ones we find in the local historical record, expressing much the same pro- and anti-regulation reasoning which he would expect from them.

Re-Introduction to the Problem: Class, Capitalism and Relative Autonomy

As the evidence shows and almost by definition, statutory powers are prominent in local authority formation. The author argues for clarification of the interrelationship between statutory powers (and service obligations), class conflicts and regime change in specifically local terms.

There is a large literature on the neo-Marxian theory of the state which addresses regulation in different ways. For the purpose of this dissertation the clearest connections between theory and evidence are to be found in Marx's prototypical writing on regulation where he describes conflicts over the length of the working day. ([1867] 1974, 476-496). By comparison, recent Marxist writings, including those directed at urban government, suffer variously from grand abstractions which are difficult to follow, lack historiographic evidence (surprising among avowed 'historical-materialists'), functionalist reasoning (again surprising methodologically), teleological errors and profound ontological disagreements as to the nature of the state. It is not difficult to designate local conflicts, including those around public health and welfare in Dartford in neo-Marxian class terms. In Marxian terminology, two 'fractions of capital' with different 'modes of accumulation' confronted each other and one fraction (and

mode of accumulation) prevailed with profound historic consequences. The cause of a 'Brighter and more Beautiful Dartford' was eventually assimilated by the local authority which embraced wide-ranging and ambitious publicisation of responsibilities. I will show how Dartford embraced civic responsibilities, the civic instinct having survived the *eclipse* (Stein, M.R., 1972) of direct - that is *instrumental* - influence by big capital⁵. Thus, the local state exercises 'relative autonomy'.

An orthodox Marxian explanation for Uxbridge's weaker commitment to civic gospel can be provided, based on a lesser presence of advanced manufacturers in the nineteenth century. Strong local working-class campaigns in favour of franchise extension, which was tied to a property qualification, meant that home ownership became the pre-eminent focus of radical passions while other reforms did not enjoy the prominent backing of a big business élite as found in Dartford – because there wasn't one.

As will be seen, however, the ethical passions found in the improvers extend well beyond their class interests as producers; thus the 'labour theory of value' has to be stretched to explain why the owning-managers of an engineering company and of an advanced 'steam brewery' – both sources of serious pollution - should be so expressively devoted to the needs of all of Dartford's 'work people' (mostly not employed by them), including Dartfordians' and to the need to be free of 'dark and dirty Dartford'. How does the imperative of capital accumulation (and the luxury of commercial success) account for such passionate paternalism towards a citizenry? Why should polluters recoil from pollution, including pollution which their enterprises were releasing?

Durkheimian regulation theory is so different to Marxism as to be orthogonal. A Durkheimian explanation for big business civic enthusiasm might be that the improvers were as captivated by the ritual enactments which they staged in the name of the 'brighter and more beautiful', as were the participating mass-gatherings at whose feelings the rituals had been aimed.

It has been suggested that to explain differing local passions a 'theory of ritual' may assist a 'theory of regulation', despite and perhaps because of their utter un-relatedness. What would be needed from them both is an informative theory capable of

⁵ Dartford Borough Council is unusual in building council housing and intervening in the energy market by promoting mass switchovers from one energy provider to another on behalf of local inhabitants.

accommodating all or most evident variations in ritual, emotion, ethics, interests, policies, actions, inaction and altogether failed attempts, and class conflicts found in the evidence to follow.

Untangling Latter-day neo-Marxian State Theory

Here the author attempts to answer three questions:

1. What do Marxists mean by state theory?
2. What model(s) of regulation does it entail?
3. What might it bring to local evidence to follow?

The Miliband-Poulantzas Debate

Interest in Marxian regulation theory diminished after peaking in the late 1980s (Doornbos, 2011). At that point there was disagreement as to whether the state was an ‘instrument’ of capitalist élites, operating chiefly in their interests and at their behest in a way that was empirically identifiable; or whether the state could only regulate *if* it enjoyed ‘relative autonomy’. Marx’ claim that the state ‘is but an executive committee’ of the capitalist class can withstand both interpretations, especially, the author of this study thinks, because instrumental demands (to regulate) came first and effective relative autonomy thus demanded(sic) came afterwards.

Taking the ‘instrumental’ position, Miliband writes that state personnel at the top have ‘tended to belong to the economically dominant class. Also, where state personnel are not bourgeois by class origin, they are later recruited into it by virtue of their education, connection and way of life’ (cited Das, 2006). Capitalists control the state ideologically, but also ‘materially and directly’, by giving advice to government, sitting on public boards and funding political parties (cited Das, 2006).

The title of Miliband’s key text, *The State in Capitalist Society* (1973) acknowledges a distinction between civil society and the state while insisting (according to *The Poulantzas Reader*, Martin, 2008, 12) that ‘in capitalist society the realms of the state and politics were deeply pervaded by the interests of the dominant class’. Das claims (2006, 29) that the theory of ‘State Monopoly Capitalism’ takes the instrumental approach the furthest whereby competition amongst capitalists leads to concentration of capital during which time the state is ‘an instrument of the dominant monopolies’. This

claim carries the clear implication that capture of the state by monopoly capital – presumably all branches and levels of government - comes at the expense of all other interests, including those of the working class.

State policy is traced back to power exercised by an interlocking élite consisting of senior state officials, the political class and large owners of capital, sometimes known as ‘positional power’. At the city scale, the positional/ instrumental model can be traced directly to Floyd Hunter’s study of Atlanta’s ‘business crowds’ (1953), and, at a national scale, to C. Wright Mills study of American ‘power élites’ (1956).

Though Poulantzas denied he was instead a ‘structuralist’ (Poulantzas, 1976) his views on the ‘relative autonomy of the state’ have been assimilated by self-declared structuralists when rejecting Miliband’s instrumental model. According to Poulantzas, (1976), the relative autonomy of the capitalist state resides in:

- 1) the separation between the economic and political (between the ‘relations of production-consumption-circulation’ - which, Poulantzas writes, ‘define the capitalist mode of production’ – and ‘the state’ (1976, 71).
- 2) ‘the specificity of classes and of the class struggle in the capitalist mode of production and social formations... the power bloc and the different fractions of the bourgeoisie, on hegemony within the power bloc, on supporting classes, on the forms of struggle adopted by the working class...’ (1976, 71)

The capitalist state has a ‘precise rôle as political organizer and unifier, and as a factor for the establishment of “the unstable equilibrium of compromises” which role is constitutively connected with its relative autonomy’ (Poulantzas, 1976, 71). The ‘concrete form’ of autonomy depends upon the ‘conjuncture of the class struggle’ at a particular time.

Poulantzas is reluctant to apply the concept of ‘power’ to the state. The capitalist state is a ‘resultant of the relations of power between forces within a capitalist formation, the state having its own ‘institutional specificity’. The state should be seen ‘as a relation, or more precisely as the *condensate* of a relation of power between struggling classes’ (emphasis added), claiming that this way of picturing the state avoids the ‘false dilemma’ entailed by ‘the present discussion’ between the State comprehended as a thing/instrument and the State comprehended as subject’ (Poulantzas, 1976, 74). The

state-as-thing is the instrumentalist conception of a state lacking autonomy. But as the 'subject', the state's autonomy is 'absolute'.

Neo-Marxian Regulation Theory

There is renewed interest in neo-Marxian Regulation Theory which spins additional, though ambiguous, threads. Jessop writes (2001, 152) 'The essential (re-) discovery of regulationism was that capitalist economies are socially embedded and socially regularized'. For Jessop and others there was:

the realization that the state system had a key role to play in the reproduction–regulation of capital accumulation. This opened the way for more complex and concrete analyses of the state's contribution to the shaping, sustaining, and undermining of specific accumulation regimes and modes of growth. (2001, 152)

To Jessop, the 'relative autonomy' thesis carries the implication that

the institutional separation of the state from the market economy results in the dominance of different (and potentially contradictory) institutional logics and modes of calculation in the state and the economy... [thus] there is no guarantee that political outcomes will serve the needs of capital - even if (and, indeed, precisely because) the state is operationally autonomous. (2001, 151)

It should be noted that within Jessop's own variant of structuralism that first, relative autonomy means that 'needs of capital', 'modes of calculation' and 'dominance' are described in disembodied non-specific terms sometimes called 'imperatives' and 'logics' that are *not* traced 'concretely' nor 'embedded...specifically'. It should also be noted that 'relative autonomy' means that the state is here expected to both support *and* deviate from the 'needs of capital'. It can be difficult to distinguish subject and object in Regulation Theory (RT). For example, here the relative autonomy thesis enables Jessop to account for both 'sustaining' state successes and coincidental mishaps resulting from plural, autonomous and colliding 'institutional [sub-] logics' and different 'modes of calculation' (2001, 151). In short, Jessop's rendition can accommodate any outcome and offers no counter-factual test cases (Popper, 2002). Its non-testability is troubling.

Also implicit in Jessop's rendition are different scales of theorising: 'grand' and 'middle range'. 'A key role to play in the reproduction–regulation of capital accumulation' (2001, 152) is a grand assertion, while admission of colliding 'institutional logics' (2001, 151) is more middle-range and is not especially dependent on Marxian theory.

One could say ‘institutions have different parts that do not always pull together’ without any reference to Marx.

Cutting across the instrumental/ structuralist division, then, is a different debate about grand versus middle-range scales of analysis (see Mavroudeas, 1999 and Lauria, 1999) which could present problems in tying together historical evidence and claims made at different scales. Are differences between local authorities’ uncertain outcomes of differences between parts of the ‘relatively autonomous state’ or are variations between authorities more significant than this, as is suspected?

From a neo-Durkheimian vantage point, ensuing Regulation Theory debates about purity and contamination suggest how Marxism is embroiled in ‘cultural’ difficulties. The ‘grander’ Poulantzas commented on a tendency ‘to contaminate’ Marxism (Martin, 2008, 282). Meanwhile, Mavroudeas (1999) claims that even in its ‘middle range’ form, Regulation Theory is ‘unfit for purpose’ as a theory to explain ‘capitalist development’ because it inserts extraneous ‘intermediate concepts’ in order to ‘operationalize Marxist political economy in actual historical evolution’.

What to Use?

This study has no special commitment to any form of Marxism (or neo-Durkheimian theory), pure or revisionist, beyond their usefulness for comparative, local, historical purposes. The point is to establish whether Marxist regulation theory might account for the different purposes for which documented local rituals were designed and enacted, their frequency and scale, historically and specifically. This study claims this is so. The other question is whether Durkheimian theory might help in understanding how those rituals had as their outcome the enlargement (or limitation) of local authority. This is probable. By what means is a new ‘mode of regulation’ fashioned so as to sustain a new ‘accumulation regime’? Local mechanisms, rites and the animation of local feelings and ethics matter.

Reconciling Instrumental and Structuralist Regulation Theory: Smith’s Historical Solution to the ‘Instrumentalist-Structuralist’ Debate

Smith (1984) attempted to reconcile instrumental and structuralist models in his detailed comparative historical study of Dartford and the Medway Towns. This dissertation

makes a critical rejoinder to Smith's study. Smith's innovation was to document 'relative autonomy', post-World War Two, and to trace it backwards to how it was fashioned locally. He finds that the formative period of modern local government, which he treats as contemporary with 'monopoly capitalism' (dated c. 1870-1939) was shaped by clear and frequent instrumental demands by Dartford's big business élite so that it was imperative that the state should increase its powers and responsibilities in the collective interests of all. This had been resisted by equally clear, then faltering instrumental demands by small businesses that responsibility for problem-solving should be left with individuals, households and to charities (with the exception of public order).

Smith rejects the instrumental-élite view that business interests had either explicit or covert influence over local policy post-1945. Criticising Saunders' (1979) study of Croydon (Smith, 1984, 101), he points out that the policy of comprehensive redevelopment of Croydon which *did* benefit big business interests, predated their arrival by up to two decades. Therefore, it made no sense to assume as Saunders did that 'they make the rules', as these rules were fashioned long before the chief beneficiaries of those rules were present to demand them. Local powers to undertake comprehensive redevelopment had been obtained eventually under a prior Local Act. 'Urban planning' demonstrates considerable relative autonomy in what Smith calls this third 'advanced' period. Thus he accepts the neo-Marxian proposition that successive 'capital formations' ('modes of accumulation') are associated with different forms of local governance, beginning with a 'competitive' period – the first of his three-stage periodisation - prior to approximately 1870, when local institutions were largely under the instrumental control of small businesses which favoured 'economising'.

To summarise, it was 'intra-class conflict' between small and big capital, culminating in hegemonic instrumental demands for 'improvement' that drove the eventual transition to 'relatively autonomous' local authority capable of acting in advance of, without or directly against capitalists' demands.

Moreover, unlike Jessop, Smith insists on specifying a 'counter-factual'. He states that if evidence of instrumental business influence over public policy is found post 1939, then his thesis would be 'refuted'.

Smith describes several emotional scenes and concludes that once big business improvement prevailed over small business economising in Dartford, then local policy making occurred under a well-tempered consensus afterwards. And because intra-business conflict remained high throughout the ‘competitive’ and ‘monopoly’ periods in the Medway Towns, Smith argued that this explained the extreme bad temper with which local industrial and commercial development policy was debated in Chatham, Rochester and Strood right into the 1980s. The Medway Towns were rife with (unfounded) rumours of corrupt planning practices; accusations of financial irregularities (resulting in an official investigation into the financing of the Pentagon Centre); a life-threatening arson attack on the home and small dry-cleaning business of a council leader, angry exchanges within the Medway Area Industrial and Commercial Development Board and a ‘walk-out’ by the Engineering Employers Federation protesting against the Council’s policy of promoting inward manufacturing investment. Local employers were opposed to allowing new firms in because they feared they would lose skilled workers to the newcomers (especially coded welders) and that wages would be driven up. They said so and their demands were rejected by the local authority.

There were similar local business protests against the council’s encouragement of national retail chains into central Chatham. Smith found that senior managers in the incoming firms (both commercial and industrial) eschewed local politics preferring not to aggravate the fraught climate. They had no wish – and no need - to express any demands.

Smith concludes:

- a) Far-reaching instrumental business demands continued to be made on Medway Borough Council; most of which were hostile to new inward investment by ‘outsider’ firms.
- b) One major request to expand a chalk quarry was made to Dartford Borough Council by Blue Circle Cement (along with minor requests concerning the siting of a bus-stop and the radius of a kerb to facilitate deliveries by heavy goods vehicles to Hall Thermotank.⁶
- c) All the major demands made *failed* to affect policy in both Boroughs (for example the quarry expansion was refused; and the quarry site zoned for retail,

⁶ Formerly J&E Hall

commercial and industrial development at the suggestion of Dartford planners and inward investment accelerated)

- d) Local policy was fashioned prior to these demands demonstrating that even in the Medway Towns, the Council demonstrated not just 'relative autonomy' but immunity to business opposition to its pro-growth policies
- e) A seeming attempt to placate local businesses by sacking most of Medway Council's planning officers in a 'night of the long knives' had no effect of the council's policy of pursuing maximising inward manufacturing and commercial investment

He notes attempts by Kent County Council to create business enthusiasm for existing policies and to elicit 'demands' for those policies to which the Council policy was 'only a seeming response' (through the North Kent Industrial Forum). There was also a strikingly successful attempt by Dartford planners to persuade Blue Circle Cement to engage in property development as an alternative to chalk quarrying and cement manufacture (through the Dartford Liaison Group). This was to result in the commercially successful Bluewater shopping complex (at the expense of town centre shops in Dartford) and the eventual closure of the massive and quite modern Northfleet cement works and all its North Kent feeder quarries.

Smith concludes that local authorities were 'ploughing their own furrows for others to reap' (Mollenkopf, 1975) in a way that could be said to 'represent the interests of capital'. But they exercised demonstrable autonomy by *rejecting the express interests of local businesses and branch plant managers*. Smith notes these (ignored) demands were in a sense *anti-capitalist* in that they opposed private inward investment and lacked the imagination of the councils themselves as to how local labour-, retail- and property-markets might work in future. Local authorities make good 'vicarious capitalists; he argues. As in Croydon, when the supposedly 'pro-business' policies were formed, both the local authorities which Smith studied fostered future inward investment by companies whose identities could not have been known at the time that the policies were agreed. Policy might have represented 'the interests of capital' in general, but it was not formed at the behest of existing local business interests in any meaningful sense. Policy contradicted expressed local business interests and conspicuously so.

Finally, Smith observes that the *same* policy of promoting inward commercial and industrial investment was promoted first ‘in the interests of job creation’ to the satisfaction of the local labour movement and then ‘in the interest of enterprise’ to the equal satisfaction of the local conservative party. But it could not be said that the policy was the result of any demand. Policy satisfied a strong sense in the mind of the long-standing Borough chief executive, Roy Hill and, first *Labour*, then *Conservative* politicians’ that ‘something had to be done’ to counteract the contraction and closure of Chatham’s large naval dockyard and put the Medway towns back ‘on the map’. They did not need companies’ opinions to arrive at these civic imperatives.

Critical Evaluation of Smith

What is strikingly absent from Smith’s intriguing historiography is anything more than a rudimentary and implicit theory of emotion. He sees bad and good-tempered policymaking as the direct and unmediated outcome of conflicting or prevailing class interests respectively. He cites ritual events staged by local protagonists (a shopping carnival and incorporation parade in the ‘thirties; the walk-outs, and, one could even say, the denunciations and the arson attack) without analysing how rituals operate on public feelings. Probably because Marx offered little by way of a theory of emotion beyond that of interests cause conflicts which rouse emotions, neither did Smith.

However, he does demonstrate is the usefulness of the comparative method applied over very long timescales at the local level, which is adopted here. His approach goes a long way to explaining place-variations in local sentiment and his attention to ‘concrete’ histories avoids the functionalism which inhabits much Marxified-regulation theory.

Smith’s failure to examine ritual is returned to later but at this juncture it is sufficient to highlight that large-scale manufacturing has since ended in Dartford, and it is more dependent on materials handling, retailing and business services; thus its ‘regime of accumulation’ has changed. Yet Dartford’s ‘mode of regulation’ is substantially unaltered. This is a significant observation: my argument will be that the power of ritual can be inferred to the extent that it upholds the civic gospel of improvement ninety years after the deaths of the ‘improvers’ who promoted both the policy and the accompanying rituals and several years after the closure of its global exporters of pharmaceutical and refrigeration engineering products. Smith’s assumption that rituals were an outcome of interests is at best a gross simplification.

Scale

This brings us back to the question of the scale at which explanations should operate (above). It will be suggested that Dartford's 'mode of regulation' is stamped with its local origins and local affective character; similarly, Uxbridge's different 'mode' and different public sentiment.

Meanwhile, regulation theory tends to be grand. For example, Jessop (2006, 81) writes of a transition from a 'Fordist welfare state' to a 'post-Fordist workfare state' to suggest links between accumulation regimes (Jessop means changing forms of industrial organisation and labour processes) and corresponding 'modes of regulation and societalization' (2006, 124). It is important to consider this proposition because Jessop dates the post-Fordist workfare state to the 1970s; in other words, to a fourth accumulation and regulation regime that would not approximate to specific local circumstances *additional* to Smith's three 'competitive', 'monopoly' and 'advanced' periods.

The problem for Jessop's grand proposal is that it is unclear how the post-Fordist workfare state could be identified in Dartford. There would be difficulties in identifying Jessop's post-Fordist workfare state with Dartford insofar as before recent mass redundancies, its workforce included a high percentage of graduate design, mechanical, and sales engineers, CNC machinists and graduate and post-graduate qualified pharmaceutical scientists. Dartford cannot be described as post-Fordist because its 'accumulation regime' was not especially 'Fordist' beforehand. There was a great deal of non-routine, highly skilled design, processing and product development there, as well as 'large batch' production. 'Fordism' probably describes some medicine production located there, but most labour processes in Dartford were never Fordist. This means that it is difficult to apply Jessop's periodisation here and it will be shown later that local authority is characterised much more distinctly by continuity than discontinuity here, notwithstanding heavy job-losses sustained in manufacturing.

It is possible to say (after Poulantzas) that local authorities have become 'political organizer[s] and unifier[s]'. But it will be necessary to interrogate the evidence for continuities and changes in historical comparison to establish how they acquired this capability which in any case varies from place to place, including places like the lower Medway towns where the local authority acted as an 'organizer' without succeeding as a

‘unifier’. In short, it is difficult to identify localities with Jessop’s schema and it therefore fails the author of this study’s selection criteria that theories should be capable of accommodating explaining place-variations. Its grand claims are too abstract and its middle-class range claim of describable, haphazard conflicts between the state apparatuses fails to qualify as explanatory.

Where is Emotion in Marx?

Among Marxists emotion has been typically absent from discussion, with the notable exceptions of Arlie Hochschild and of Hugh Brody (whilst Durkheim’s description of public emotion is byzantine in complexity). A theory of emotion is at best implicit and severely abbreviated in Marx’ assertion of human’s ‘Species Being’ and its distortion under capitalism ([1844] 1974). Weyher (2012b, 356) emphasises that an ‘emotional link’ is required between ‘thought’ and ‘action’ for ‘revolutionizing’, ‘creating’ and self-changing’ to take place. Thus, emotion could be made central to Marxism, but Marx did not do so. For Marx and Engels ‘class struggle [is] the immediate driving power of history’ (letter, 1879 cited E.P. Thompson, 1978, 2008). The struggle itself is the motor; no *affective* mechanism is mentioned. But in order to translate a class *an sich* into a class *für sich* there must be an affective element. ‘Driving’ and ‘power’ surely presume *energy* and *flow*.

Marx’ assumption seems to have been that affects are fired directly by class-relations but there is a problem of circularity here: his assumption is that the resentment and shame that drives class-conflict is itself *aroused* by class conflict. This means that emotion and class must be synonymous in such a schema.

Neo-Marxians and Emotions

Regulation Theorists could accommodate affect within an affective political economy, but none do so. Jessop’s disappointing recent ‘cultural political economy’ (2013) lends few clues towards a theory of emotion; neither a theory of what the regulation of public feeling would look like, nor any recognition of the emotions involved in constructing any such ‘mode of regulation’. *Vergesellschaftung* (societalization) *could* accommodate encompass emotion but does not (cf. Hirsch & Kannankulam 2011). The omission strikes one as curiously suggestive of fundamental inadequacies in ‘class-relation’ based frameworks (see Alexander, 2005 and Weber, 1976). Althusser’s ‘Structural Marxism’ even incorporates Sigmund Freud’s notion of ‘overdetermination’ (by many causes)

without incorporating Freud's theories of affect which represents a missed opportunity (Althusser, 1965).

Methodologically speaking, overdetermination is a useful concept that can be applied to any event at any scale, including the origins of a dream, of local emotions, of the Bronte sisters and World War One. Eagleton (cited in Ferreter, 2006) 'interprets the Bronte sisters as over-determined products of the complex series of social practices within which they were produced'.

Arlie Hochschild and Hugh Brody draw on Marxist and neo-Durkheimian approaches using illustrations which are sympathetic to both. Hugh Brody's account (1974) is specifically orientated to place and is therefore discussed in the 'exploring the local' chapter.

Hochschild's 'Warm Workplace' and 'Cold Home' (2003b) traces an uneasy boundary between the public world of work and the private realm of home, and to the emotion-management – and costs - involved in crossing between these realms. Hochschild uses Marx's concept of 'alienation' with Durkheim's conception of 'anomie' in accounting for what she prefers to call 'estrangement'. She details the estranging effects of 'the commodification of human feeling' and of doing emotional labour (such as treating strangers as 'guests' and close family members as 'customers'). Hochschild is alert to, in Smith's words, the dangers involved in 'excessive solidarities in the workplace' and in 'importing the discourse of private life and intimacy into the office' (Smith, 2014, 403)⁷. The 'commercialization of human feeling' (Hochschild, 1983, 2003a) and 'outsourcing' of care means that 'the wall', which we imagine to be 'impermeable', between 'market' and 'non-market life' is breached resulting in the 'commercialization of intimate life' (2005). Companies, for example, describe themselves as 'like a family' with care-obligations among staff which denude their availability to care for their own 'cash rich, time poor' families. These 'care deficits' are repaid through extravagant gifts to their children and they become 'emotional bill-collectors'.

A problem with Marxian theory is that it does not explain *how* interests are animated. Arlie Hochschild, the celebrated neo-Marxian sociologist of the emotions, does

⁷ Among many telling examples she describes the mother of a new-born who returns to work well before her leave maternity leave entitlement expires. Questioned by her colleagues she explains that it is because work is where her friends are. A father leaving a very young baby in maximum hours day-care reasons, again oddly, that this will foster the baby's 'independence'.

acknowledge that ‘emotional false consciousness’ may cause the poor, powerless and disregarded to identify with the rich and powerful in ways that *diverge* from their interests (Hochschild, 2003a). The poor recognise that they may be damaged by rich Republicans yet choose to identify with them in order to become ‘other than poor’. Hochschild (and Durkheim) concur in considering that interests, emotions and actions do not align themselves by default, nor need interests come first.

I have reviewed Marx’s account of authority and emotion, attempted to untangle latter-day neo-Marxian state theory, and reviewed Smith’s attempt to reconcile the Instrumental and Structuralist Regulation Theory.

In the next section Durkheimian and selected neo-Durkheimian treatments of authority, ritual, affect and class are assessed for their usefulness in light of the research questions.

Section Two: The Durkheimian Treatment of Authority, Ritual, Affect, Class and Regulation: A Theoretical Discussion

Introduction

In this section the Durkheimian account is assessed for its usefulness. A key debate which continues between Susan Stedman Jones and Anne Warfield Rawls is then examined, particularly focussing on the question of the relationship between rites and beliefs. Selected accounts focussing on the local more empirically follow these highly abstract debates, forging a link with the next chapter which specifically explores the local.

Firstly, an attempt is made to reach some definitions around terms pertinent to a discussion of Durkheim.

Defining Durkheimian and neo-Durkheimian

Smith and Alexander (2005, 32) distinguish ‘Durkheimian scholarship’ from ‘Durkheimian sociology’, the former referring to ‘scholars engaged in textual and biographical exegesis’ and the latter to sociologists aiming at ‘opening up [Durkheim’s] scholarship to wider agendas and landscapes in social and cultural theory’. These latter ‘outsiders’ ‘... wish to apply, test, and expand Durkheim’s ideas in broader theoretical and empirical arenas ...’ (32). Smith and Alexander’s highlighting of the role of exegesis is useful. However, the author of this dissertation envisages the boundary between sociologist and scholar as ill-defined and porous. Durkheim had an empirical programme; a commitment to the Third Republic’s educational mission, and other missions such as his support of Dreyfus. Durkheim was a public professor.

The term ‘Durkheimian’ is taken as referring both to those scholars engaging with Durkheim and his sociology in his lifetime, as well as to those present-day thinkers who engage directly with Durkheim’s texts, seeking to develop more profound insights into Durkheim’s thinking and its development. Durkheim gathered a close-knit circle around him of collaborators, including Marcel Mauss, his nephew, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Their efforts focussed on the production of *The Année Sociologique*, a journal seminal in their work. Mauss also collaborated with Durkheim in writing *Primitive Classification* ([1903] 2010), a work anticipating *Forms* ([1912]

1915). According to the above criteria, Mauss may be designated a 'Durkheimian' by dint of his active intellectual and practical engaging with Durkheim himself on his projects and with and his ideas. Robert Alun Jones and William Watts Miller are modern examples of 'Durkheimians', contemporary scholars who have engaged directly with Durkheim's work. Jones, for example, traces 'the intellectual origins of the elementary forms' (2005, 80-100), and poses questions (2005, 80) as to what Durkheim '[considered] the most important and distinctive aspects of his classic work.' However, in the conclusion to this book chapter on 'the intellectual origins of the elementary forms' (2005, 96) Jones suggests that '...we should ask less about the pursuit of truth, which is allegedly absolute and eternal, than about the justification of belief, which is transitory because it is relative to specific audiences'. Jones has undertaken much more than an exegesis of *Forms*.

Kenneth Thompson offers a useful definition of 'neo-Durkheimian'. Reviewing Rosati's *Ritual and the Sacred: A Neo-Durkheimian Analysis of Politics, Religion and the Self*, Thompson (2010, 148) links the way that Rosati uses 'Neo-Durkheimian' in the book-title with Rosati's 'interest in interpreting Durkheim's thought in ways that are relevant to contemporary sociological theory and practice...' This is also a useful conception of 'neo-Durkheimian', particularly since it refers to both theory and practice.

It is suggested that 'Neo-Durkheimians' re-cast or reconfigure 'Durkheimian' theory and/or extend Durkheim's use empirically. Mary Douglas falls into this category. Perri 6 writes: (2017, 11) that Douglas 'cross-tabulated the two dimensions of institutional variation that Durkheim had distinguished in *Suicide* ([1897] 1951) –namely, social regulation and social integration or, as she called them "grid" and "group"'. Perri 6 himself propounds what he calls a 'neo-Durkheimian institutional theory' (2002) which, he suggests (263), 'overcomes some of the limitations of Durkheim's own theory of the emotions'. Douglas also draws on multifarious sources, including the philosopher Nelson Goodman.

The extent to which a theory which is totalizing in nature can be fragmented before losing its connection to the original theory requires flagging. Riley's discussion of the pure and impure sacred (2005) provides an exemplar for the 'trajectory' theory can take. Riley (2005,) traces the trajectory of the 'transgressive left sacred' from its sources in Durkheim's *Forms* through to the College de Sociologie founded by Bataille in 1937. Focussing on collective effervescence and 'la part maudite' Bataille discusses 'potlatch'

and various kinds of ways in which energy is spent (Riley, 2005, 286). Riley describes (287-288) how Bataille ‘takes as given the Durkheimian starting point of the sociality of the sacred and of effervescence, but he adds the compelling response of existentialism’. The author believes that it is important for the writer and reader to be discerning and aware of the ‘trajectory’ of theory. Durkheim is ambivalent on the relationship of the pure and impure sacred in *Forms*, the text is ambiguous. Therefore, is a theory neo-Durkheimian when it focusses on the impure sacred and adds in existentialism? An awareness of these issues is, it is suggested, a form of moral discernment which has a higher-level relationship with the axiology informing the dissertation. Awareness of different positions does not imply adherence to a particular ‘camp’ such as ‘cultural Durkheim’ or ‘functionalist Durkheim’. Indeed, the view of the author, as stated, is that Durkheim’s texts should not be treated as established wisdom (although as objects of respect).

What constitutes ‘Durkheimian’ or ‘neo-Durkheimian’ cannot be rigid – as scholarship progresses boundaries change in ways not necessarily predictable. Whatever self-styling scholars choose their terminology is articulated through a specific theoretical position. It is these specific theoretical stances which are of most interest in this study and certain relevant theoretical debates will be highlighted at the end of this section.

Durkheim’s vocabulary; style and translation issues

In order to assess critically Durkheim’s usefulness, it is necessary to extract meaning from his writing and to foreground certain ideas and concepts. However, there are some challenges in this: Durkheim’s writing is elliptical, using words and phrases which although, seemingly straightforward have been loaded by Durkheim with a cargo of his own peculiar meaning. Examples include ‘a moral fact’, ‘a social fact’ ([1895] 1982), and ‘the collective consciousness’ ([1893] 1984). Fields, in her translator’s introduction to the 1995 translation of *Forms* points out (lv) that ‘In *Forms*, *moral* [Fields’ italicisation] is often synonymous with “social”’. ‘Religion’ for Durkheim ([1912]1915) has a special meaning which he ascribes through his thesis in *Forms*. The meaning of words is enmeshed with their historical, social and intellectual environment. As Bellah (2005, 185) writes, in reference to ritual, that it is concerned ‘primarily about the sacred’, and that ‘...the religious and the social are almost interchangeable’. To grapple with Durkheim’s vocabulary, one must follow his line of argumentation concerning relations between society, god, religion and so forth.

Durkheim is culpable of the fault of *petitio principii*, as has been noted frequently. Indeed, *Forms* is shot through with examples, and Durkheim frequently offers the answer to his question in a circular fashion. The gender of pronouns provides a clue as to what Durkheim means whilst reading in French (sometimes) but in English these clues are of course unavailable.

This study relies on the 1915 translation by Joseph Ward Swain, feeling it is nearest to the Durkheimian spirit in its translation. However, Fields' translation is undoubtedly easier to read and her highlighting of errors in Swain's translation performs a vital task. Cross-referencing between the original text (1912), and the translations has been required, also relying on my translations - at least to work out the causalities within Durkheim's clauses, sub-clauses and to attempt to verify the gender of pronouns.

It is clear that revisiting the original texts presents certain challenges. By original, I mean Durkheim's body of work, especially *Forms* (in original and translation). From Rawls' *Epistemology and Practice* (2004) one can see the necessity of making use of the work in French, together with several English translations. By visiting the original texts Durkheim may be 'retrieved' in order that meaning is extracted and certain ideas foregrounded.

Definitions of Durkheimian and neo-Durkheimian have been proposed which will guide the ordering of this section of the study, and the aim of 'retrieving' Durkheim, together with some challenges, the key themes in this study in relation to Durkheim's work are now examined. The Durkheimian conception of authority is firstly examined through *The Division of Labour in Society* (*DOL* hereafter) and *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (*Forms* hereafter), *The Rules of Sociological Method* (*RSM* hereafter) and *Professional Ethics* (*PE*) hereafter.

'Authority' for Durkheim

The main focus in Part One is on Durkheim's theory (albeit incomplete) of rites and public affect, and moral authority set out *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* ([1912] 1915). However, his theory (incomplete) of authority and moral authority and changing forms of solidarity set out in *The Division of Labour in Society* ([1893] 1984) (hereafter called *DOL* also requires inspection. *Forms* is the main focus of attention

because, whilst there is a continuity between his earlier works and later works (which will be referred to later), it is *Forms* which represents the apotheosis of his thinking, crystallizing and expressing his most fully formed notion of sociality. It contains his theory, albeit incomplete, of ritual and emotion and moral authority as well as ‘a sociological theory of knowledge’ ([1912] 1915, 18). Rites and emotion are a key theme in this dissertation and how it is that we form understandings – and what it is that is understood - is fundamental. Enmeshed with these themes are *moral authority* and *the sacred*. These are areas in which Durkheim is especially useful. However, even though it is only through *Forms* that Durkheim draws upon ritual, emotion and the notion of the sacred in detail, *Forms* cannot be decoupled from *The Division of Labour in Society* ([1893] 1984) (hereafter referred to as *DOL*). *DOL* and *Forms* both draw on notions of moral authority and *DOL* is also concerned with breakdown of moral authority. In order to define mechanical and organic solidarity, key concepts in *DOL*, - the theme of solidarity is central to all his works although he probably abandoned the schema of mechanical and organic solidarity later - it is necessary to give an account of them and it is with this that the section begins.

Forms of Solidarity:

‘Mechanical Solidarity’ and ‘Organic Solidarity’

These concepts require unravelling, particularly since Durkheim ascribed very specific meanings to words and phrases. The vocabulary of Durkheim sometimes needs translating before further work can be undertaken.

The concepts of ‘mechanical’ and ‘organic’ solidarity are set out in *DOL* ([1893]1984), Durkheim’s doctoral thesis. By the time Durkheim wrote *Forms* ([1912] 1915), very probably he had lost interest in its evolutionary schema (Fish, 2002, 219). The two forms of solidarity have a relationship, the former being the basis of ‘simple’ societies’, the latter the basis of ‘advanced’ societies. Giddens (1971) describes it as simple, undifferentiated communities being displaced by differentiated, complex societies. *Forms* focusses on the totemic rites of the first Australians, therefore on ‘mechanical solidarity’, although Durkheim explicates the rites without using the vocabulary of mechanical solidarity evoked in *DOL*.

Giddens (1971, 72) points out that although *DOL* is a polemic against the utilitarian individualism of Spencer an underlying theme of the book may be obfuscated. As

Giddens explains (1971, 72): Durkheim's standpoint is that whilst there is a 'strongly defined moral consensus' in traditional societies 'modern complex society is not, in spite of the declining significance of traditional moral beliefs, inevitably tending towards disintegration'. The solidarity of these traditional societies, for Durkheim, is that of 'mechanical solidarity', and this solidarity is produced through shared beliefs. However, modern, complex societies' organic solidarity is produced through a state of interdependence between individuals. Coser, in his introduction to *DOL*, ([1893] 1984, xiv), points to the same problem. Unlike Tönnies, Durkheim did not believe that solidarity was confined to 'village communities'. The problem facing Durkheim was discerning what it was that held modern societies together. (Coser draws attention to Durkheim's key question:

How does it come about that the individual, whilst becoming more autonomous, depends ever more closely upon society? How can he become at the same time more of an individual and yet more linked to society? ... It has seemed to us that what resolved this apparent antinomy was the transformation of social solidarity which arises from the ever-increasing division of labour.

Greve (1998) reminds us of 'les corps intermédiaires' which Durkheim envisaged in countering these problems and the shape that these intermediary bodies might take now.

The 'transformation' Durkheim refers to is from 'mechanical solidarity' to 'organic solidarity'. Mechanical solidarity is where 'a certain number of states of consciousness are common to all members of the same society' and 'it is this solidarity that repressive law materially embodies' ([1893] 1984, 64). Sentiments and beliefs are held in common by group members (83). Durkheim refers to two consciousnesses within us. One of these is 'society living and acting within us' whereas the other 'represents us alone in what is personal and distinctive about us, what makes us an individual' (84). When our consciousness is enveloped by 'collective consciousness', Durkheim writes, 'our individuality is zero' (84).

With organic solidarity (which is responsible for the division of labour) individuals differ from one another. With organic solidarity each individual 'has a sphere of action peculiarly our own, and consequently a personality' (85). Unlike mechanical solidarity, which is founded on similarity, organic solidarity is based on difference. Durkheim writes that as labour becomes more 'divided up', the more specialised and differentiated activities become, but at the same time there is 'more room for the free play of our initiative' (85).

Organic solidarity has its own 'moral order' (Giddens, 1971, 79). It is not the preserve of mechanical solidarity. Organic solidarity is not merely an economic grouping.

Fish points out (2002, 219), citing Nisbet, ([1966] 1972), that Durkheim may well have moved away from the idea of an 'evolutionary scheme by the time of *The Elementary Forms*'. Fish also points out that (2002, 219) that Durkheim may well have made collective effervescence 'ascendant over the original mechanical-organic distinction' [therefore by-passing this distinction and favouring collective effervescence as a concept].

Relating to the idea of changing forms of solidarity (or not) Halewood (2014, 18) draws attention to the fact that scholars see a shift in emphasis in Durkheim's work, including towards the notion of 'collective representations'. Halewood finds (18), however, that there is no break between the early and later Durkheim and that it is 'the social', and what it means, that is of prime concern to Durkheim throughout his works. There certainly seems to be a shift in emphasis, but as Halewood suggests, it is, indeed, 'the social' which is one of the key unifying themes of Durkheim.

To summarise; although in *DOL* Durkheim indicates that organic solidarity supplants mechanical solidarity Durkheim does not refer to either form of solidarity in *Forms*, for instance. Despite *Forms*' concern with the totemic religion of the native Australians, therefore relating to mechanical solidarity, the thesis of *Forms* differs from that of *DOL*. Evolutionary nature of the forms of solidarity need not be taken literally on this basis suggesting that different forms of solidarity may be found and studied within 'modern' society.

The 'Anomic Division of Labour'

Besnard pointed out (2005, 70) that 'not everything is rosy in modern societies', something that Durkheim was aware of. Durkheim's description of organic solidarity is generally taken to refer to capitalist, industrial societies, therefore to cities. Durkheim realises that an explanation of these problems is necessary given that an explanation he considered that the normal result of the division of labour was social solidarity. Indeed, Giddens highlights (1971, 80) that, according to Durkheim's argument, the 'cult of the individual' is enabled through the growing division of labour and is the 'moral counterpart to the growth of the division of labour' (1971, 80) and that organic solidarity corresponds to a moral order. Giddens stresses that, despite this, Durkheim

does not think that the contemporary ‘cult of the individual’ is a sufficient basis in itself for solidarity. Under certain conditions ‘pathological forms’ become manifest (Durkheim, [1893]1984, 291). These ‘forms’ are anomalies, envisaged as transitory by Durkheim (Besnard, 2005, 70).

Durkheim classifies three forms of anomaly but Besnard finds (2005, 70-71) that Durkheim has not identified the fourth.⁸ Besnard (2005, 70-71) describes the forms of ‘anomaly’:

1. ‘the “anomic division of labour” resulting from the absence or the lack of rules which assure cooperation between social roles (Besnard, 2005, 70-71).’
2. ‘the “forced division of labour” where regulation present unjust ... and [there is] inequity in contracts that fix rewards for services rendered (Besnard, 2005, 70-71).’
3. ‘Another “a-normal” form’ [that Besnard calls “bureaucratic”] which is characterized by an extreme specialization conjoined with weak productivity and poor coordination of functions (71).’
and
4. ‘Even though it deals with the pathology most often evoked as consequence of the division of labor, Durkheim considers alienation or the absence of significance in “crumbs of work” – to use the expression of George Friedmann (1956) – and the reduction of the individual to the role of a machine in two brief pages at the end of the chapter on the anomic division of labour’ (Besnard, 2005, 71)

Mechanical solidarity, organic solidarity and the anomic division of labour, all three terms deployed by Durkheim in *The Division of Labour* have been explained and accounted for prior to further discussion. The reason for this is that mechanical and organic solidarity are counterintuitive terms which cannot be introduced within some degree of contextualisation. The anomic degree of labour likewise requires contextualising. These terms are all relevant to the first theme discussed which is authority.

⁸ Durkheim does describe what Besnard characterises as ‘alienation’, without giving it separate coverage to the rest of the chapter on the anomic division of labour (Durkheim [1893] 1984, 306-309).

‘Moral Rules’ and ‘Moral Authority’

The ‘social’, referred to above, is synonymous with the ‘moral’ for Durkheim (Fields, 1995, lv). This links in with the theme of *authority* which Durkheim envisaged primarily as *moral authority*, linking in with other key themes including the sacred. Even his account of the state flows from the notion of its wider moral authority. However, ‘moral’ is part of a very distinctive Durkheimian vocabulary since for Durkheim morality is something which is society-specific rather than a constraining or compelling idea, preconceived by the individual. Indeed, Fields, in discussing the way that translations involve ‘reconstruction’ (1995: liv-lv), points out that ‘social’ is often treated synonymously and interchangeably with ‘moral’; contiguous ideas which collide in *Forms*. Durkheim’s conception of authority, which draws on the social-moral rules-moral constraint-the sacred, in other words, moral authority, is peculiarly his own forming a theme running through his work. The most manifest exposition of the links between all these elements is in *Forms*, which develops and accentuates the theme of the sacred and emotion, whilst still linking it in with moral authority. However, this inspection of moral authority begins with *DOL* ([1893], 1984) since it constitutes Durkheim’s doctoral thesis, therefore representing an early stage in his conceptual development.

‘Authority’ for Durkheim: *The Division of Labour in Society*

Durkheim’s attacks on Spencer in *The Division of Labour in Society* ([1893] 1984) indicate how Durkheim envisaged society and the place of moral rules and moral authority in relation to it. Durkheim attacked Spencer’s claim that ‘special contracts’ produce social solidarity based on ‘spontaneous agreement between individual interests’ ([1893] 1984, 152) writing that ‘...Self-interest is in fact the least constant thing in the world ... Thus, such a cause can give rise to only transitory links and association of a fleeting kind.’

Referring to rules Durkheim claims that a ‘body of rules’ is an outward form ‘taken over time by the relationships established spontaneously between the social functions’ (Durkheim, [1893] 1984, 304). Legal rules serve as an index of ‘the more fundamental moral conditions of the social order’ (Jones, 1986).

In *DOL* Durkheim clearly articulates a ‘pro-social’ argument concerning the relationship between the individual and society. For Durkheim legal rules and professional contracts are but an index for an underlying moral order. Durkheim’s essays acknowledge that moral breakdowns can occur yet normally do not. His account assumes the possibility of equilibrium as normal condition. The conviction running through Durkheim’s work is that of society enabling of the individual who draws on its moral authority. In *DOL* he favours a biological homeostatic metaphor thus regular contact of ‘organs’ means ‘[individuals] experience a keen, continuous feeling of their mutual dependence’ ([1893], 1984, 304). Organs ‘regulate themselves and time gradually effects the task of consolidation’ ([1893], 1984, 304). It is inferred from what Durkheim writes about ritual in *Forms* that by ‘time’ Durkheim might mean the repetition of ethic-laden rituals through which rules become felt throughout the whole.

Moral break-down can occur. Durkheim does refer to crises occurring ‘that periodically disturb economic functions ([1893], 1984, 305) though these crises are hardly explained by him. He describes the way in which large-scale industry appears when the market becomes more extensive transforming employer-worker relationships. Due to the rapidity of the changes the ‘conflicting interests’ of machine displacing man, manufacturing displacing small workshops, physical distance between worker and family, here is no time for an ‘equilibrium’ to be established ([1893], 1984, 306). However, he argues optimistically that ‘the anomic division of labour’ is only produced under abnormal circumstances and that the division of labour is ‘above all a source of solidarity’, and not just ‘a way of increasing the efficiency of social forces’ ([1893] 1984, 308).

Durkheim’s description of moral authority and its mechanisms is very generic. The comparisons made between ‘mechanical solidarity’ and ‘organic solidarity’ elaborated in *DOL* are difficult to relate to modern authority-formation. However, Durkheim’s insistence on the necessity for ‘mutual dependence’ in society and on a causal relationship between feelings of dependence and rule formation – expressed rather too abstractly in has to be said – points to something valuable, links between emotion and authority.

‘Authority’ for Durkheim: Moral Authority and the Sacred

Chapter Seven of *Forms* ([1912] 1915, 205-234) emphasises the outward face of moral authority, linking it with 'animation' and with 'the sacred'. Durkheim suggests a series of connections linking the 'moral force' generated by and synonymous with, society; between society, 'god, 'a god', 'the totemic principle' and the sacred principle and force. In turn, he equates the sacred with energy, force, authority and again, with society. The motor for the sacred is animation. (Animation and the sacred will be considered later). Durkheim's notion of authority is based in affect founded in ritual; the formation of authority requiring ritual. He extrapolates from ritual to legitimacy and (moral) regulation.

In *Forms* Durkheim relates how society makes demands on its members and places obligations on them through the moral authority it possesses ([1912]1915, 209) which members will experience emotionally. Support and constraint are conjoined within the moral authority of society, or, as he had put it earlier in *DOL* ([1893]1984, 39; 230), by 'the collective or common consciousness'. This moral authority is imposed from outside; this collective force penetrates individuals and becomes integrated within them. Society has a 'stimulating action' and individuals feel in 'moral harmony' with their fellow beings ([1912]1915, 211). It is because of moral authority that we obey someone and we experience respect 'when we feel this interior and wholly spiritual pressure operating upon us' ([1912]1915, 207). Social facts can be distinguished from psychology through 'an outward sign', which is constraint. It is the outward expression of moral authority which is itself 'interior and profound' (208, footnote 4).

Society is god-like ([1912] 1915, 206) in that it can 'arouse the sensation of the divine' and is able to awaken the idea of a 'moral power such that religions adore'. Moral authority inspires different sentiments in society to those inspired by 'simple visible objects' (212). Durkheim links moral authority with 'religious sentiments'; which enable differentiation of the sacred from the profane.

'Authority' for Durkheim: The State

While Durkheim, as we have seen, treats many of his terms as interchangeable and as having interdependence, when it comes to the state, he is emphatic. The state is not to be equated with society. As Giddens explains, Durkheim envisaged the state as distinct and separate from civil society. He concedes that 'secondary groups' prevent the state oppressing the individual, as well as allowing the state to be 'sufficiently free' of the

individual. Well-developed occupational associations have a role in “balancing” the power of the state’ (Giddens, 1996, 29).

Durkheim considered that the corporation should ‘constitute the essential element in our social structure ([1893] 1984, Preface, lv)’. The nation could not be maintained ‘unless between the state and individuals, a whole range of secondary groups are interposed (1984, liv)’. This is a normative and functional description of an already-formed institution; indeed, one searches Durkheim in vain for detailed explanations for diachronic and synchronic variations in local state-formation.

The autonomy of the state from civil society as described by Durkheim has a curious parallel with the assertion by neo-Marxists that the state possesses an interest-structuring capability only made possible by the relative autonomy it has established.

Esping-Andersen, Friedland and Olin Wright (1976, 192) describe *corporatism* – a distinct concept suggesting a state involved in ‘interest-structuring’ – as an ‘[historical example] of neutralization of politically organized and challenging segments ...’ In this neo-Marxian rendition, the state acts positively to structure different interests rather than merely respond to competing demands. Again, this is a somewhat functional account of a fully-formed institution, without attention to detailed origins and local variations.

‘Authority’ for Durkheim: Class

There is a price to be paid by taking the explanatory route which Durkheim chose. By featuring the occupational interdependence of many trades, connected by a ‘complex division of labour’, little mention is made of class in an economic sense – ownership and non-ownership.

The Durkheimian deficit is generally recognised as an inability to model class except in terms of occupations. This presents limitations in terms of explaining the relationships where actors’ class relationship to the ‘means of production’ (ownership of small or large capital holdings) matters very much, either now or in the past to how state was formed.

Durkheim’s account of state authority and development which rests on the evolution of organic solidarity: ‘juridical rules’ generated through a complex division of labour

(Giddens 1996, 3), thus ‘talks past’ observed class conflict during state formation. As Giddens writes, Durkheim closes-off class as a conceptual space.

What happens to social functions in the absence of rules and regulations is examined in Book Three of *The Division of Labour* devoted to ‘pathological forms’ and includes ‘his all too brief diagnosis of the ills of capitalism’: ‘unregulated competition’, ‘class conflict’ and ‘meaningless work’ (Lukes, 1985, 174). For Lukes, Durkheim considers these ills to be transitory, a situation to be resolved ‘by allowing the operation of interdependent functions to produce its natural consequences’ (Lukes, 1985, 174). Alexander, (2005, 139-140), on the other hand, suggests that ‘shifting theoretical logic’ in Books One and Two of *Division* culminates in Durkheim ‘[giving] causal primacy to...unequal material conditions and to the purely coercive state’ in Book Three. Alexander differentiates the Durkheim model of capitalism ‘only in its inability to describe fully the class origins of the material inequality it described’ (2005, 140).

In my reading (which has included the French originals and different editions in English translation) *Forms*, and *Division of Labour* are characterised by the idea of *potentiality* while remaining agnostic as to which direction society might take (and why). This is surprising as the transformations described below were contemporaneous with Durkheim’s major publications and ‘improvement’ also featuring in French towns and cities. Moreover, better provision of free state-education was central to Durkheim’s own policy recommendations for promoting meritocracy thereby averting a ‘forced division of labour’.⁹ Grusky and Galescu (2005, 322-359) persist with Durkheim’s aim of laying the foundations of a ‘new neo-Durkheimian class model’ in which it is still *occupations* might provide ‘the main site at which distinctive attitudes and styles of life can be generated’ (2005, 329); adding vaguely that ‘class-like qualities’ may develop at the local level (2005, 337). Durkheim’s description of the effects of ‘forced mobility’ ([1893] 1960, 384), which Grusky and Galescu also acknowledge, persists in omitting conflicts associated with ownership and non-ownership.

Summary: Authority: the Durkheimian Attributes and Deficit

Authority for Durkheim flows from his conceptualisation of moral authority, is interwoven with notions relating to the moral order and manifested differently

⁹ The forced division of labour entails widespread mismatching of workers’ talents and the occupations they are employed in. This weakens ‘collective conscience’ contributing to ‘anomie’ (normlessness).

under conditions of both organic solidarity and mechanical solidarity - and with moral rules. Moral authority is interwoven with other concepts; solidarity, sociality, the sacred and rites, as will be seen particularly in *Forms* where his arguments concerning the sacred are drawn together as a clearly focal element. I agree with Durkheim that deliberative social transformations – such as the development of local authority to regulate – do not happen without *affects*, ritualised publicly. But I also concur with Giddens' general view that Durkheim does not address class conceptually; that the major lacuna in Durkheim's account is the way he talks past class 'as a conceptual space'. His treatment of class in *The Division of Labour* is severely under-developed though his discussion of ritual in *Forms* may be adaptable to rituals particular to the concept of class if enlarged beyond occupational class. Although class is alluded to in the context of anomic forms, the outcome of contestation is under-explored given Durkheim's optimism that the transition from mechanical to organic solidarity could be accomplished and anomie mitigated or repaired:

[W]hen the division of labor brings these different organs and their functions together, the relations thus formed partake of the same degree of fixity and regularity; and these relations, being repeated, become habitual, and, when collective force is added, are transformed into rules of conduct.

(cited Jones, 1986, 52)

But this tendency towards homeostasis which Durkheim envisages seems unconvincing. However, Durkheim does acknowledge that the state of society is never settled and that there is always an underlying 'potentiality', ambiguity even, a tension which could give rise to 'pathological forms'. On this subject, as on others, Durkheim is ambivalent. The ambiguities he perceives in society must intertwine with his own ambivalence and doubts about the state of contemporary France.

Durkheim's account of transitions and of transitions gone wrong (the forced division of labour) offer bleak glimpses of occupational demoralisation (anomie, weakening of ties, suicide) although the cusp between social dissolution and social consolidation is at least delineated. Although conflict and competition for resources and the formation of organic solidarity forms part of his discussion in

The Division of Labour one struggles to find clues as to how local variations in state authority might be accounted for by Durkheim. Gentle or pronounced transitions from one state to another likewise lack satisfactory detailing such as why one form of ritual is enacted at a particular time and for a particular ethical purpose

As noted, Durkheim very probably dropped his adherence to the model of mechanical *then* organic solidarity (Fish, 2002). In *Forms* Durkheim discusses the French Revolution *and* the totemic rites of the first Australians and draws on both of these through the notion of collective effervescence (cf. Fish, 2002). This more expansive view of the ‘collective’ and of differing forms of solidarity (even though his argument is supposedly ‘evolutionary’ in *Forms*) is one with which I concur, and which lends itself to further exploration in the dissertation.

Unfortunately, this account of authority, though necessary, is not sufficient for this study which seeks to account for authority formation *over time* (which also involved capital relations and class).

To sum up, Durkheim’s conception of moral authority is too generic to illuminate the specific formation of local authority over time. It particularly lacks a satisfactory discussion of class.

The next theme to be considered is *Emotion* and the extent to which a Durkheimian articulation of emotions is useful to this account.

Public Emotions

Introduction

The subject of *emotions* has wide boundaries beyond full inspection here. This dissertation develops an unfashionable neo-Durkheimian suggestion that place-variations in feelings, including emotions contained within local institutions, may be attributed to places having a ‘religious life’ (moral life in common) showing different emotional qualities and intensities. In this chapter consideration is limited to *affects* (public emotions) enabled, elicited and modulated, collectively, through socially created categories enacted through ritual practices (cf. Rawls, 1996, 2001). The proposition is that it is useful to conceive of the local sacred as a local overdetermined ‘distillation’ of all of these.

To qualify as affects (public feelings) emotions require dyads as a minimum requirement, and I am aware of the micro-sociology of emotions encompassed by symbolic interactionism (cf. Collins, 2014). However, attention is aimed towards larger entities for which Durkheim’s study of ritual and emotion in *Forms* ([1912]1915), *DOL* ([1893] 1984), *PE* ([1950] 1958) and later neo-Durkheimian literature have relevance.

For Durkheimians, categories, rites and emotion are mutually implicated. Credited as the effective ‘founding father of sociology’ Durkheim’s sometimes enigmatic bundling of categories, affects, beliefs and causality was a response to Kantian *a priorism* and Humean empiricism¹⁰. Durkheim anticipated that his thesis concerning affects in simple societies would be applicable to the complex too. He reminds us (1915 [1912] 427) that *all* societies ‘[reaffirm] at regular intervals the collective sentiments and the collective ideas which make its unity and its personality’ through rituals, religious and non-religious. ‘Moral remaking’ can only take place through ‘reunions, assemblies and meetings where the individuals, being closely united to one another, reaffirm in common their common sentiments’ ([1912] 1915, 427). He sees parallels between ‘an assembly of Christians celebrating the principal dates of the life of Christ’ and ‘a reunion of citizens commemorating the promulgation of a new moral

¹⁰N.B. In ‘critical discussion’ with Rawls over her articulation of a Durkheimian epistemology, Schmaus (1998a, 873) claimed that ‘Durkheim was not well versed in Hume’s arguments regarding the origins of our idea of causality’.

or legal system or some great event in the national life'; contrasting his own society's 'mediocrity' with the fervour of the French Revolution ([1912] 1915, 427-428). His reading was that France was in a 'stage of transition and moral mediocrity' ([1912] 1915, 427), suggesting that the 'great things of the past' do not fill present-day society with enthusiasm because

- they have been adopted and society is no longer conscious of them
- they do not meet aspirations and no aspiration has replaced them

'[T]he old gods are growing old or already dead, and others are not yet born'. 'Old historic souvenirs' cannot be 'artificially revived'; a 'living cult' (427) is necessary to clarify vision, thus Durkheim predicts a time when society 'know[s] again those hours of creative effervescence in the course of which new ideas arise and new formulae are found which serve for a while as a guide...' '[Men] will spontaneously feel the need of reliving... [those] hours from time to time in thought, ... [to keep] alive their memory by means of celebrations which regularly reproduce their fruits' (427-8).

If this faith does not last, institutions fall away. For example, although the 'revolutionary faith' of the French Revolution inspired a cycle of holidays to keep its principles alive, belief fell away and disappointment followed early enthusiasm. Durkheim was optimistic about our capacity to invent new gospels although he could not predict the symbols 'this new faith will express itself with' nor whether they would succeed in '[translating] the reality they seek to translate' (428).

What is Emotion?

Emotion', 'affect', 'feeling' and 'sentiment' are often used loosely and interchangeably, without agreed meanings (Perri 6, 2007a, 5). Shott (1979, 1319) uses 'affect', 'emotion', 'feeling', and 'sentiment' as 'semantic equivalents', describing 'the actor's experience of emotion' as 'physiological arousal' and 'cognitive labelling as affect'. (cf. Calhoun and Solomon, 1984). I choose *affect* and *sentiment* to mean emotions, experienced and 'moralised' collectively. For example, 6 et al. (2007, 2) suggest that rave and rap are 'indices' in which emotions like frustration, and bitterness, 'structure what people count as their interests'. In other words, emotions are needed in order to reason.

6 et al. (2007, 7-8) write that Hume's claim that reason is and must be 'the slave of the passions' rests on the proposition that our goals appeal to us because of the emotional satisfaction to be gained in pursuing and realising them and that 'emotions are reasonable precisely to the extent that they serve our goals' These goals are also valuable for 'their emotional yield' (2007, 8). But how is this determined?

Impressions, writes Hume, are 'original' or 'secondary' (Calhoun and Solomon, 1984). They are 'such as without any antecedent perception arise in the soul, from the constitution of the body, from the animal spirits, or from the application of objects to the external organs' (Calhoun and Solomon, 1984, 95). Secondary, 'reflective impressions' proceed from these, 'immediately or by the interposition of its idea' (1984, 95). Reflective impressions are divided into those which are 'calm' and those which are 'violent' (1984, 96). Durkheim and Hume focus on social relations. Referring to Durkheim and differentiating his view of emotions from that of Hume, Rawls (2001,36) writes that 'Durkheim shares with Hume a focus on social relations as the necessary origin of sentiments, or emotions, which would not come into being without those social relations.'

Rawls (1996) emphasises and clarifies Durkheim's thesis that, as 6 puts it [drawing on Rawls], 'The very classifications we use – including, [Durkheim] implied, the categories of rationality and consequentiality - are sustained and fixed only to the extent that they have some more or less legible relationship with shared emotions' (6, 2007, 10). Perri 6 further elaborates (2007, 10) on the relationship of categories, reason and emotion, suggesting that 'for Durkheim and his tradition, emotions are consequential because the particular forms that anger, bitterness, *Schadenfreude* (6's emphasis), nostalgia, envy, enthusiasm and commitment take in any organisation or group or society, *define* (6's emphasis) what will be counted as consequential, and, indeed, as moral ...'. 6 (2007, 10) emphasises that Durkheim, Hume and Freud all think that 'emotions are essential for defining morality'. 6 points out how emotions can be either 'functional' or 'dysfunctional'. This means emotions either 'reinforce' or 'undermine' 'individual and collective capacities for the rational pursuit of goals'. According to 6, (2007, 10):

... [this] follows from the rest of Durkheim's theory that every form of social organisation and its attendant emotional sensibilities and capabilities will, sooner or later, 'overshoot' and begin to disorganise itself by exaggerating the very commitments that at first sustain it.

Emotions have Social Origins and Objects

Durkheim was hardly the first to identify emotions as social. As Calhoun and Solomon write, ‘what characterizes many emotions [in Aristotle’s *Rhetoric*] is a strong moral belief about how others should behave. This is nowhere more evident than in his analysis of anger (1984, 44-48)’:

Anger is...directed at...friends more often than at others, since better treatment is expected from them, and also at those who normally give honor or take thought of them, but then cease to act in this way; the angry individuals here assume they are being scorned, for otherwise they would be treated in the same way as usual (1984, 47).

Thus, for Aristotle individual experience of feelings is rooted in the social. Calhoun and Solomon write that in the *Rhetoric* ‘Aristotle sees that what characterizes many emotions is a strong moral belief about how others should behave’ (Calhoun and Solomon, 1984, 43).

Durkheim’s recognition of the necessity of displaying certain emotions in certain rites (such as showing grief, even if one does not feel it) matches Aristotle’s conception of the appropriate amount of anger for the circumstance (See Solomon, 1984, 50-52). Durkheim reminds us that members of society are ‘obliged’ to weep when a kinsman dies, ‘a duty imposed by the group’ ([1912], 1915 397). For Aristotle requisite anger is delineated socially: ‘He who swerves a bit towards the excess of or to the lacking in anger is not to be blamed ... How far and how much one has to swerve before he becomes no longer praiseworthy is not easy to specify. The criteria belong within the circumstances and one’s perception of them’ (1984, 51).

Summary

The claim is that our feelings are not of our own making. If this is not the case, then how are they made?

Durkheim on Emotions

Durkheim’s main explication or impartial theory of ritual and emotions is set out *Forms* ([1912] 1915) in which Durkheim’s treatment of societies very far removed from our own (but not only that).

For Durkheim a cult is a system of ‘diverse rites...which reappear periodically’ (63). Durkheim distinguishes only two cults (Positive and Negative) and identifies varieties of Rites ‘belonging to them’. His suggestion is that society is ‘animated’ by their enactment.

I set out below the positive and negative cult and its associated rites. Although separation of the positive cult and the negative cult and the associated rites is relatively straightforward as will be seen the various components of the Durkheimian ‘model’ are difficult to visualise.

The Positive Cult	The Negative Cult
<p>Is ...‘[the upholding of] positive and bilateral relations with [religious forces], whose regulation and organization is the function of a group of ritual practices’ (326)</p> <p>‘The Institution of Sacrifice’ (326-350) in particular the ‘Intichiuma’ celebrations. The first stage is ‘celebrations’ to assure the prosperity of the animal or vegetable species serving the clan as totem’ (327). The second stage is ‘the institution of sacrifice’ which is designed to ‘[bring] about ... internal and moral regeneration’ (346)</p> <p>‘Imitative Rites’ These rites ‘complete and consolidate’ the sacrificial rites. The rite of imitating the animal or plant of their species ‘makes and remakes the kinship’ with all the other members of the moral community</p> <p>‘Representative Rites’ or ‘Commemorative Rites’ These rites are celebrated ‘to remain faithful to the past, to keep for the group its normal physiognomy (371)’. They may be dramatic representations of the ‘mythical history of the ancestor (372). ‘Everything is in representations whose only object can be to render the mythical past of the clan present to the mind. But the mythology of a group is the system of beliefs common to this group. ... Through [the rite], the group periodically renews the sentiment which it has of itself and of its unity.... The glorious souvenirs which are made to live again ... give them a feeling of strength and confidence... (375). This is a group of ceremonies whose ‘sole purpose’ is ‘to awaken certain ideas and sentiments, to attach the present to the past or the individual to the group (378)</p> <p>‘Piacular Rites’¹¹ These are ‘sad celebrations’ and are ‘rites celebrated in a state of uneasiness or sadness’ (389). Prostration, screaming, wailing, and inflicting injuries on themselves and each other are entailed. ‘A need for avenge’ is met through scapegoating. Society constrains its members to ‘put their sentiments in harmony with the situation (399)</p>	<p>Separates the sacred and profane but also provides safe access to the sacred by ‘novices’</p> <p>‘Ascetic rites’ Interdictions between different kinds of sacred things and between the sacred and the profane. Precautions are needed due to the contagiousness of the sacred</p>

¹¹ A question which Riley poses (2005, 276) is regarding the nature of positive rites (i.e. whether they generate the pure or impure sacred). His response is that positive rites generate the pure sacred, ‘the sacred as moral’ (276). This would then exclude piacular rites which are ‘sad celebrations’ enacted in a state of unease from being positive rites. The author of this study, however, considers them to be positive rites and that all rites have the capacity to generate the impure sacred.

Jones (2005, 40) writes that '[*Les Formes* is a work] that advances two outrageously ambitious theories and at least a dozen subsidiary hypotheses, and whose interpretive possibilities sometimes seem endlessly bewildering'. I agree with this statement and considers further that Durkheim's writings cannot be relied upon as established wisdom, nor can any position taken up on Durkheim ever be claimed as the definitive one. However, Durkheim claims on the contents page of *Forms* ([1912] 1915) that the 'subject' of *Forms* is 'Religious Sociology and the Theory of Knowledge'. He states that the 'principal' and 'secondary' subjects of his research are:

1. Principal subject: an analysis of the simplest religion known to determine the elementary forms of the religious life – Why they are more easily found and explained in the primitive religions

2. Secondary subject of research: the genesis of the fundamental notions of thought or of the categories' - Reasons for believing that their origin is religious and consequently social - How a way of restating the theory of knowledge is thus seen

What Durkheim means by 'religion' *may* apply to Christianity, but *Forms* is emphatically *not* an investigation or account of 'religion' in the conventional sense. This is because Durkheim equates 'religion' and 'the sacred' with the 'social', considering their 'elemental forms' in the *totemic* religion and rites of the first Australians, most specifically the *Arunta* tribe, and, to a lesser degree, those of first Americans. – accompanied by a suggestion that modern European societies also rests on comparable elementary forms. That is, he reinterprets Spencer and Gillen's anthropological reports (1899, 1904) to understand 'sociality' generally.

Durkheim added a secondary objective: a new theory of knowledge¹² contending that 'the categories of the understanding'¹³ or 'essential ideas' 'at the root of all our judgments' (9) are 'of religious origin' and 'rich in social elements' (10). Durkheim ties the 'social nature' of categories with rites which are themselves 'religious' (social) in origin (10).

¹² Durkheim writes that 'philosophers since Aristotle' include 'ideas of time, space, class, number, cause, substance, personality' among the main categories (9). Rawls points out (1996:435) that Durkheim confines 'empirical arguments' in *Forms* to the six categories of time, space, classification, force, cause and totality.

¹³ Rawls (1996, 434, footnote 4) points out that Locke uses the phrase 'the categories of the understanding', i.e. uses the article in front of 'categories', in 1690, and that Kant's *Critique of pure reason* ([1781] 1965), is translated as in Locke.

Rawls (1996) agrees that intelligibility achieved through categories enables society to be sustained.

Emotions and the Sacred

Forms ([1912] 1915) is the work which contains Durkheim's articulation (albeit incomplete) of the sacred. The problematic nature of the sacred as a concept is intensified by Durkheim's incomplete theorising (cf. Riley, 2005) and Durkheim's possible ambivalence on society as well as the actual ambiguities which he attempts to articulate. The fizzing potential for change is clearest in the relationship between the *sacred* and *collective effervescence*. This ritual-enabled excitation in collective contemplation of the sacred - seems especially forceful. For Durkheim 'the religious idea is born out of this effervescence' (xvi).

Durkheim describes the two phases of Australian life. One phase consists in wanderings by little groups hunting and fishing; the other phase consists in 'concentration' of the population for days or months. The intensity of the former period is 'mediocre'; principally economic activity. Life is 'uniform' (215). However, when the clan gathers passions increase in unison and gestures become 'rhythmic and regular' (216). Boomerangs and bull-roarers are used to express and strengthen agitation. Members act intemperately, even incestuously, contradicting the normal boundaries of behaviour. Most ceremonies occur at night illuminated by firelight. Durkheim writes that these scenes produce 'such a violent super-excitation of the whole physical and mental life that it cannot be supported very long' (216).

Durkheim cites Spencer and Gillen (1899, 1904) on the ceremonies. Spencer and Gillen conducted 'anthropological field research' in Australia which was 'used as the basis for further anthropological theorizing by, amongst others, James Frazer and Émile Durkheim' (Petch, 2000, 313). Kreinath (2012, 367) describes how Durkheim's use of 'photographic evidence' in Spencer and Gillen's account allowed Durkheim to theorize religion primarily through ritual'. Kreinath points out that whilst Durkheim was following the practice of the day in using ethnographic data he had not gathered himself, the sources themselves were considerable. However, this differs from my study which draws on historical, cumulative empirical evidence of comparative nature.

Drawing on Spencer and Gillen, Durkheim describes one of the most important 'religious'¹⁴ ceremonies among the Warramunga [tribe] concerning the snake Wollunqua, which lasting several days. On the fourth day after night-fall there is sexual licence, singing and 'wild excitement' (217). Even more violent scenes accompanied the Warramunga's fire ceremonies. At nightfall dancing and processions took place by torchlight; with mounting 'general effervescence'. A dozen 'assistants' with lighted torches' charged into a group of tribe members.

Durkheim (218) cites Spencer and Gillen (1904, 391):

The smoke, the blazing torches, the showers of sparks falling in all directions and the masses of dancing, yelling men formed altogether a genuinely wild and savage scene of which it is impossible to convey any adequate idea in words.

Durkheim comments ([1912] 1915, 218):

It seems to [a member] that he has become a new being: the decorations he puts on and the masks that cover his face figure materially in this interior transformation, and to a still greater extent, they aid in determining its nature. And as at the same time all his companions feel themselves transformed in the same way and express this sentiment by their cries, their gestures and their general attitude, everything is just as though he really were transported into a special world, entirely different from the one where he ordinarily lives, and into an environment filled with exceptionally intense forces that take hold of him and metamorphose him.

Durkheim proposes that this leaves members of the tribe convinced that there exist 'two heterogeneous and mutually incompatible worlds' (218). One world is where daily life 'drags wearily along'; the other which 'he cannot penetrate ... without at once entering relations with extraordinary powers that excite him to the point of frenzy. The first is the profane world, the second, that of sacred things' (218). Durkheim concludes that 'the religious idea seems to be borne' 'in the midst' of these effervescent social environments. The 'religious life' of Australians is made up of two phases; 'complete lull and super-excitation'. Social life 'oscillates' and 'the violence of this contrast was ... necessary to disengage the feeling of sacredness in its first form' (219). In modern societies the difference between the ordinary and the sacred is less pronounced since prayers and rituals are performed on a daily or weekly basis rather than exceptionally; but, likewise, 'positive rites' take place 'in the midst of assembled groups' (219).

¹⁴ As pointed out 'religion' in Durkheimian terms is equated with the social; the collective; which are equated with the sacred also.

‘Collective effervescence’ then, occurs when ‘men believe themselves transported into an entirely different world from the one they have before their eyes’ (226). The effect of feasts is to ‘put the masses into movement and thus to excite a state of effervescence, and sometimes even...delirium, which is not without a certain kinship with the religious state’ (383).

These passages are interesting because (as Durkheim intended) they remind us of present-day effervescent escapes from the ordinary, such as through civic gatherings described later. However, Durkheim’s linking of collective effervescence with the generating of the sacred does not allow space for more ‘quotidian’¹⁵ enactments of the sacred.

The Positive Cult and Effervescence

The ceremonies of the positive cult are ‘made up out of collective ceremonies which produce a state of effervescence among those who take part in them’ (399) and ‘...every communion of mind, in whatever form it may be made, raises...social vitality’ (401) and ‘the pooling of these sentiments results in intensifying them’ (407). Similar intensities of effervescence are associated with a wide range of different affects and circumstances, including weeping together for example in ‘piacular rites’ which are performed not in state of joyfulness but in a state of ‘uneasiness or sadness’ (389). Indeed, Durkheim intimates that piacular rites are positive rites. According to his definition of the positive cult (above piacular rites) should be included. The ‘exceptional violence of the manifestations by which the common pain is necessarily and obligatorily expressed even testifies to the fact that at this moment, the society is more alive and active than ever’ (401-402). When the southern lights appear, the Kurnai are fearful believing a great god to have lit it and that the fire may spread and consume them. So ‘a great effervescence results in the camp’ with wives exchanged, a sign of ‘great excitement’ (405).

The ‘state of effervescence’ (407) of sad events and happy feasts is similar. In the face of ill-fortune, the group re-affirms itself through passionate, violent gestures. The ‘vivacity’ of the emotions ‘denote[s] a state of effervescence which implies a mobilization of all our active forces, and even a supply of external energies’ (407).

¹⁵ Perri 6’s ‘neo-Durkheimian institutional theory’ draws on ‘quotidian ritual’ as well as ‘grand ceremonial’

Collective effervescence, as described by Durkheim, involves ‘violence...intensity’ and ‘manifestations’. Sorrow is intensified and animated through collective violence of gesture and action.

Emotions and Categories

For Durkheim categories and emotions are linked necessarily. In *Primitive Classification* ([1903] 2009), Durkheim and Mauss rehearsed their ideas concerning a sociology of knowledge and an epistemology more fully worked-out in *Forms*:

Durkheim and Mauss propose ([1903] 2009, 50) that ‘for ideas to be systematically arranged for reasons of sentiment’ ... ‘they should not be pure ideas, but that they should themselves be products of sentiment’. For those whom Durkheim calls ‘primitives’ ‘species of things’ are not just ‘objects of knowledge’. There are sorts of emotional ‘affective elements’ which ‘combine in the representation made of it’. He refers to ‘religious emotions’ [in other words, relating to sacredness which is about emotion] and how these emotions actually give the ‘representation’ ‘a special tinge’. Above all, he writes things are ‘sacred or profane, pure or impure ... favourable or unfavourable ...’ claiming that ‘their most fundamental characteristics are only expressions of the way in which they affect social sensibility ...’ He further suggests that ‘many peoples’ differentiate space ‘according to regions’ and that the reason for this is that ‘each region has its own affective value’. Due to these sentiments and therefore the ‘special religious sentiment’ the region is ‘connected with a special religious principle’ which distinguishes it from others. This ‘emotional value of notions’ is the ‘dominant characteristic in classification’.

The thesis of *Primitive Classification*, that it is the ‘religious sentiment’ of a region which differentiates it from other and that ‘the emotional value of notions’ is the ‘dominant characteristic in classification’ is relevant to this dissertation. Firstly, the claims highlight the variations in local feelings and dispositions towards space, and, secondly, it suggests relations between ideas, emotions and classification.

Durkheim’s *Forms* is reverted to in the remainder of the review:

The Totem

Durkheim emphasises that religious force is *the sentiment* 'inspired by the group in its members'. Sentiments are however projected by fixing upon an object. In this way the object itself becomes sacred ([1912] 1915, 229) through 'contagion'. Totemic vegetables and animals inspire 'religious sentiments' without themselves being the origin of these sentiments ([1912] 1915, 86). Lizards, caterpillars, plum-trees and so on 'are not of a nature to produce upon men these great and strong impressions which in a way resemble religious emotions and which impress a sacred character the objects they create' (205).

The totem, then, is a 'collective label' with a 'religious character' and 'it is in connection with it, that things are classified as sacred or profane ([1912] 1915, 119). Totemism is 'dominated by the idea of a quasi-divine principle, imminent in certain categories of men and things and thought of under the form of an animal or vegetable' ([1912] 1915, 205). Religious sentiments have causes 'wholly foreign to the nature of the object upon which they fix themselves' ([1912] 1915, 323). Sentiments are constituted by 'the impressions of comfort and dependence which the action of society provokes in the mind' ([1912] 1915, 323). They are 'especially intense' and therefore 'they are also eminently contagious' ([1912] 1915, 324) and even dangerous on contact with the profane.

Assembly

Because Durkheim intends his discussion to extend to all sentiments and excitations, it should apply to, say, political ideals and urgent campaigning. Durkheim emphasises religious forces. In an especially telling phrase of especial relevance to evidence presented later, Durkheim writes that in order to '*revivify* the sentiment it has of itself, society has to *assemble*' (349, emphases added). Representations expressing sacred things attain their greatest intensity at the moment when men are assembled together and are in immediate relations with one another, when they all partake of the same idea and the same sentiment (affect). Durkheim emphasises that 'the representations' [expressing] 'sacred beings' have 'their greatest intensity' when 'men are assembled together'. However, when an assembly disperses the representations' energy also disperses (345). Durkheim therefore links the sacred with ceremonial gatherings and the effervescence generated through these gatherings and the profane with dispersal and the mundane dispersed activities of the members of the tribe or clan.

Emotion, Energy, Thoughtful and Unthinking Enthusiasms

Durkheim is quoted at some length here, describing the genesis of particular affects (emphases added, excepting the first set which are in the original text):

We say that an object, whether individual or collective, inspires respect when the representation expressing it in the mind is gifted with such a force that it automatically causes or inhibits actions, *without regard for any consideration relative to their useful or injurious effects* [italics original]. When we obey somebody because of the moral authority which we recognize in him, we follow out his opinions, not because they seem wise, but because a certain sort of physical energy is imminent in the idea that we form of this person *Respect is the emotion which we experience when we feel this interior and wholly spiritual pressure operating upon us. ...* (207).

.... Gathering the grains or herbs ...are not occupations to awaken very lively passions. The dispersed condition in which the society finds itself results in making its life...dull. But when a corroboration takes place, everything changes.... When they ... come together, a sort of electricity is formed by their collecting which quickly transports them to an extraordinary degree of exaltation. (215-216).

By concentrating itself almost entirely in certain determined moments, the collective life has been able to attain its greatest intensity and efficacy, and consequently to give men a more active sentiment of the double existence they lead and of the double nature [profane/ ordinary/ disaggregated and sacred/ extraordinary/ collective] in which they participate (219).

... In fact, we can say that the believer is not deceived when he believes in the existence of a moral power upon which he depends and from which he receives all that is best in himself: this power exists, it is society. ...Before all religion is a system of ideas with which individuals represent to themselves the society of which they are members ... (225).

All that is sacred is the object of respect... In fact, a respected being is always expressed in the consciousness by a representation which, owing to the emotion it inspires, is charged with a high mental energy... Now the sacred world and the profane world are antagonistic to each other. They correspond to two forms of life which mutually exclude one another, or which at least cannot be lived at the same time with the same intensity (317).

... it still remains to be shown how it comes that the powers of evil have the same intensity and contagiousness as the others...how does it happen that they, too, are of a religious nature? Also, the energy and force of expansion which they have in common do not enable us to understand how, in spite of the conflict which divides them, they may be transformed into one another or substituted for each other in their respective functions, and how the pure may contaminate while the impure sometimes serves to sanctify (412)

In fact, we have seen that if collective life awakens religious thought on reaching a certain degree of intensity, it is *because it brings about a state of effervescence*

which changes the conditions of psychic activity. Vital energies are over-excited, passions more active, sensations stronger... In order to account for the very particular impressions which he receives, he attributes to the things with which he is in most direct contact properties which they have not, exceptional powers and virtues which the objects of every-day experience do not possess ... (422).

For a society to become conscious of itself and maintain at the necessary degree of intensity the sentiments which it thus attains, it must assemble and concentrate itself ... (422).

From this it can be concluded that assembly enables animation. Durkheim uses the term 'animation' once only in *Forms*. He refers to positive rites which are performed with 'gravity' but which exclude neither animation nor joy (389). 'Animation' is a complex amalgam. In these 'positive rites' 'gravity' is co-constitutive of animation and joy. Extrapolating from this, the positive rites known as 'piacular' rites gravity is co-constitutive of animation and disquietude, not joy. Durkheim links the way that the participants in rites perform movements 'in [the] same state of mind with joy [in the case of optimistic rites] and with animation. Animation is therefore both related to affect and to movement.

Although Durkheim uses 'animation' only once he uses catch-all words which, however, all have somewhat different emphases. Durkheim refers to *collective effervescence* frequently. He contrasts the 'creative effervescence' (427-428) of the French Revolution with the '[current] stage of transition and moral mediocrity' (428). 'As seen from the description of the corroboree the sacred is generated through this effervescence which also has ambiguous qualities, as in the piacular rites. Another term Durkheim used, but apparently only on four occasions, according to the Durkheimian, William Watts Miller (2005), in his article 'Dynamogénique et Élémentaire' was *dynamogenesis*. Jones (2005, 80) refers to one of these occasions; Durkheim's address at a meeting of the Société française de philosophie in 1913. Jones writes:

The man who is with his god, Durkheim emphasized, has a "certain confidence, an ardour for life, an enthusiasm that he does not experience in ordinary times. He has more power to resist the hardships of existence; he is capable of greater things and proves it by his conduct".

Durkheim's terminology shifted over his career. In the *Année Sociologique* (1913), Mauss and Durkheim conclude:

In the end, religion understood in this way appears as consisting above all in a system of acts that are concerned with perpetually making and re-making the soul of the collectivity and of individuals. Although it has

a speculative role to play, its principal role is dynamogenic. It gives the individual forces that allow him to transcend himself, to raise himself above his nature and to master it. Yet the only moral forces that are

superior to those available to the individual...are those coming from individuals in association. Here is why religious forces are, and can be, none other than collective forces.

(Mauss and Durkheim, 1913, 98, cited Watts Miller, 2010, 18)

Although Durkheim did not use the term 'dynamogenic' in *Forms* the gatherings *are* dynamogenic in nature. I refer again to Durkheim (422) where he declares that 'For a society to become conscious of itself and maintain at the necessary degree of intensity the sentiments which it thus attains, it must assemble and concentrate itself ... [and that] ... this concentration brings about an exaltation of the mental life which takes form in a group of ideal conceptions where is portrayed the new life thus awakened'.

Durkheim did not tease these concepts out sufficiently. Re-visiting these concepts should enable clarification of their relevance to our data which indicates that different degrees of animation are observable from place-to-place: one visionary, the other 'okay'. However, and this is a point underscored by places experienced as quiet, peaceful, ordinary and 'okay', not every rite produces 'effervescent' stirrings and it is suspected that quietude is not simply a matter of lapsed rituals – although it may be. Quiet composure has its rituals too, as Mary Douglas indicates in *Natural Symbols* (2003, xvi-xvii). 'Quotidian' rituals (6, P., 2007, 42) can succeed. Mary Douglas refers to quotidian quiet rituals but not to rituals which are irregular but modulated. Durkheim does not, in *Forms*, explicitly refer to failed rituals (see Collins, 2005 on 'emotional energy'). However, he emphasises that assembling together is essential to generate collective effervescence through which the sacred is generated. Extrapolating from this, if an element is missing for Durkheim such as the requisite level of effervescence then I suggest that on his terms the ritual cannot succeed (Collins, 2005). However, as pointed out above it is not necessarily the case that rituals fail because of lack of energy. There is a Durkheimian deficit here. In order to account empirically for failed rituals, it is necessary to examine the Marxian account of regulation and class.

When Durkheim asserts that feelings forged by assembly are pre-requisite to the formation of the categories necessary for knowledge-formation – the strongest claim in his theory of knowledge - two interesting implications arise immediately:

- that lack of animation impedes capacity for sense-making

- that emotionality accompanies reason and thoughtfulness

The second of these is easier to accept than the first especially in the case of moral reasoning (cf. Aristotle, above) and both seem more plausible than Weber's polarisation of *affective*- and *instrumental* rationality. (How would the selection of means in pursuit of ends be possible without a passion to pursue them?) Yet in also claiming that *respect* can conquer will and discernment, Durkheim seems to arrive at a different conclusion nearer to Weber.

In evidence to follow certain protagonists were very emotional and one could say that their clashing notions of what should qualify as sacred (freedom and economy versus welfare and improvement) caused their anger towards each other. Durkheimians can also argue that angry contests – ritualised in many ways – ‘clarified categories’ and stimulated rival tracts in which very long and careful chains of reasoning were developed around why the replacement of cess-pits by sewerage pipes was (or was not) a good and necessary step.

Untangling Durkheim's Propositions

The distinction between intelligent and unintelligent emotions is familiar to lay persons of course (‘well-founded suspicions’ and ‘blind rage’). But why emotions can be both generates interesting questions. Which feelings, with what intensity make most intelligent use of ‘categories’? Might it be the form of solidarity under which they are experienced?

Fish (2002, 205) sees a common theme in *The Division of Labour* and Durkheim's later *Elementary Forms* ([1912] 1915): how Durkheim treated the ‘emotional importance of religion’. While the religious expression of emotional attachments is less intense in organic solidarity than in mechanical solidarity, its basic presence remains no less of a source to the one than to the other (Fish, 2002, 218). What, then are the rituals associated with organic solidarity? What intelligences do they create? Might some rituals even return us to a state of mechanical solidarity and discernment?

Although counterintuitive, the energy level generated by ritual is not predictive of its capacity to generate further rituals over time. In the cases to follow it is found that low energy rituals may persist for over a century while high energy rituals may be practiced

only once-and-for-all. The latter can fail and the former succeed though we have indications both of how participants felt and what they learned, which will be reported.

Ritual as a Motor of History

Durkheim's early essay, *The Division of Labour* is often read as static exploration of simple and complex divisions of labour without explanation of why complexity should evolve out of simplicity. It draws on the biological method of functional analysis which explains the existence of each part in terms of its usefulness for the whole system, with an understanding of dysfunctions treated as pathologies, famously 'anomie' indexed by anomic suicide. Although Durkheim refers to these dysfunctions as 'pathologies' they create a tension within the work which one feels is due to ambivalence on Durkheim's behalf. The supra-individual and frankly metaphysical 'elements' posited by Durkheim in *Forms* can be difficult to grasp simultaneously. Richards (2007, 62-84) concedes that the 'mechanism' which elicits collective effervescence is also 'obscure'.

Antagonism

The sacred is powerful especially in contact with the profane which is why 'consecrated persons' are needed ([1912] 1915, 37) and beliefs, myths and legends 'express the nature of sacred things, the virtues and powers...attributed to them' (37). Durkheim concedes that the sacred and profane are distinguishable by their heterogeneity which is '*absolute*' (italics original). There are no other categories which are 'so profoundly differentiated or so radically opposed to one another'. The sacred and profane are 'two different worlds between which there is nothing in common'

Transition between the two worlds is possible only through 'a veritable metamorphosis' highlighting the heterogeneity of the two 'kingdoms'. Leaving the profane world calls for a 'transformation *totius substantiae*' and re-birth of the young man 'under a new form'. Ceremonies bring about this death and re-birth, proving to Durkheim that there is an outright discontinuity between the profane being he was and the sacred being he becomes.

The heterogeneity between the two worlds often 'degenerates into a veritable antagonism': 'The two worlds are...hostile and jealous rivals' (39). Men cannot fully belong to one world without departing the other for example by withdrawing from the ordinary to a monastery or in the extreme by means of religious suicide since, the only

way to escape the profane life fully is 'to forsake all life' (40). No mingling is conceivable. There is a 'logical chasm' between them and 'too direct a contiguity would contradict too violently the dissociation of these ideas in the mind' (40). Durkheim writes 'The sacred thing is *par excellence* that which the profane should not touch, and cannot touch, with impunity' (40).

This may explain why when protagonists hold different objects sacred – say, self-determination versus collective improvement – their animosity is pronounced. That is the antagonism between conflicting and of course mutually exclusive sacred objects has the most violent potential.

Summary

The cumulative proposition thus far is that ritual clarification of sentiments and 'classifications' are necessary to the intelligibility of interests and action, and that action to exclude other interests is probably in defence of the sacred by 'the positive cult'. Richards' (2005, 77) reminder (below) that 'intentionality' can be unassigned or assigned is a crucial indication that the 'religious life' of a society is *distinct* from the interests which may divide it. Even the most effervescent violence can be as it were, 'pointless' and serving no interest.

Elementary Forms seems to suggest the precariousness of sociality; especially because while the sacred and profane must be kept separate, if the profane could not enter into relations with the sacred then the sacred would be 'good for nothing'. Communication between the two worlds is 'delicate', requiring 'great precautions and...complicated initiation' ([1912] 1915, 40).

The...characteristic of religious phenomena...[is] that they always presuppose a bipartite division of the whole universe, known and knowable, into two classes which embrace all that exists, but which radically exclude each other. Sacred things are those which the interdictions protect and isolate; profane things, those to which these interdictions are applied and which must remain at a distance from the first. Religious beliefs are the representations which express the nature of sacred things and the relations which they sustain, either with each other or with profane things. Finally rites are the rules of conduct which prescribe how a man should comport himself in the presence of these sacred objects ([1912] 1915, 40-41).

Ambiguity: Pure Sacred and Impure Sacred, Profane Relationships; Positive and Negative Cults

Durkheim's concepts of the *pure- and impure-sacred* and the *profane* are also linked with animation.

Surprisingly, between 'certain species of sacred things' ... 'there is an incompatibility...as all-exclusive as that between the sacred and the profane' (footnote 2, 40): the sacred can be *pure* and *impure* and is necessarily 'ambiguous'. The reading here of Durkheim is that the emotions which attach to them index this distinction:

Positive Rites are typically celebrated in a state of confidence (389) for example rain-making. They are characterised by the gravity of 'a religious solemnity', but 'this gravity excludes neither animation nor joy' ([1912] 1915, 389). However, sad celebrations whose object is to 'meet a calamity' or 'commemorate and deplore it' 'reveal a new aspect of the religious life' ([1912] 1912, 389). Durkheim defines these rites as *piacular*, whereby 'Every 'evil omen' or 'everything that inspires sorrow or fear' is met by rites in which celebrants experience 'a state of uneasiness or sadness' (389).

Durkheim writes that 'Howsoever complex the outward manifestations of the religious life may be, at bottom it is one and simple' (1915 [1912], 414) and that 'This ambiguity, moreover is not peculiar to the idea of sacredness alone; something of this characteristic has been found in all the rites we have been studying'.

Riley (2005, 276) differentiates positive rites from piacular rites, identifying the former with the pure sacred and the latter with the impure sacred. His reading is that piacular rites are 'life-celebrating and beneficent' (176). Durkheim is unclear on this, possibly due to his ambivalence concerning society.

Durkheim then introduces another distinction: between *positive-* and *negative cults*. Durkheim notices that mourning calls for *both* abstentions and positive acts and equates abstentions with the 'negative cult'. These can include suspension of normal occupations, not communicating with strangers and forbidding the naming of the deceased. The negative cult is imperative because it is founded on recognition of the dead person as 'a sacred being' and therefore everything and everybody in connection

with him is 'by contagion in a religious state' (390). Elsewhere he observes that to cross from the profane to the sacred domains, the penitent must first observe prohibitions set by the negative cult which acts as its guardian.

However, as well as interdictions, positive acts are also demanded which involve 'both the actors and those acted upon' (390). After Spencer and Gillen, Durkheim observes 'A cry indicates a man is dying. Men hearing it run to their encampment, weeping, moaning and howling'. '... as usual' the men's camp had been 'pulled to pieces'. Women are prostrate over the body or impaling their heads with yam-sticks, wailing. Many men rush the body and the women rise... 'in a few minutes we could see nothing but a struggling mass of bodies mixed up together' (391). Men and women cut themselves and women clubbed each other's heads without attempting self-defence.'

These events were governed by strict etiquette according to degrees of kinship to the dead man. Women were required to cut their hair and to cover the body with pipe-clay and obey a code of silence lasting up to two years. There are a series of rites repeated over weeks or months. The accompanying sadness is mixed in with '*a sort of anger*' (emphasis added) as relatives avenge the death by wounding each other, actually or in pretence. Sometimes combat is prompted by provoking a quarrel between relatives who feel 'a sorrow which reaches such [angry] paroxysm' ([1912] 1915, 394).

My reading is that mixed emotions index the bewildering border between positive and negative cults, a reading that suits some of the case material. This will be discussed later.

'Collective effervescence' is extreme in the final piacular rite of the *Warramunga*. The body is placed in a tree until only the skeleton remains. The bones are placed in an anthill except for the humerus which is wrapped in a decorated bark box. After totemic rites lasting days the mythical history of ancestors from whom the clan is descended the final rite takes place: a trench is dug and the women moving the full length of the trench on their hands and knees between the spread legs of the men. The last woman carries the humerus. There is a great deal of sexual excitement. The women are forbidden to watch the breaking of the humerus by an old man but when they hear the axe blow 'they feel, shrieking and moaning' (399).

Durkheim writes that '[F]erocity would...appear natural for those for whom every spirit is necessarily an evil and [redoubtable] power' (398). But why, Durkheim asks, would

the spirit be an evil one as the dead man retains his original identity? Indeed 'natives' struggle to explain the deceased's malign metamorphosis and the rite itself (399). Furthermore, the transformation is temporary. After the rites are over the dead man becomes affectionate again and is then regarded as a good genius. If the evil sentiments came from the fact that the dead man is no longer alive they should remain invariable and mourning should be 'interminable' (399).

One hazards that Durkheim's point is that the sacred is both ambiguous and animating at that moment when the 'absolute' interdiction between it and the profane is broken.

In addition, an impure thing can become holy without changing its nature:

So the pure and the impure are not two separate classes, but two varieties of the same class, which includes all sacred things. There are two sorts of sacredness, the propitious and the unpropitious, and not only is there no break of continuity between these two opposed forms, but also one object may pass from the one to the other without changing its nature. The pure is made out of the impure, and reciprocally. It is in the possibility of these transmutations that the ambiguity of the sacred resides. (411)

Durkheim continues (411) that Robertson Smith did not explain ambiguity despite awareness of it, remarking that since all religious forces are intense and contagious it is wisest not to approach them without 'respectful precautions'. He had not shown why the powers of evil have the same intensity and contagiousness and that they are also religious in nature. Why do they share similar energy and in spite of the conflict between them, why can they be transformed into one another and how can the pure sacred contaminate and the impure sacred also sanctify? Durkheim writes (412-3) that his explanation of particular rites answers this 'double question':

...evil powers are the product of these rites and symbolize them. When a society is going through circumstances which sadden, perplex or irritate it, it exercises a pressure over its members, to make them bear witness, by significant acts, to their sorrow, perplexity or anger.

These 'collective manifestations', including 'weeping, groaning or inflicting wounds upon themselves or others 'strengthen and 'restore' the energy to the group which was under threat.

When group members envisage that there are 'outside them...evil beings whose hostility can be appeased only by human suffering' then 'these beings are nothing other

than collective states objectified', Durkheim writes that 'benevolent powers' are also the result of 'collective life' and that these powers 'represent the society' too, but 'at the moment when it confidently affirms itself...' He suggests that:

Since these two sorts of forces have a common origin, it is not at all surprising that, though facing in opposite directions, they should have the same nature, that they are equally intense and contagious and consequently forbidden and sacred.

He extrapolates the explanation of joyous rites to sad rites writing that when someone dies the collective feels lessened and gathers to react to their diminishing so that collective feelings are renewed. '[T]his need for concentration affirm[s] itself with...energy' (399) first in sorrow, individuals feeling morally bound to share in the joy and grief and joy of their society. Collective affirmation intensifies feelings which are 'amplified when leaping from mind to mind' (400).

Social vitality is raised through communication even if it is in sorrow. Whenever social sentiment is wounded it reacts with greater force than normal. The group feels its strength returning. 'Presently one stops mourning, and he does so owing to the mourning itself' (402). Confidence follows dejection.

According to Durkheim neglect of ritual menaces the group, striking at its beliefs; but – and this has implications for our cases – if any anger so caused is expressed openly and energetically it compensates for the evil of having neglected the rite. Anger is by way of expiation, confirming unanimity. Thus the feelings accompanying expiatory rites are similar to feelings in other piacular rites: 'a sort of irritated sorrow which tends to manifest itself by acts of destruction....in either case, the psychic mechanism is essentially the same.

The relationships between the various elements of Durkheim's account are difficult to visualise. These are; the pure sacred, the impure sacred, the profane, the positive cult and the negative cult. Masuzawa (1998, 27) points to a tension in Durkheim's thinking between a thesis of 'heterogeneity' and a thesis of 'unity'. Writing about the pure sacred's relationship with the impure sacred Kurakin (2013) highlights the way that certain theorists (cf. Alexander, 2003; Smith, 1999) do not recognise the difference between the profane and the impure sacred in their writing, seeing the impure 'as a transient result of violation of the sacred/profane border with no independent status of its own'.

Sacred Contagion and its Dynamics

The sacred is ‘contagious’. Durkheim writes ([1912] 1915, 320) that ‘The least proximity, either material or simply moral, suffices to draw religious forces out of their domain’ Precautions are necessary because the sacred and profane are antagonistic; ‘psychic mechanisms’ ‘expressed in two different languages’ (321). The contagiousness of the sacred helps to explain the system of interdictions:

In résumé, the two poles of the religious life correspond to the two opposed states through which all social life passes: between the propitiously sacred and the unpropitiously sacred. On contact with the profane, the sacred

... spreads contagiously to the latter. It imprints a special character on him. But it comes into a very different state. Because it is offended and irritated by the profanation it becomes “aggressive and prone to destructive violence”. It seeks vengeance for the offence suffered. The infected subject seems filled with a menacing force, as though marked with a stain or a blemish. But it is the same psychic state which otherwise consecrates and sanctifies. But if the anger thus aroused is satisfied by an expiatory rite, it subsides, alleviated; the offended sentiment is appeased and returns to its original state. So it acts once more as it acted in the beginning; instead of contaminating, it sanctifies. [1912] 1915, 413)

Durkheim’s incomplete explanation of the sacred, pure and impure, and the profane raises some questions as to the nature of the kind of sociality which he was attempting to describe. For example, was he a unitarist, or not? Conflicting sentiments are integral to his account and poised to break out.

Summary

This schema lends itself to evidence (below) and particularly to the claim that place-variations in public feeling and ethics vary as a consequence of their local ritual histories. Durkheim’s general conclusion is that religion is eminently social and that the religious is social. Religious representations are collective representations – and vice-versa, expressing collective realities. Rites are a means of action designed to animate, preserve or re-establish mental states (1912 [1915] 10). Unfortunately, Durkheim’s articulation of the relationships of the ‘varieties of the sacred’ is left incomplete as is the relationship between authority, rites, emotion, and the ‘categories of the mind’. Rawls

suggests (2004, 232) that the sacred (that which is explained, she claims) comes first in *Forms* and that finally Durkheim arrives at the explanation, which, she suggests, is causality (2004, 232), thus working in reverse order to the explanation.

Durkheim also ignores class to a large extent.

A neo-Durkheimian Debate: Rawls and Stedman Jones

Surveyed holistically Durkheim's work poses many questions not just related to the way his thesis *unfurls*, along the way committing many faults of *petitio principii*.

I have chosen to highlight one aspect of the academic contestation between Rawls and Jones since the debate is highly theoretical and ramified. I focus on the relationship between rites and beliefs and whether one of the two elements has priority over the other. My interest in Rawls' sprang from emphasis on ritual and on her articulation of reasoning being formed through rites, also making connections between emotions and category formation. However, Rawls engages strongly with the thinking of Goffman and Garfinkel which is not within the ambit of this study.

I seek accounts which assist in understanding the elements and their interrelationship (i.e. local authority, local rites, local emotion, local ethics, and class, comparatively and over time through which a local sacred is instantiated). The rite is necessary but not sufficient to an understanding, and the same applies to the other elements,

As stated, the master text is *Forms*, the apogee of Durkheim's intellectual career, containing his most comprehensive articulation of ritual and emotion. This frankly metaphysical work - dazzling in its exposition - has been the subject of fierce contestations as to how to interpret its various aspects, some of which are frankly puzzling. Jones (2005), in his recension of *Forms*, feels compelled to ask the question as to what Durkheim was actually *doing* in the work. However, Durkheim was unclear on several points as Rawls points out.

Susan Stedman Jones wrote an article (2006) entitled 'Action and the question of the categories: a critique of Rawls' a harsh assault on Rawls' (2004) monograph *Epistemology and Practice: Durkheim's The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. This book contains Rawls's thesis in its fullest expression, but precursors to this work include her journal articles 'Durkheim's epistemology: the neglected argument' (1996)

and 'Durkheim's treatment of practice: concrete practice vs representations as the foundation of reason' (2001).

Stedman Jones and Rawls on *Forms*

Durkheim writes that religions have two components, beliefs and rites. They are closely bound up together. He writes (1912 [1915], 101) that '...the cult is derived from the beliefs, yet it reacts upon them' but however 'there are beliefs which are clearly manifested only through the rites which express them'. Durkheim concludes Book Two (1912 [1915] 295-296), concerned with 'The Elementary Beliefs' with:

Up to the present, we have considered the religious representations as if they were self-sufficient and could be explained by themselves. But in reality, they are inseparable from the rites, not only because they manifest themselves there, but also because they, in their turn, feel the influence of these. Of course, the cult depends upon the beliefs, but it also reacts upon them. So in order to understand them better, it is important to understand it better.

There are ambiguities in the account although from many readings it seems likely that empirically, Durkheim gives precedence to rites.

For Stedman Jones belief must come first and she considers that 'the integrated functions of conscience are essential to the activity of belief and the constitution of its objects' (2006, 43). This provides a completely different perspective on the relationships to that of Rawls. The notion of belief or representations not playing any role in rites, which Rawls has suggested, does not completely convince but it is hard to conceptualise the role of rites on the basis of Stedman Jones' recension.

Musicality, Effervescence and Unassigned Intentionality

'Animation' is a key theme of Durkheim's, which he links with the generation of the sacred. However, as already alluded to, the Durkheimian account of animation has some deficiencies.

Collins' (2005) 'Interaction ritual chains theory' links Durkheim and Goffman. For Collins, emotional energy is generated in successful ritual leading to further participation in rituals. However, one wonders whether the energy level generated by ritual is, in fact, not predictive of its capacity to generate further rituals over time, although counterintuitive. Might high energy rites generated be practised once and only

once? Might low energy rituals sometimes or often be perpetuated and, if so, what is the mechanism?

Neo-Durkheimians have also noted high-energy ‘dynamogenesis’ not assigned any purpose (‘unassigned intentionality’) yet animating extravagant violence.

Unfortunately, Durkheim’s exploration of the questions raised here is incomplete. Very probably the most useful account here is that of Richards (2007, 62-83). The supra-individual and frankly metaphysical ‘elements’ posited by Durkheim can be difficult to grasp simultaneously and Richards (2007) concedes that the ‘mechanism’ which elicits collective effervescence is also ‘obscure’. He offers Cross’s theory of musicality (Cross, 2006) as a way of filling gaps in Durkheim’s account. Cross treats musicality as a ‘rehearsal’ space for collective thinking, adding that musicality can carry ‘assigned- and unassigned-intentionality’ – social animation with, and without objective.

[T]he evolution of musicality’ provides us with ‘a domain of unassigned intentionality’ (2007, 62) which accounts especially for collective effervescence. ‘[A]n evolved capacity for the production and appreciation of organised sounds...[enable]...participants [to] dwell upon the very idea of interactive intentionality (that is, it is a means to explore sociality)’ (62). Richards extends this argument to war as offering ‘performance-space in which conflicting social alternatives are ‘danced out’ (62-63) and ‘performed’. The civil war in Sierra Leone (1991-2002) had been ‘a carefully orchestrated family feud’. But when South African mercenaries intervened the music was ‘scrambled’ (parentheses original). Here Richards equates music with ‘social signals’ (62-63). War’s destructiveness ‘derives from a dynamic of performance’ (71) and in Sierra Leone, outsiders ‘scrambled a process in which possible new scenarios were being rehearsed’ (72).

Richards conjectures that music, besides allowing rehearsal of justice, might also lead ‘the switching off of...social codes’ when ‘Reckless behaviours’ may occur’ (80-81). As illustration, Richards recalls Durkheim’s account of piacular rites: burials can involve extravagant violence including lacerations made in defence of the collective and in anger and which, we think, no ‘utility maximising’ individual would choose:

In rural Sierra Leone, in-laws in a Mende village attack each other at a funeral, often roughly, seeking assurance the inter-family cooperation facilitated by marriage will not wither. They rehearse their worst fears in a rite that seems at times, akin to a riot. (2007, 81)

Here anger is ‘assigned’ to the restoration of the community. Thus, paradoxically, extreme self-harm or harm to others can be assigned to the end of preserving ‘a group

faced with extinction...[when] lacerating violence [fans] the dying embers of social cohesion' (Richards, 2007, 81).

Richard's point is that such a 'mechanism' contributes to harmony by means of 'a juggernaut of performative violence, consuming both those who dance and those who stand in the way' (2007, 81-82).

What does Richards' Account Add?

Richards' account is very useful in that it 'operationalises' piacular rites, although in *Forms* it is the piacular rites themselves, according to Durkheim, which are a way of operationalising the relation of the pure and impure sacred. Most broadly, Richards in his account enables us to envisage the impure sacred invoked, as in Durkheim, but then in contestation with the pure sacred. Looked at in this way, an impure sacred will always be 'available' to be invoked which then leads to acts of contestation, one pure against one impure sacred, although every party must have an impure sacred.

Having examined Marx and Durkheim for their theoretical yield I next turn to Weber.

The Weberian Account

Authority, as defined by Max Weber is *legitimate power* (Weber, 1968, 1978). The *power/legitimate authority* distinction is significant in this study because (local) legitimacy has to be attached to (local) power to form local authority. Different feelings are associated with power and authority. Conflicted power is associated with discomfort, resentment, omnipotent feelings and rioting while authority elicits (and springs from) pleasanter feelings that enjoy more positive ethical evaluations. Wierzbicka's discussion (1999) is of particular note here regarding cultural variations in the moral and bodily evaluation of emotions.

No study can ignore Weber's famous ideal types consisting of *traditional, rational-legal* and *charismatic* authority, the *routinization of charisma* and *disenchantment* to which one returns. The Weberian account is examined bearing in mind the objectives and boundaries of this thesis. As we will see, Weber is not foregrounded in this thesis, because, for example, the *means* through which charisma was routinized at one of our case locations, but not at the other, are not suggested by Weber. He has relatively little to say on the uses of public ritual by the types of actors (local authorities and business élites) which we focus on. However, his definition of authority as legitimate power, and

his observation that rational-legal authority is more predictable and reliable than the other forms, is accepted readily.

Why not Weber? [Weber's level of meaning]

At the highest and lowest levels of abstraction Weber does not suit the purpose of this study because he does not offer a theory of history. He even rejects the idea that there could be any such thing. Nevertheless, the aim is to develop a theory of history, or more specifically, a comparative historical methodology that can be used as a basis for locality studies. Within this method something has been taken from Marx against whose writings Weber is presumed to have been arguing. However, while I accept Marx' claim that class relations go some way to explaining how state regulation emerged, and in doing so, probably going beyond what Weber would be comfortable with, the emphasis which we place on ritual as part of the explanation for the creation and maintenance of local authority departs significantly from both Weber and Marx.

What does Weber offer? Weber's famous forms of authority (sometimes translated as domination) are described briefly. This forms a back-drop to the main points raised in this discussion which relate to Weber's highest-level philosophising around rationalisation, charisma, and disenchantment.

Power and Authority (Domination)

Weber (1978, 53) differentiates 'Macht' from 'Herrschaft'. 'Macht' translates as 'power' and 'Herrschaft' is often translated as 'authority'. However, 'domination' may be a better translation for Herrschaft, emphasising the asymmetric nature of the leader-follower relationship, according to Guenther Roth (61-62, note in Weber, 1978). 'Domination', in English, has very different connotations to 'authority', emphasising the distance between Weber's thinking and what this study is interested in. Present-day local authority is not typically concerned with sharply asymmetric relations between follower and leader, except unusually, such as the exercise of compulsory purchase orders. Local authorities' authority does not extend to permanent domination of its citizenry, which would lack legitimacy.

Although the asymmetrical nature of the relationship between leader and follower has been highlighted, the actual definitions of power and domination which Weber uses should be stated. For Weber:

Power is the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests.

On the other hand:

Domination is where a specific command will be obeyed by a group, by virtue of discipline based on 'habituation' (1978, 53).

But domination in a broader sense implies 'the most diverse motives of compliance' (1978, 212) from the follower, from 'simple habituation' to 'rational calculation of advantage' (1978, 212). Weber places habituation and calculation at different points on a dimension of non-complexity-complexity although a question to be asked is whether habituation and calculation are at oppositional poles.

Weber writes that a system of domination implies 'a minimum of voluntary compliance' (1978, 212), which is an "'interest" in obedience'. This interest in obedience stems from either 'ulterior motives' or 'genuine acceptance'.

The causality between acceptance and interest requires exploration and the question is posed as to whether ulterior motives and acceptance co-exist on the same dimension? 'Interest' has one or more special meanings for Weber.

According to Weber systems of domination normally have a staff entrusted with commands and policy (1978, 212), bound by material and affective interests to their 'superior'. Purely material interests are an unstable basis for a system of domination and 'affectual' elements complement these interests. However, these elements are an insufficient basis in themselves for a system of domination.

There must also be a belief in the system's legitimacy (1978, 213). In passing it is to be noted that the neo-Durkheimian wishes to know more about the formation and force of imperative belief that binds followers to leaders.

A 'ruling organization' is defined as 'political' if:

... its existence and order is continuously safeguarded within a given *territorial* area by the threat and application of physical force on the part of the administrative staff' (1978, 54, italics in the original).

However, Weber's famous conception of a 'state' advances on this definition which also entails the 'legitimacy' of, as well as a 'monopoly' of, physical force:

A compulsory political organization with continuous operations ... will be called a "state" insofar as its administrative staff successfully upholds the claim to the *monopoly* of the *legitimate* use of physical force in the enforcement of its order (1978, 54, italics in the original).

This is a very different characterisation of the state from Durkheim's. Whereas Weber's definition of the state includes defined territory, and the ability to apply force neither of these criteria are included in Durkheim's conception of the state a point to which Giddens alludes (1971, 156, footnote 27). Weber also claims that 'the concept of the state has only in modern times reached its full development' (1978, 56).

In *Politics as a Vocation* (1948, 78) Weber writes that the state is 'a relation of men dominating men, a relation supported by means of legitimate (i.e. considered to be legitimate) violence', and that this had been the case with earlier political institutions. Weber envisaged that the dominated should obey those holding power. This somewhat functionalist claim leads Weber to pose the question as to 'why men obey' and 'upon what inner justifications and external means domination rests' (1948, 78). We ask how these 'inner justifications' arise and the mechanism or causality involved of inner justifications/ beliefs, obedience and legitimacy.

Legitimacy is based on beliefs, or 'inner justifications'. This qualifying of 'legitimate' with 'considered to be' implies that legitimacy varies depending on the beliefs of followers (as well as leaders). The relative weight lent to leaders' and followers' 'inner justifications' is not clearly demarcated.

'Ideal Types'

Weber categorises the forms of legitimate domination by means of 'ideal types' or 'pure types'. Weber describes an 'ideal type' as a 'mental construct for the scrutiny and is systematic characterization of individual concrete patterns which are significant in their

uniqueness, including Christianity, capitalism, etc. These ideal types are not found in pure form in historical cases but analysis of sociological types can determine in the case of 'concrete forms of authority' what conforms to types such as 'bureaucracy' or 'charisma'. Ideal types have a methodological purpose and the task of researchers is 'to [determine] the extent to which this ideal-construct approximates to or diverges from reality'.

Weber delineates three 'pure types' or 'ideal types' of 'legitimate domination' (1978, 215) based on 'rational grounds', 'traditional grounds' or 'charismatic grounds'. These 'conceptions of legitimacy' have their own 'inner justifications' (1948, 78). Their legitimacy rests on specific beliefs (1978, 215).

Rational grounds (legal authority) rest on 'a belief in the legality of enacted rules and the right of those elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands' (1978, 215). Domination is based on 'the validity of legal statute and functional "competence" 'based on rationally created *rules*' (1948, 79, italics in the original). '[T]he modern "servant of the state"' exercises this form of domination (1948, 79). The authority obeyed is not that of an individual but of 'the impersonal order', 1978, 215). Weber's emphasis in his discussion on legal authority is on bureaucratic administration, which he calls 'the purest type of exercise of legal authority'. Its' criteria include selection of candidates by technical qualifications; remuneration by fixed salary; possession of a clear hierarchy of officers (1978, 220). He considered bureaucracy to be the most rational way exercise authority.

Traditional grounds (traditional authority) rest on 'a belief in the sanctity of immemorial traditions and the legitimacy of those exercising authority under them' (1978, 215).

Charismatic authority rests on 'devotion to the exceptional sanctity, heroism or exemplary character of an individual person, and of the normative patterns or order revealed or ordained by him' (1978, 215).

These 'pure types' are derived through teasing out the legitimations of obedience. However, Weber emphasises (1948, 79) that 'in reality' all kinds of 'highly robust motives' such as 'fear of the vengeance of magical powers or of the

power-holder' and 'interests of the most varied sort' determine obedience. Weber implicitly rather than explicitly imputes emotion's causality empirically.

'Ideal types' serve some purpose as benchmarks against which we compare forms of emergent authority described empirically later in the thesis. Reality is always more ramified, which Weber was always ready to acknowledge. Present-day local authority is rational-legal authority, but other forms of authority may co-exist with rational-legal either materially or as heuristic props employed by local authorities. Although Weber concedes that different forms of authority may co-exist it is not clear whether the Weberian model might encompass, say, charismatic leaders appealing for the advancement of the rational-legal authority of local government powers whilst other charismatics invoke distant historical references for added traditional appeal to continuity *in different places*.

The question is posed as to the extent that 'inner justifications' contradict, displace or coexist with each other empirically as legitimate power is established? Also does Weber envisage a 'unilinear construction' (Gerth and Mills, 1948) from traditional to rational-legal authority and/or to what extent might they co-exist and act upon one another? Are the 'pure types' to be considered independently of each other or not?

Envisaging the mechanics of Weber's three forms of authority and their interactions is problematic. Weber discusses the construction of developmental sequences in *Objectivity in Social Science* but refers to the particular danger arising here whereby confusion between ideal type and reality might occur.

Charisma

Weber's conceptualisation of charisma is not fully cohesive, requiring piecing together. Weber defines charisma as being:

... applied to a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is considered extraordinary and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These are such as are not accessible to the ordinary person ... (1978, 241)

One example Weber gives is the prophet. However, charisma does not necessarily refer only to an individual, but may apply to a movement. Charismatic movements tend to be routinized. This routinization will be either into bureaucratization or traditionalism (Gerth and Mills, 1948, 54).

Charisma contributes to Weber's overarching philosophical idea which was that of the trend towards rationalisation, which entrained bureaucratization. Bureaucratization is associated with capitalism and involves 'efficiency and calculability' and 'the bureaucrat is guided by abstract and formal rules, and he acts in a spirit of impersonality' (Schnepel, 1987, 29). Weber is ambivalent about the trend towards bureaucratization, identifying it with 'mechanism, depersonalization, and oppressive routine', write Gerth and Mills (1948, 50).

Weber develops the two related ideas of rationalization and disenchantment in *Science as a Vocation* (Gerth and Mills, 1948, 139). Weber writes (139) that increasing 'rationalization' does not mean increased knowledge of the way we conduct our lives, but that we have the capacity to 'master all things by calculation'. 'Increasing intellectualization' consists of this and 'there are no more mysterious incalculable forces that come into play' (139). This and the possibility of being able to 'master all things' in principle means 'that the world is disenchanted' (139). From this we see that rationalization and disenchantment are co-constitutive of one another.

Weber seems weary of the world when he refers to progress, ironically parenthesising the word 'progress'. Because the world is disenchanted:

One need no longer have recourse to magical means in order to master or implore the spirits, as did the savage, for whom such mysterious powers existed. Technical means and calculations perform the service. This above all is what intellectualization means. (1948, 149).

The bureaucratization of charisma concept is hard to operationalise. Constatas (1958), for example, points out that Weber assumes that a charismatic bureaucracy will lead to a rational-legal form of bureaucracy and that this forms part of his view of the inevitable process of rationalisation. Nevertheless, the causality is not explained.

Another problem is that Weber does not explain how forms of authority are sustained. A theory of ritual is needed to do this, which is where Durkheim is required.

Our main concern is legal-rational authority. How is the process of routinisation to be envisaged? Routinisation implies the eventual absorption of charisma under this form of authority. However, it is not the case that charisma is always routinised. The idea of charisma surviving under conditions of rational-legal authority has something in common with the notion of a relatively autonomous state which still drawing on past ethics.

In other words, the degree to which disenchantment inhabits places that are governed about equally by rational-legal authority is something to be explained.

Summary

Weber's notion of legal-rational authority has relevance to an understanding of modern-day local authority, and specifically of bureaucracy. However, his concepts of the bureaucratisation of charisma, and the twin concepts of rationalisation and disenchantment can be challenged. Specifically, the process of bureaucratisation of charisma is hard to envisage only from a reading of Weber. Also, past charismatics still influence – one might say 'haunt' - contemporary bureaucracies, as is especially the case at one of our chosen locations. Again, why this haunting should be present at one locality but not at another is difficult to explain from within a Weberian stance. Although Weber's notions of bureaucratisation of charisma are open to challenge this notion is closer to Durkheim than is legal-rational authority as a concept. Durkheim's moral authority is also moral restraint (an ethical constraint) but it is of course founded in sociality whereas Weber sees through the actor's frame of reference.

Chapter Three: Exploring the Local

Introduction

The key elements of this study are derived through the (neo)-Durkheimian and (neo)-Marxian account from which the key features of *authority; rites; emotion; ethics; class* have been derived. These are the explanantia through which forensic comparison of localities may be made (the explanandum). Unfortunately, these two theoretical accounts are abstract and do not particularly focus on place comparison. Both the Durkheimian and Marxian account contain comparison, but not particularly in relation to the local. What is needed is an investigation of selected studies of the local which use Durkheimian or Marxian theory in order to assess their usefulness to this study. The boundaries of the discussion are strictly delimited by the elements above.

This is primarily a neo-Durkheimian dissertation and the weighting given to particular literatures is in accordance with this principle. The focus in this chapter is on the largely neo-Durkheimian Community studies tradition but other conceptualisations of the community are also examined, including ‘imagined communities’ and the notion of ‘liminality’. The boundaries of place in my study are the boundaries of the local authority and the places within them. The materiality of place matters, but I recognise that communities have ways of encapsulating their past, present and futures. The perspective of this study is that of the local authority and its places. I need to assess the value of these literatures to this comparative study of local authority formation.

Several areas are explored, which broadly relate to the urban/community from the neo-Durkheimian and neo-Marxian perspective. Class is drawn upon in community studies and this is acknowledged (cf. Frankenberg, 1966, 1969; Brody, 1974). However, the way ‘class interests’ and sociality are viewed depends upon the frame adopted. The trajectory of the dissertation is Durkheimian, and, to a lesser extent, Marxist. Marx and Durkheim have in common a ‘privileging’ of social relations as enabling the individual respectively as an agent of the collective conscience or as a class agent. The community power debate was also to distinguish ‘objective’ from ‘subjective interests’.

I have differentiated several approaches in order to study the local. They each frame what is to be considered in different ways, which became a difficulty which community researchers acknowledged because it prevented the extraction of cumulative conclusions and theoretical synthesis. And yet they contain propositions and findings pertinent to our enquiry.

Community studies – now largely abandoned - were strong on the comparative method, yet, as we will see, concluded that most localities were on a convergent path to ‘urbanism’ and ‘organic solidarity’ and away from mechanical solidarity. A method which focusses on convergence is of limited value, in accounting for strong, clear-cut and persistent place-variations of interest in this study.

Research into power structures originated in place comparison. Famously, early élite theorists found that power was concentrated in the hands of the few (Floyd Hunter, 1953), inspired by an instrumental Marxist model of class power. Yet pluralist studies of local power found it highly dispersed (Dahl, 1961). Comparison here showed up not convergences, but clear contrasts between, say, Atlanta and New Haven. We caution that these finding of differences were in part because different methods were applied.

Regulation theorists came later, using local (city studies) as illustrations of contradictions judged essential to capitalism. Here comparisons were meant to show the relative success or failure of mitigating measures adopted by different city authorities ranging from ‘urban fiscal crisis’ in New York (Marcuse, 1981) to the (functional) provision of ‘collective goods and services’ in French cities (Castells, 1977), especially. Few, if any, of these studies explain how local authorities came to possess the authority they were exercising, nor how they developed their limitations.

In Britain more especially urban historians have tracked place-variations in meticulous detail over time, and usefully so, yet without much theoretical yield.

In short, each approach to studying the local has, at least, something to offer but without offering a satisfactory unifying method, and even ‘talked past each other’, especially concerning what ‘interests’ are.

Community studies, the community power debate, regulation theory and the new urban sociology all present distinctive attributes and deficits, worthy of re-statement and re-assessment.

The second part of this chapter is more empirically grounded and will provide context for the empirical chapters which are confined to the boundaries of Dartford Borough Council and the London Borough of Hillingdon. Besides providing context through the setting out of key dates with regards to Local Authority formation pertinent to this study I also draw on various historical accounts of local authority.

The Local

At the outset it is wise to flag that the local is a disparate and potentially vast subject with which to grapple. It is also elusive as a term. 'Local' is often deployed as an adjective as in 'local authority'; 'local government'; 'local community'; 'local power structure'. In other words, 'local' can in this way be represented as a component of a larger entity. The literatures contain areas of study which, one would think, point towards the 'local', including 'locality studies', local studies and so forth. However, these names sometimes, in usage, refer to areas of study with very different provenances. Sometimes, however, the names of these areas of study are simply used loosely. However, my aim is not to attempt a comprehensive unravelling of 'the local' except in so far as it contributes to the main task of further elucidating the research questions outlined above and to which I return.

Community studies focus on places and uses ethnographic methods over extended periods of time involving local immersion and the ability to gather detailed data. They focus on the rural, the village, and the urban, in other words, physical places. Therefore, there is a certain convergence between my study and these. My study is a comparative study, and 'traditional' community studies also used comparison therefore it is useful to assess its attributes and deficits.

The main focus is on British community studies in their 'hey-day' of the nineteen-fifties and nineteen-sixties and this is then contrasted with other later forms of community, specifically with Benedict Anderson's notion of community articulated in *Imagined Communities* (1983, 1991). Anderson's concept of an imagined community can be tested out through empirical investigation of a community which does have material existence.

One task is to define what community studies is and has been and what notions of community might have meant in the past and how these interact and interweave with current notions of community. However, it is a large and disparate field. Blackshaw

(2010), for example, lists six chapter headings; ‘Community as Theory’; ‘Community as Method’; ‘Community as Place’; ‘Community as Identity/Belonging’; ‘Community as Ideology’ and ‘Community as Policy’, with twenty-eight sub-headings in all. He suggests (2010, 60) that ‘Community Studies’ describes ‘a particular variety of empirical research (usually ethnographic ...) and that its ‘traditional concerns’ include ‘... kinship ties and face-to-face social relations [constituting] the social structure of a clearly defined geographical locality, place or neighbourhood’. Allan and Phillipson (2008) highlight that the discipline became increasingly challenged by lack of definitions regarding what actually constituted a community. This makes it all the more important that the focus is kept on the research questions and the key themes of comparative local authority formation, its rites-emotions-ethics together with its historically emergent sacred. The investigation is refracted through this lens.

Community studies and ‘community’

Concepts of community formed historically and concepts of community historically formed by historians influence community studies. At this stage I briefly draw attention to some of the ‘diverse traditions’ suggested by Taylor, Brookes et al. (1976, 2-4) which, they suggest, ‘... [feed] into the notion of community studies’. These include: Robert Owen’s communities established in order to mitigate the immiseration caused by industrialisation; E.P. Thompson’s articulation of the community in terms of ‘shared values and mutuality’ (Taylor, Brookes et al suggest, 1976, 2). They write that Thompson envisages community ‘as a feeling embodied in the working class’s own institutions, the Trade Unions and the Friendly Societies’ but that ‘he sees industrial discipline and Methodism as setting out to eradicate traditional or ‘community pleasures’. They cite Thompson: ‘...The working class community of the early 19th century was neither a product of paternalism nor of Methodism but in a high degree of conscious working class endeavour..’. Thompson links the trade unions and Friendly Societies with the ‘emphasis on self discipline and community purpose’ indicating that it reaches back into the eighteenth century. Taylor, Brookes et al suggest that this ‘community purpose’ is ‘a feeling rather than a locality’;

The authors draw attention to what they describe as ‘deference’. Here they cite F.M.L. Thompson’s ‘English Landed Society in the 19th century’ (n.d.), in a chapter ‘Landowners and the Local Community,’ who suggests that ‘each side knew its place and the lower orders recognised and acknowledged their superiors who were superior by

reason of their style, authoritative manner, air of gentility and who were acknowledged as such because they claimed the rights of their social position with self-assurance'. Taylor, Brookes et al allude to Bagehot's 1867 portrayal of the English. Bagehot writes that the English are a 'deferential community in which the rude classes at the bottom defer to what we may call the theatrical show of society and by their deference acquiesced in and welcomed the rule of the aristocratic classes'.

Having briefly drawn attention to the historical notions of 'community' which may have influenced later community studies I now return to the sociological influences of the last one hundred and fifty years which cannot in any case be considered in isolation.

***Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* and the 'rural urban continuum'**

The dominant idea in Community Studies up until probably the nineteen sixties or seventies was that of the 'rural urban continuum', although it was under attack for decades prior to this. The rural urban continuum's genealogy requires teasing out because of the confusion around the 'continuum'. Various formulations of the continuum have been devised such as Redfield's folk urban continuum and Frankenberg's 'morphological continuum'. However, there is also confusion around the genealogy of the continuum (in its different formulations). The thinking, chiefly of Émile Durkheim and Ferdinand Tönnies, has been drawn upon in the creating of these continuums. However, their thinking has been distorted through the fashioning of these models. Furthermore, the genealogy of these continuums is not always acknowledged. One reason why it is important to recognise the genealogy of the models is that Durkheim's theorising is not homologous with that of Tönnies, Durkheim prioritising sociality. A second reason why understanding the provenance and genealogy of a model is important is that one is then able to distinguish the precursor ideas. A third reason is that through familiarity with these precursor ideas one can assess the relationship with the model and these ideas. In terms of 'operationalisation' how far can these models be used in a comparative study?

Émile Durkheim and Ferdinand Tönnies are examined first of all, in order to contextualise the 'continuum' and refer to its historiography.

The discussion begins with Durkheim and focusses on *DOL* largely because the use to which Durkheim was put in 'traditional' Community Studies was largely as a

‘functionalist’. I do not consider Durkheim to be functionalist; there are enough hints and allusions in his writing to at least point to some ambiguities in his writing or ambivalence in his thought. However, generally ‘traditional’ Community Studies have drawn on the notions of mechanical and organic solidarity rather than rites, emotions and the sacred, with the exception of Redfield’s work.

Coser, (1984, xv) in his introduction to Durkheim’s *The Division of Labour in Society* highlights the popularity in nineteenth century thought of ‘two-fold’ distinctions in nineteenth century thought. Durkheim engaged with these two-fold distinctions in *DOL* (1984 [1893] 1984), *Suicide* (1897 [1951]), and *Forms* ([1912] 1915)

In *DOL* Durkheim describes the two states of solidarity of society. ‘Mechanical solidarity’ is derived from the division of labour and ‘organic solidarity’ is derived from the ‘conscience collective’. The division of labour is caused ultimately by changes in volume (number of society’s members) and ‘material density’ (i.e. spatiality – including the growth of the city and of technology and communications) as Jones, 1986 describes. In *Suicide* (1897, 1952) he relates two dimensions, those of integration-lack of integration and regulation-lack of regulation, to various forms of suicide. These forms of suicide relate to specific types of society, either early societies or advanced (Davis, 2007, 12). Anomic suicide, for instance, which occurs in advanced industrial capitalist societies, is caused by a ‘disturbance in the equilibrium’ (Jones, 1986). In *Forms* Durkheim the *sacred-profane* distinction and the pure-impure sacred are distinguished famously.

It is difficult to envisage the transition between the two forms of solidarity and the causal relationship between social volume and material density as is envisaging the relationship between the city, the village and the countryside. Also, does Durkheim envisage that a transition does take place from mechanical to organic solidarity or can, in reality, these two forms co-exist? Although in *DOL* this does seem to be the case, in *Forms* the *collective effervescence* of the ‘native Australian’ rites is also enacted in modern ‘assemblies’ described as well in the work. In other words, Durkheim here draws attention not to dualisms but to enduring ‘elementary forms’ (Durkheim (1915 [1912])).

Tönnies’ *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* ([1887] 2017) (often translated as *Community and Association*) was in tune with this notion of ‘two-fold’ distinctions. Coser writes

(xv) that for Tönnies 'true solidarity could only exist in relatively undifferentiated societies in which the sense of individuality had not yet corroded the social fabric'. Tönnies looked back with regret to a state of *Gemeinschaft* and had a somewhat pessimistic view of *Gesellschaft*. Héberle in his preface to the work suggests that the work's purpose is to 'develop scientific concepts which could be used as tools to grasp the historic process' and that this was carried out in three ways; via 'archetypes of social relationships', 'by an inquiry into the nature of human will – its social implications' and by resolving the notion of 'community of kinship' and 'association by agreement'. Saunders, 1981, suggests that Tönnies was not describing actual 'settlements' but that his approach was 'sentimental'. Tönnies (cited in Bell and Newby, 1974, 8) writes:

... All praise of rural life has pointed out that the *Gemeinschaft* among people is stronger there and more active: it is the lasting and genuine form of living together

and that *Gesellschaft* refers to 'exchange *gesellschaft*' which is 'where merchants, companies, or ... associations deal with one another in international or national markets or exchanges..

To summarise:

1. It is not clear whether *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* is evolutionary or spatial as a conception (Saunders, 1981)
2. It is not clear whether the *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* are at two opposite ends of a dimension or whether evolution takes place along the dimension.
3. It is not clear the extent to which the two ways of associating relate to town and village (countryside)
4. Tönnies' view is normative, attaching a sentimental view to *gemeinschaft*
5. Tönnies identified the sacred with *Gemeinschaft*

Tönnies identified certain beliefs as pertaining to *Gemeinschaft* and others to *Gesellschaft*. But Brint points out (2001, 3), 'common ways of life do not necessarily imply common beliefs'.

From a methodological perspective, there is a problem with the a-historic nature of the work. If one accepts that Tönnies is referring, at least on some level, to physical entities of towns and villages, then towns would be placed at the same point on the dimension (if it is a dimension) and all villages at the same point elsewhere on the dimension. This weakens the yield possible by a comparison of towns or villages characterised by *Gesellschaft*. The rural-urban continuum, which was deployed in Community Studies had its foundation in Tönnies' thinking.

Tönnies' elaboration of *Gemeinschaft und Geselleschaft* is flawed. To further elaborate theory from it has the danger of containing further flaws. The Durkheimian account of the sacred is famously ambiguous and difficult. The same reservations apply to Durkheim as to Tönnies, but for different reasons.

The folk-urban and rural-urban continuum

Sackley (2012, 572) describes how Durkheim, Maine and Simmel and their beliefs influenced Park (the Chicago School) and that these beliefs he imparted to Robert Redfield. It was Redfield who developed the 'folk-urban continuum' influenced by Durkheim, Maine, Tönnies and Wirth (Sackley, 2012, 572). This continuum was developed through ethnographic work carried out in the Yucatan peninsula and Tepotzlán (a village) in the 1920's and 1930's. As Miner (1952, 530) points out the residual qualities defined by Redfield are those of the 'urban type' – the 'logically opposite ones to those which characterize the folk'.

Miner (1952) criticises the folk-urban continuum, with reference to Redfield's research. As Miner points out Redfield's concerns are mainly with the folk end of the continuum, and he is not especially concerned with the urban end. A damning point Miner makes is based on the research of Sol Tax in Guatemala, which he describes as being an attempt to uncover whether the variables of the ideal are related similarly outside of Yucatan. Tax's findings appear to contradict those of Redfield, with Guatemelan societies being 'homogeneous in beliefs and practices' ... and 'with life secularized, and with individuals acting more from economic or other personal advantage than from any deep conviction or thought of social good' (Tax, cited Miner, 1952, 530). There is not space to detail here the other criticisms which Miner made of Redfield. I merely point to the re-study of Tepotzlán.

Benet (1963) was critical of the rural-urban continuum, and of Redfield's work. Benet refers to the Chicago School's thinking which was, Benet suggests, in turn shaped by the specificity of the historical development of Chicago and its relationship with 'the rural'. In order to contextualise Benet's criticisms further I briefly outline some pertinent points relating to the Chicago School of Urban Ecology. Here I draw on Prato and Pardo's discussion of 'Urban Anthropology' (2013, 82-3).

An aim of the Chicago School was to 'study changing residential patterns as part of the broader investigation of cities 'social problems'''. Louis Wirth, who influenced Redfield, offered up a theory of urban life encapsulated in *Urbanism as a Way of Life* (1938). Prato and Prado write (82) that for Wirth 'the city's social heterogeneity and population density promoted differentiation and occupational specialization'. For Wirth 'social relations tended to be impersonal, transitory, superficial and instrumental ... [resulting] in anomie', much as for Simmel, Prato and Pardo who raise similar criticisms to Benet (and of course many others) regarding the way that this sort of urbanism was 'culturally and historically specific to the North American City and to the capitalist economy of his (Wirth's) time'.

Benet suggests (1963, 2) that the Chicago School of Sociology including Park, Burgess, and Wirth assumed other 'urban centres' would have the same features and that the Chicago School, including Wirth, saw from the point of view of the city, at a time when the rural-urban continuum was fading. Benet writes (5) that 'there was no evolutionary link between the log-cabin and the city' and that the continuum did not, in reality, exist but was founded in the European 'ideologies' of Tönnies (1887) and Simmel (1903). Benet's grounds for criticism are many, accusing Wirth and Redfield of 'overstating' the notion of urbanism as 'a separate moral order', and points to size as an inadequate criterion for urbanization. – (Muquddasi in the tenth century applied 'four different types of criteria for a metropolis', on the other hand).

Urban life was found to be not necessarily disorganized and the [organic *sic*] solidarity of the rural did not necessarily break down due to a 'transition' from countryside to city life. Benet also claims that the notion that rural communities were isolated is untrue (1963, 10). He points to the Guatemalan Indians studied by Sol Tax who, Benet writes, were '... inveterate travellers with a good nose for business' (1963, 11) and also showed 'anti-folk characteristics' (1963, 7-8) which demonstrated 'a lower point in social control than even among us' (Benet, 1963, 8). Benet also points to the lack of historical

perspective in the continuum and that, in reality, the urban-rural relationship was dynamic. Miner, he writes, considered that 'as a predictive device the continuum is a weak hypothesis'.

Benet (1963, 8) refers to what he calls the 'decay-under-the-magnolias school of Faulkner and Tennessee Williams', which could be 'rural in setting', and Benet states that 'Tönnies' misplaced identification of the two typologies sacred-secular and rural-urban had therefore to be rejected.' (Benet cites Becker, on this last point).

I have traced the development of the rural-urban continuum and its provenance in the writings of Tönnies and Durkheim and have pointed to some of the earlier criticisms made of the continuum and the way it has been operationalised. Two important criticisms are the way that it does not take account of history, nor give an historical account. I also make the point that it cannot be used as the basis of a comparative study since everywhere urban will be at the same point on the continuum and all towns would be the same. Villages *can* supposedly be found in towns (Young and Willmott, 2011) and the village is not the repository of the sacred and the town the secular.

Bearing the problems of the rural – urban continuum in mind, I examine the way that the rural- urban continuum has been integrated and modified in British Community Studies, thus making the whole discipline problematic to some extent.

I focus particularly on Frankenberg's *Communities in Britain: Social Life in Town and Country* (1966, 1969) which contains his 'morphological continuum'. Frankenberg sets out well-known studies of communities interpreted through his lens. The ordering is based on their 'increasing economic complexity' (12) because 'towns and cities make more sense if they are seen as part of an evolutionary process in which the progression from a simple to a diversified technology is accompanied by certain sociological changes'. By this, he writes, he does not mean 'an evolutionary process in any one town' nor 'a scale of unilineal evolution'. The 'truly rural' is that of Arensberg's *The Irish Countryman* (1939). Frankenberg's presentation is non-critical and functionalist, relying on Durkheim through *DOL* (an interpretation which ignores the anxious intimations of Durkheim concerning societal break-down). The ritual aspects of Durkheim's work are underdeveloped also. Frankenberg progresses from 'Truly Rural' to the 'Village in the Country'; the 'Town that is a Village' to 'Small Towns'; 'Communities in Conurbations', and, finally, 'Urban Housing Estates'. The 'Community

in Conurbation' is describes is Bethnal Green as in the 'trilogy' of Townsend (1957); Young and Willmott (1957); and Willmott and Young, 1960). Frankenberg does point to the way that 'community-like social groups' can survive in a conurbation (1966, 1969, 174). However, he envisages this as a rarity, and cannot point 'precisely' why Bethnal Green survived as a community in a conurbation.

Frankenberg constructs a morphological continuum along which to arrange these communities. It is morphological (237) 'because although each stage is structurally more complicated than the one before, and each has a more diversified economy and technology, there is no necessary implication that the village of Glynceiriog in North Wales used to be like the mid-Wales parish, Llanfihangel, and will become successively like to coal mining town of Ashton, the Derbyshire manufacturing town Glossop, or Banbury, Bethnal Green, Watling and Sheffield'. Although Frankenberg refers to the 'evolutionary process' I find this hard to reconcile with the notion a morphological continuum. I am not sure as to the validity of the basis for Frankenberg's justification in describing the continuum as morphological and for ruling out towns 'successively' becoming like others along this morphological continuum. A crucial criticism of this, and other studies based on some form of a continuum is their inability for discernment. In other words, all towns displaying certain features would be placed at the same point on the continuum. There is an inability to compare towns which have been identified as being similar through this methodology. It is a methodological problem.

Conrad Arensberg in *The Irish Countryman: An Anthropological Study* (1937, 31) idealises the countryside and also its past:

... our first Ireland is the mystic land of the past. This is the land of 'Celtic twilight, the country of Synge and Yeats and Stephens. It is the seat of an age-old tradition, of the remains of a once Celtic civilisation.

This is obviously a highly romanticised view.

It is not surprising that Community Studies has been heavily criticised. Blackshaw flags Ruth Glass's famous comment about the discipline which she called 'the poor sociologist's substitute for the novel' (Blackshaw, 2010, 65). Community Studies is valuable in that there is an intense focus on material places. Blackshaw, (2010, 65) suggests that looking for 'typicality or difference' was never an aim of community studies, but I consider that to be rather a damning analysis.

A Nuanced Encapsulation of Community

Hugh Brody conjured up a sympathetic view of an Irish village in *Inishkillane* (1974) from a more Marxian perspective than traditional community studies, although his account of being out in rough seas with fishermen catching lobsters and the emotional states he describes of his companion is more Durkheimian than Marxian. Like Hochschild, he manages in a nuanced way, to draw on Durkheimian and Marxian vocabulary. However, Brody focusses on one place, chiefly, and in this differs from this dissertation which is comparative between places.

Summary: Historical notions of community and more contemporary notions of community historically have been traced. The largely Durkheimian studies has been evaluated, mainly in relationship to its comparative powers and powers of discernment. The main comparative approach in the discipline is the ‘rural-urban’ continuum, and ‘morphological continuum’ which lacks these powers. The value of Community Studies lies in its in-depth focus on one community (although this is also an intrinsic weakness). I have traced the trajectory of community studies from the intimate studies of places of the mid twentieth century (in Britain) to the more recent studies which have reconceptualised the notion of community as place.

‘Ways of Imagining’ Less Material Communities

Unlike community studies, new ways of envisaging community came about through the imaginings of a ‘group of disparate and unconnected scholars (Blackshaw 2010,6). Anderson’s ‘Imagined Communities’ is very probably the most famous. Anderson claims that ‘all communities larger than primordial villages (and perhaps even these) are imagined’ Blackshaw suggests. Anderson argues:

...that the nation-state has the ability to cultivate an outsize form of belonging as a way of maintaining a coherent sense of national identity, rooted in the consciousness of individuals, who in the same way identify with an imagined national narrative. (Blackshaw, 2006).

In other words, community was no longer material. Blackshaw writes (6) that it ‘no longer rested solidly upon social foundations – it was now metaphysical’.

From the Durkheimian perspective, however, even ‘imagined communities’ must have social foundations, I suggest.

Remembering

'Material' communities, and 'imagined communities' link in to 'memory' as a theme. Past events may be deployed in order to enhance a community's conceptualisation of itself or clarify its categories. Hobsbawm suggests, (1983, 4) that 'Inventing traditions...is essentially a process of formalization and ritualization, characterised by reference to the past, if only by imposing repetition'. Interestingly, Hobsbawm refers to *rites* as being necessary. Hobsbawm describes what he refers to as mass-production of traditions between 1870 and 1914. He dates one of these traditions, Bastille Day, from 1880 and 'its tendency was to transform the heritage of the Revolution into a combined expression of state pomp and power and the citizens' pleasure' (1983, 271). Although Hobsbawm refers to 'transformation' and 'the state' he does not account for the mechanisms which maintained these 'invented' traditions although he refers to authority and ritual.

Colley (1996) pays attention also to military tradition which was modified. in *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*. She describes (238) how citizen volunteers supplemented the insufficient regular troops at 'public royal ritual'. Using volunteers enhanced the popularity of the military and meant that local displays were enhanced with the 'glamour of an armed soldiery' (239). Colley writes how:

Aided by an amateur soldiery, embellished with their brightly coloured uniforms, glistening firearms and martial music, civic processions in Britain came to be much bigger and more intricate affairs than ever before, often choreographed by specially appointed committees. (239)

Colley describes how in the seventeenth century and earlier part of the eighteenth-century dislike of standing armies had meant that in state processions the military element was unpopular (238). However, by the early eighteenth century this had all changed.

Although Colley makes references to 'authority' and 'ritual', like Hobsbawm, the affective mechanisms over time are unclear.

Raphael Samuel, in his 1994 book, *Theatres of Memory*, discusses heritage and what he sees as 'heritage-baiting', under attack from historians for instance. He describes the preservation of artefacts from an industrial past. In this way, themes of de-industrialising are linked to ways of remembering. Samuel describes how local

authorities have very successfully preserved artefacts and objects from the past. Harrison (2013, 101) suggests that Samuel saw heritage as a 'democratic process' which offered possibilities of 'democratic change'.

How far are these local objects, through local enactments endowed with sacredness?

'Social memory'

Misztal (2003) reaches back to Durkheim for satisfactory explanations of 'social memory'. She discusses Durkheim's 'commemorative rituals in early societies' where she explains, 'he directly addresses the notion of social memory which is seen as perpetuated by religious rites and as a means of ensuring shared morality and social cohesion'. She describes Halbwachs' (1992) 'conceptualization of collective memory as shared social frameworks of individual recollections' and his questions as to 'how social groups retain, alter and re appropriate social memory' as following on from Durkheim (124). Durkheim and Halbwachs' account is one of sociality.

Summary: Communities have been conceptualised as material places (in the Community Studies literature), as 'imagined' (according to Anderson) and as 'social' (according to Durkheim and Halbwachs). Durkheim and Halbwach's account encapsulate a 'sociality' of the past, present and future through objects. The latter accounts have the most relevance to this study.

'Community Power Studies', which follows, approaches the idea of community from a different perspective.

Community Power Studies

Community power, a term coined by Floyd Hunter, concerns research dedicated to finding where power actually resides. Community power research was in the ascendancy from the early nineteen-fifties until the nineteen-seventies, focussing mainly on US cities. Harding (2009, 2011, 29) points out that this area of research put 'decision-making processes for and/or within cities at the centre'.

Broadly, the feverish debate over community power was informed by two differing theoretical perspectives which were also linked to two different definitions and methodologies. The sociological approach was via élite theory which Floyd Hunter,

applied first to Atlanta, Georgia. His *Community Power Structure* appeared in 1953. It measured the 'reputational power' which panels of locally knowledgeable residents ascribed to named individuals, who in their opinion, were central to the running of the city. The 'pluralist' response was Robert A. Dahl's 1963 study of New Haven; *Who governs? Democracy and power in an American city*. It traced power by tracking many decisions taken and the interest groups associated with them (successfully and unsuccessfully). This measured 'decisional power' not 'reputational power'.

Using the first method, Floyd Hunter found power to be highly concentrated in an elite. Using the second method, Dahl found power to be highly dispersed. For elite theorists, power was not dispersed, rather it was concentrated in the hands of one socio-economic group.

For all these profound differences of approach (which need not detain us here) what matters to us are the ritual forms through which 'power' was summoned. The elite theorists are possessed by the image of the smoke-filled rooms in which rich and powerful businessmen meet with prominent politicians. Their objective is to bend public policy to the will of big business in the manner of the *Bohemian Grove*. There is hand shaking, drinking, speechmaking, applause creating the shared sentiments of a gathering.

Pluralist ritual involves myriad smaller-scale events (letters, small group meetings) which compete with each other for ascendancy. No single sentiment is supposed to last for long. No interest group prevails all of the time, but most citizens get a little of what they wish for in one form or another.

Power structure researchers while acknowledging these (to us) all important ritual forms, do not dwell especially on how the different rites produce different sentiments. In this sense power structure research is less important to us than it might appear, dwelling as it does, on definitional and methodological differences which do not concern us especially, except as follows:

- 1) In both the Elite and Pluralist renditions, power originates in interests which pre-exist the gatherings.
- 2) The policy makers then surrender to the wills of either big businessmen(sic) or to the most persuasive of many interest groups competing for attention.

3) Authoritative public policies then follow.

A new turn was taken in community power research when ‘non-decisions’ were introduced to the discussion, observing that power could be exercised by ensuring that certain issues never reached the agenda, were never discussed, no decisions were taken, no funds allocated and therefore, nothing changed (Bachrach and Baratz, 1962). The ritual forms of this, to me, cooler process of exclusion are unclear. However in Smith’s study (1984) a variant was found in which the procession of events between interests and policy was reversed altogether in his ‘advanced’ period of ‘state structure’. First came policy, forming in the minds especially of professional urban planners, transport officials and so on. Next ‘industrialists’ were invited to gatherings first of a local interest group whose terms of reference had been determined by public officials (such as the ‘North Kent Industrial Advisory Group’ but which was presented as the industrialist’s own interest group. Discussions ensued through which the industrialists were persuaded of what their interests were and how these interests might be expressed in public policy. Next a larger gathering of local and national politicians and officials was convened. At this meeting the industrialists expressed what appeared to be their ‘demands’ but which had in effect been scripted for them, without them realising especially that this was the case.

Therefore, for all their differences, protagonists in the community power debates fail to grasp the vital role which ritual takes in the formation of enthusiasms. The gathering of ‘the suits’ in smoke-filled rooms, the gathering at a country-club retreat, the clamouring of one interest group for attention by policy-makers, over other interest groups and the reversed process by which policy *precedes* business demands for that policy (and the creation of business enthusiasm for that policy) all deserve to be scrutinised empirically in forensic detail. Too often assumptions are made about how interests get converted into policy without attention to the ritual forms specific to each type of power, however defined.

I accept that the ‘local state’ discussed by urban sociologist and urban political scientists (described earlier) has taken different forms and expressed power in quite different ways. There is a case to be made for the emergence of a ‘relatively autonomous’ state, however in neither the community power debate, nor among ‘instrumental’ or ‘Structural Marxists’ is there much or any attention to the processes by which public emotions, and the eliciting of feelings of support (or opposition) for an interest or a

policy originate. The supposition of an interest (big or small scale, prior to policy or even as an after-effect of policies already adopted) is insufficient. It is almost as if evidence of rituals is being hinted at to the researchers without them quite grasping their significance as emotive devices critical to outcomes. It is through clever choreography that interests can be made from policies, in which case the more usual presumption that emotions arise from interests begins to look mistaken.

Various accounts of the local have been reviewed. The Durkheimian account is the most satisfactory, but they are all deficient in some way.

Contextualising the Local

Historians of local authority provide context for a study of the local.

Liberal and Marxian Historians of Local Authority

The Leicester historians are useful because they are good historiographers, focus on forensic local detail and make use of comparison, although the comparison does not always have strong powers of discrimination. This school tends to use the vocabulary like 'the spirit of the age' or 'the age of improvement'. Evans, (1983, 276) refers to 'the zenith of the bourgeoisie' when referring to the 1850's.

Sweet's *The English Town, 1680-1840* (1999) is useful. But the 'urban typologies' she refers to lack explanatory power. Commentators differentiated places through 'specific characteristics and problems' from the 1780's onwards, she writes (1999, 14). Fraser, 1976, describes the 'mode of analysis' he intended to use as an 'archaeological model...with political activity in four areas of the urban experience (1976, 9). 'Urban typologies' and an archaeological model' are far from the approach which I am using in the investigation in this study.

From the Marxist perspective, Foster's 1974 study of Oldham, draws on a number of methods. Hobsbawm, who wrote the Foreword, describes the book as 'an enquiry into the nature of both the Victorian bourgeoisie and the working class' and that it was an effort to clarify methods for investigating the concept of 'class consciousness'. However, Hobsbawm suggests that Foster did not concentrate on the three towns for comparison purposes but for convenience purposes. Foster's methods differ from those used in this study because towns are chosen for investigation purposely for comparison.

In Dartford the focus is on intra-class struggle between big and small capital so different to Foster's study. The raid by police on 14th April on the Cotton Spinner's Union Lodge for the town led to rioting. 'Several thousand persons assembled from the cotton factories'... 'the rioters succeeded in breaking into the house of Mr. Thompson and the factory' (Foster, 1974, 112). The Marxian explanations for the events could be substituted with a Durkheimian account for greater explanatory power.

Riots are relevant to this study. Thompson, 1991, describes the way that in the eighteenth-century riots were either 'spontaneous' and 'popular' or were 'an instrument of pressure'. This is reminiscent of what Koschnik writes concerning rituals in pre-Revolutionary America which are referred to in this dissertation. Thompson describes food riots at the corn market in London in 1800, and stoning of army officers in London as they came out of the theatre. He links the bread and corn riot with the first form and suggests that 'it was legitimized by the assumptions of an older moral economy'. Thompson uses Durkheimian vocabulary. Indeed, this account lends itself easily to a Durkheimian interpretation.

Summary: The sacred *can* be elicited from these accounts yet it is not by the authors. None of the accounts are, strictly, comparative either so 'local sacreds' and their differences cannot be elicited by the researcher.

Approach Taken to Introducing Act, Local and National

This study is concerned with the formation of local authority's affect over time. The mid nineteenth century was when big battles were enacted nationally and locally over major public health issues such as sanitation and sewerage. The mid-Victorian period saw some seminal reforms including: The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, The Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 and the 1848 Public Health Act. The relationship between central Acts and local legislation and its enforcement varied greatly from one town to another. Both relevant central Acts and local enactments relating to them are described at relevant points in the Findings, where the significance of local reaction is drawn out, which varies from place to place.

Chapter Four: Methodology and Methods

Introduction

The Research Questions

I have three inter-related questions:

1. How can local authority formation over time be explained with reference to authority, rites, emotions, ethics, action, class, and the sacred? What are the relative attributes and deficits of Durkheimian and Marxian theory when applied empirically?
2. How can the sacred be conceptualised in the contexts of Uxbridge and Dartford? What forms do rituals, emotions and the sacred take in these settings and how do Uxbridge and Dartford compare?
3. What insights can be achieved from comparison?

These research questions have been refined through iterations between the primary sources, the interviews, the observations undertaken and the theory.

A Working Definition of the Sacred

As we have seen, the sacred is a more difficult concept than it appears. It has more than one form, for example. For my purposes it can be defined provisionally as an imperative creation of sociality, instantiated through rituals and objects to which are ascribed powers to prescribe and proscribe action.

A Pragmatic Choice of Comparisons

The dictum has been adopted that methods should be ‘the slave of research question’ which is to inquire into the relationship between *authority* (legitimate power), *rites* (public rituals), *affects* (public feelings), *ethics* and *actions* (policy and practice), both empirically and theoretically. Most generally, clarification is sought of Durkheim’s *Elementary Forms* and to explore how a neo-Durkheimian approach fares compared with a neo-Marxian theory of regulation. More specifically, the wish is to trace place-

variations in the operation of these items and see how well neo-Durkheimian (and, in less detail, neo-Marxist) analysis copes with the evidence.

Like most classical sociologists, Durkheim saw the social as having been a long time in the making – many centuries - but unlike him I feel it is important to trace her specified items in as detailed a way as possible, given the resources available. In order to study place variations in depth, the sample was limited to two places, as there is a trade-off here between the quality and quantity of evidence. A qualitative study of place-variations treated as long in the making brings one to a key decision which is to study two places diachronically and then to make synchronic comparisons between them (not more places in less depth or over a shorter time scale). A synchronic (cross sectional) comparison of two places in the present time would fail to make sense of sociological differences that have emerged over long periods of parallel but (presumably) different development. In addition, for purposes of trying out neo-Marxian regulation theory, it was necessary to look at class variations too.

The risks in any exercise like this are many:

- It is difficult to know how far back in time the researcher needs to go. It may mean going further back in one place than in another
- It is not obvious what evidence to look for
- Different theorists look for different things, making them difficult to compare directly
- The surviving records may be written by persons who wished to describe events in ways that are favourable to their reputation, even in posterity
- There may be evidence that has been lost in one place but found in another, or which is not found because it never existed
- There may be no significant difference found
- Differences may be the opposite of those expected
- Or the differences may not be informative in terms of the model used (and vice versa)

Two of these challenges are as helpful as they are a concern:

- if expected differences are not found it suggests that the model(s) in use are at the very least ‘testable’ and have survived the challenge

- if no significant variations exist, then the model(s) in use should be revised or abandoned (after Francis Bacon, David Hume and Karl Popper)
- both outcomes presume decisions about what counts as ‘significant differences’ in qualitative data.

In what follows evidence will be presented of many occurrences, mostly, but not always, in chronological sequences from which an overall, cumulative difference (for example in local emotions and ethics) seems to emerge. There are also a few intriguing exceptions to examine too, especially for Uxbridge/ Hillingdon, which may be judged as ‘exceptions that prove the rule’ or ‘refutations’. No exact significance measure can be offered in research of this kind. However, if, so to speak a coin comes up ‘heads’ far more often in one place than it comes up tails, and if elsewhere the same coin comes up ‘tails’ far more often than it comes up heads, then one can infer that there is something affecting the coin in one place that is different to the other. This would be easiest to see were the two sides of the ‘coin’ to be pictured as a dichotomous ethical polarisation between ‘economising’ and ‘improvement’ or an affective polarisation between, say, excitement and indifference, or as differences in the frequency of rites (frequent or infrequent), the scale of rites (participation by the many or participation by the few) or the mode of the rite.

If all these chances were multiplied together an approximation of their significance, even in the statistical sense (but relying on a Monte-Carlo estimate) begins to emerge in a way similar to other kinds of detective inquiry which, as in this dissertation, also rely on (mostly) qualitative data and which inspire confidence of arriving, not at certainty, but at a ‘defensible’ theory which will stand up in court¹⁶.

Viewed from the alternative stance of ‘methodological individualism’ of which Durkheim was especially critical, it becomes very difficult to account for non-random place variations as the outcome of vast numbers of encounters between individuals with different ‘personality types’ or ‘revealed preferences’. An explanation for significant differences as if they had been produced by thousands (probably millions) of individual differences and their interaction, does not, I suggest, qualify as an explanation.

¹⁶ I have done as much as I can think of to localise what are really grand theories, and, although I think that the way I have applied Durkheim, especially, is in a way that can be reproduced, caution should be exercised in applying neo-Durkheimian theory to other institutions and on different scales.

Operationalising Durkheim

Durkheim's concepts are typically pictured as both 'objects' out there (social facts detectable as recurrent patterns) and conjectural abstractions that exist in a related way inside a model. They are 'metaphysical' in that they are supposed to exist but not tangible immediately or simply to common sense. Durkheim stated a wish to find evidence (such as suicide rates) which would 'index' the phenomena he had in his sociological imagination. He was also convinced that these objects (or 'forms') had profound effects and instead of individuals making society possible, it was society that made each individual possible. He also argued late in his career that each elementary form had a causal and constitutive effect on the other, presenting an unfinished though suggestive model of considerable, and, seemingly often bewildering complexity.

The choice of a comparison between just two places was made in order to simplify thinking as far as was reasonable, as it remains very difficult to picture the constitutive and causal relationships among all the items of interest in this study (authority, rites, emotion etc.) on the universal scale that Durkheim attempts.

What are emotions made from? What are the affective components of Authority? What would be 'local sacred'? How are authority, emotions, and the sacred connected? Are rites authoritative? How do emotive rites enable transfer of local authority to Local Authorities?

In a model which contains five or six co-constitutive 'elements' there are many ways of posing questions from one to another or right around in a circle from one to the next and back to the beginning. It was anticipated that understanding the relationships among 'elementary forms' might be easier to study locally and historically; cut down as far as possible but no further and pursued as far resources of time and energy permitted. This included:

- hundreds of hours searching library archives at the British Museum, Uxbridge Library, Kent History and Library Centre, Dartford Library and at the former Colindale Newspaper Library on the basis that newspapers are 'the first draft of history'

- forty-five elite interviews based on a snowball sample of persons who know each other or know of each other and who are considered by our respondents to be important to my work. ('Thinking about what we have been talking about, who else do you think I should really go and talk to?' was to prove a very powerful question.)
- approximately forty hours of participant and non-participant observations of committees, especially Town Centre Committees and Community Forums
- Attendance at numerous events such as 'business breakfasts' and official openings
- Examination of the content of numerous local rites treated as heuristic devices both for participants and for 'us'
- YouTube videos portraying feelings about places suggestive of place differences
- Photographs and their captions
- Attention to public sculptures designed to typify the qualities of their locality
- Local exhibitions
- As a flâneur
- Attending festivals and special events
- Enthusiastic pointers offered by conscientious archivists who saw the point of the point of what the author is attempting to show
- Local historians' ad hoc books
- Creating 'cognitive sculptures' which distil the findings in a succinct form for discussion and modification by key respondents
- The evidence of my own feelings treated as data

The author knows of no similar long term neo-Durkheimian local studies to imitate, so these selections were made because they all suited my purpose. Any method is made use of that works (after Feyerabend). They also produced some fortunate chance findings. In this way, the author attempted to 'make her own luck'¹⁷. This is a methodological sequence of the kind indicated: Durkheim indicates that affects and ethics are intertwined with the sacred, are probably co-constitutive of it; that rites elicit emotions and that rites are authoritative. Durkheim refers to 'religious emotion'

¹⁷ For example, one of the librarians who assisted at the *British Library* happened to be from Dartford and invited myself to interview her elderly father who had known Dartford all his life and had had a very successful career at J & E Hall from shop-floor to senior management. She interviewed him at home for many hours.

whereby things are defined as sacred and profane. It is difficult to envisage exactly the extent to which emotion is co-constitutive of the sacred and to what extent the sacred refracts the whole model of local authority-local emotion-local ethics-local rites-local action and local class. But through a diachronic and synchronic place comparison, the model can be made to work more simply and concisely than on the vast scale of generalisation which Durkheim (and Marx) aimed for.

Of course, if each element is co-constitutive it is difficult enough to establish connections even at the local scale, but conflicts over authority can be observed directly in for example a dispute over whether or not to build a ship canal, or over housing as a means of emancipating ‘the working man’, or in a fierce row over who had the right to collect market-tolls or in effusive and often highly detailed descriptions of very large gatherings, who was there, what the order of ceremony was and what they were meant to achieve practically and emotionally (detailed below). Rites can be pictured through photographs and contemporaneous accounts of what participants say they had in mind at the time. Ethics can be inferred from the ethical reasoning given by participants on either side of a dispute. Authority can be inferred from how protagonists felt about, for example which entity was responsible for ‘preventing nuisances’ and what should be considered as nuisances: would it be filth, street-hawkers’ sales-cries, salvation army street meetings, unaffordable public expenditure? Class can be judged using contemporaneous records of individual occupations or ‘class position’ as large or small owner-managers. Public emotions can be inferred from concordances among participants’ descriptions and so on.

Fortunately, there are rich local records, especially for Dartford, though for both places we have considerably more evidence than can be presented here, especially covering the period during which the study was to be undertaken. Thus by narrowing the place comparison to just two, it becomes easier to discern what the local emotions and the other elements are, what elicited them and how far back they are rooted; the elements of the ‘model’ being inter-related with the hypothesis that they cumulate in public affects which the author risks calling ‘the local sacred’ - the notional place about which locals express feelings.

Finally, in introducing the method, it is proposed that it is portable and could be used to ‘divine the local sacred’ in other places.

Backdrop: A Town Centre Survey

The dissertation had a pre-history in a town centre questionnaire survey of Uxbridge which the author undertook for its *Town Centre Partnership Committee*. The Committee wanted to know the sentiments of both shoppers and local businesses about the town; about street-cleaning, their sense of security and ‘shopping experience’. As well as implementing the survey the author also played a role in its design. She saw from the processes with which she was engaging that one of the things the Local Authority was doing was ‘sounding out’ local sentiment about potential urban policy; it was ‘licencing’ potential policies in advance by posing approximately this question: ‘If we introduced a *Business Improvement District* would it be welcomed?’ In this what town centre businesses felt about it mattered along with residents.

Having been introduced to Regulation Theory (and its variants, Urban Growth Machine Theory and Urban Régime Theory), the author began to think whether these could account for the findings and for why the survey had been commissioned and my instinct for iteration (from theory to evidence and back again repeatedly) developed from here and the theory became a beginning rather than a conclusion.

Looking for a Theory of Identifiable Public Feelings

Despite the largely quantitative nature of the survey (including five-point Likert scales for respondents’ opinion of many of the town’ attributes) what emerged from business owners, owner managers, managers and shoppers was that Uxbridge was some kind of *entity* and that this entity *felt* ‘okay’ to them. Walking through the clean streets and malls with our questionnaire and having been born and brought up nearby, I too felt the same, that Uxbridge is ‘okay’. And perhaps this ‘public opinion’ was not just something I shared, but something which had somehow created my opinion. That is, my opinion was not necessarily my own creation.

The thought that public affects were affecting me by participating in Uxbridge’s places, its shopping centre, schools, avenues had not formed yet. But when I examined a place chosen for its differences to Uxbridge, a place with a population that had been moved to great excitement about its past and future, I was bound to enquire as to the reason.

What Iteration Means in Practice

As indicated this research began with consideration of Regulation Theory which seemed to offer a (somewhat functionalist) model of why local authorities needed to enjoy ‘relative autonomy’, and Flynn’s suggestion (1981) that an ‘infrastructure of consensus’ was the means for what the author termed ‘licencing’ and ‘de-licencing’ and even inviting ‘demands’. Having participated in the *Uxbridge Town Centre Committee* it was tempting to see its work as diplomatic, courteous and contributing to consensus and good temper. It became clear from elite interviews that the affect generated through the ‘assemblies’ (Durkheim, [1912] 1915) orchestrated by the Labour MP representing the constituency overlaying the south of the borough was very different to that generated by the Conservative-led Council whose support was rooted in the north. Meetings within the borough could be strained: a property development company was perplexed as to why its plans to create live-work space at the site of former factory were taking so long to progress. This synchronic comparison between an ‘okay’ Uxbridge and ‘conflicted’ Hayes established that if the *Borough* had machinery for producing consensus, it was strained in Hayes. Observations, participant observation and semi-structured elite interviews all pointed the same way, suggesting that the evidence was not distributed randomly.

Iterations may lead to modifications and changes in direction: It was realised that Regulation Theory fitted one location but not another except it was clear enough that the developer’s ‘instrumental demands’ (i.e. planning applications) were meeting with negative responses from the ‘local state’. At this point the author had no understanding of Uxbridge’s - or Hayes’s - past, but it was evident that Regulation theorists tended to argue functionally more than historically (see above).

A meeting in Dartford was arranged at the highest official level in the presence of a fine grandfather clock associated with Colonel Kidd, a local manufacturer and civic leader from the late nineteenth – twentieth century. It was explained that Dartford was ‘the town that changed the World’... a ‘World Town’ and that this ‘Edwardian period’ of industrial greatness and progressive civic policies was still venerated. The local authority ‘knew’ how Dartford had developed and with it its local authorities. I realised that to understand a Local Authority’s local authority it was necessary to understand its historical formation. Dartford was emerging as very different to ‘okay’ Uxbridge and historical investigation might explain why so called ‘relatively autonomous state’ could vary so much.

A second survey, this time of Dartford, was not going to provide sufficient detail of what had happened in the past to establish its progressive civic ethic, so this was not undertaken. I did not know enough about the place to frame a questionnaire in any case.

Nature of the Research, Diachronic and Synchronic

This comparative method (Dogan, 2002) is the key to discovering *detailed differences* in how each local authority arrived at the different way it ‘thinks’ (Douglas, 1986), feels and acts. Durkheim advocated the comparative method too. In *Forms* one basis of comparison is between the first Australians and first North Americans, Durkheim supposing that North Americans were ‘more advanced’. In *The Division of Labour* (1893, [1984]) he compares *mechanical* and *organic* states of solidarity and in *Suicide*, suicide rates in different social categories and *altruistic*, *egoistic* and *anomic* suicides (1897 [1951]). However, we needed an approach with much greater powers of place-discrimination than was available through any method of local study known to the author; better than the ‘rural-urban continuum’ and better than regulation theory.

Smith’s comparative study of Dartford and the Medway Towns (1984, 1995; see also Curran, Rutherford and Smith, 2000) was familiar to the author. His method was both diachronic and synchronic and evolved as a rare exposition in urban theory explored historically over a long time-scale. This is why it must feature here. He offered a periodization which might also have provided reference points.

Two Authorities

The two authorities have different histories and different ‘public emotion’.

LBH is a unitary authority within Greater London administered from the *Uxbridge Civic Centre*. DBC is a second-tier authority, administered from Dartford. Uxbridge has a history of corn and corn markets, brick-kilns, and market gardens. Also, industrialisation came late to the borough – the development of Hayes’ industries (in the south of the borough) did not begin until the first part of the twentieth century. The town of Dartford, on the other hand, began to attract manufacturing capital and technical expertise from a very early stage. Uxbridge did not attract manufacturing capital to anything like the same extent. Though Chartism flourished briefly, public life was quieter; it was ‘sleepy town on Colne’ as one Chartist complained. [I have not been

able to trace the written provenance of this phrase]. Activists seeking a ‘Brighter and More Beautiful Dartford’ had many fewer equivalents in Uxbridge though it is necessary to find corroborating evidence. As will be seen evidence of collective mobilisation (and resistance) to civic innovation is easy to find for Dartford, harder to find in Uxbridge.

Deciding Where to Start

The choice of starting points was pragmatic too. For Uxbridge a decision was made to begin with the market tolls disputes beginning in the 1630’s. This was because Uxbridge remains a market town more than a maker’s town, toll collection disputes give clear expression to competing sources of authority, the rituals associated with the dispute are known and the strong emotions aroused are untypical of Uxbridge. How and when did bad-temper and violent threats culminate in ‘okay’ quiescence? Had there been other kinds of bad-temper, and, if so, how had they quietened in ‘sleepy town on Colne? There was enough material to suggest answers.

As the author had sensed, Dartford history was collectivist, it made pragmatic sense to begin with a large-scale spectacle enacted on Dartford Heath in the late eighteenth century. Large-scale events still feature in Dartford, and the question arises as to whether there is any continuity between these and the official spectacle of large-scale military manoeuvres staged locally in the early 1780s. A proposal formed: large-scale enactments have a cumulative effect on public emotions which can be retraced diachronically. But the author needed to be open to evidence which disrupts any progression from ‘a’ to point ‘b’. It was not certain, for instance, in nineteenth century Dartford that demonstrations of legitimate power would always be well-received.

It is trusted enough has been said to indicate how articulating synchronic and diachronic comparisons assist in the production of research hypotheses and fresh rounds of more pointed, relevant questions, and clarify the theoretical significance of detailed place-variations. Synchronic comparison alone, (or diachronic study alone) would not generate as many strong questions or intricate answers to them, including comparative questions about authority-formation, rites, affects, ethics, action and class.

Meanwhile iteration between theory and evidence guided further field work and archive searches. For instance, learning about disease and sewage in 1840’s Dartford led me to Durkheim’s discussion about the ‘impure sacred’ whereas I had previously focussed on

Dartford's 'pure sacred'. Trusting relationships with respondents meant that respondents often volunteered the names of local business and political leaders who they thought might like to speak with the author which I followed up, trusting my feelings. The following sections give a more detailed indication of technique:

Uxbridge/ Hillingdon field-work

Through the author's work on various local projects she was introduced to local political and business leaders. The politicians whom she interviewed were national figures as well as local figures. The empirical work consisted, broadly of:

Forty-five semi-structured elite interviews with two of the local M.P.s: John Randall, then M.P. for Uxbridge and South Ruislip; Nicholas Hurd, M.P. for Ruislip, Northwood and Pinner (formerly Ruislip-Northwood); the then *Town Centre Managers* in Uxbridge and Hayes; two local councillors; a prominent town and business leader in 'Metroville'; the head of Hayes F.M.; and leaders of well-known environmental charities. Some of these respondents were interviewed several times.

Participant Observation on Local Forums:

The author was appointed honorary member of 'Metroville' town centre committee which I also attended. I attended, as guest member, the Hayes Community Engagement Programme, as well as the Yiewsley and West Drayton Community and Engagement Programme. I also accepted an invitation by John McDonnell M.P. to a session of the Hayes and Harlington Community Development Forum and met with a representative of Hayes FM.

Observation of London County Court Proceedings

I observed at the London County Court where 'Grow Heathrow' faced proceedings to evict them from occupied land it was cultivating in symbolic protest against expansion of Heathrow Airport. Grow Heathrow struck me as an interesting collectivist/egalitarian variant of self-help. This was another way of defending the collective than in Dartford or as an LBH worker described it 'strengthening local communities so that there is something to defend [against airport expansion]'. Grow Heathrow holds open events which have developed strong local support for its aims and sympathy for its methods. A prominent LBH councillor stated (BBC, 2014) that 'he could not condone any illegal action' but that LBH would 'like to see them treated sympathetically' and

that 'we've been very grateful for the support that they've provided in that local campaign, which has helped in the recent past to persuade the government that expansion shouldn't go ahead'.

Conversations

The author became known to senior councillors and this led to a number of impromptu conversations. For example, through being guests, then attendees at the three local MP's annual 'Business Breakfast' conversations were struck up and meetings arranged with further local business and civic figures. In return, when these persons visited the campus, I was able to effect introductions and act as an intermediary on various putative research projects. My ad hoc discussions with local politicians and local business figures enriched my awareness and understanding.

Dartford Borough Council

Semi-structured interviews

Fewer semi-structured interviews were undertaken in Dartford: one with the Chief Executive and Town Centre Manager; several more with the Town Centre Manager including additional phone conversations; local councillors including the Council Leader (one interview and two long phone conversations); business owners active in the Town Centre Committee; managers of two local shopping malls, experienced local journalists and with a handful of Dartford residents (one for around five hours).

Discussions with the Town Centre Manager included locally apposite interventions and the reasoning behind them.

Conversations

Incidental conversations with locals contributed to the research. The affective qualities of Dartford were corroborated in this way and with other persons in designated public positions. Local historians and local librarians were a rich source of data.

As Flâneur

The author found that wandering through *Central Park* and through the town was a method of divining local affect; for example, the park was surprisingly well-used even in poor and overcast weather. She noticed that new planting was in the contemporary

idiom of ‘sustainable’ prairie grasses while the main part of the park was still showed very formal planting. As already alluded to, this method was employed in LBH also, particularly in Uxbridge.

Archive Research

Extensive archival research was undertaken in both Dartford and LBH and at the British Library. The archives are inexhaustible, so the author concentrated on events in which public feelings featured prominently. Local Studies centres in Dartford and Uxbridge Libraries offered valuable guidance. The author found original manuscripts, such as the 1846 satirical Dartford poem in the Dartford Local Studies centre and scrutinised original documents and maps concerning the proposed Dartford Ship Canal in the Map Room at the British Library. Contemporaneous newspaper reports were to prove vital; available through local archives, at Colindale Newspaper Library (now closed, its collection transferred), the British Library and local libraries.

Philosophical Realism

The author’s philosophical position is, broadly, ‘realist’ in this sense. She drew heavily on Durkheim’s *Forms* (and latter-day re-interpretations) and to a much lesser extent on Marx’s theory of Regulation (and latter-day Regulation theorists). Although Durkheim resists simple compartmentalisation, realism is possibly the nearest description of his epistemological position and like him the author seeks to go ‘beneath the surface’. Durkheim claims that ‘a human institution cannot rest upon on an error and a lie’ (1915 [1912] 2) and that it must be ‘founded in the nature of things’. Therefore, he writes, primitive religions do ‘hold to reality and express it’ (1915 [1912] 2), and that even though their practices seem ‘disconcerting’ ... ‘tempting one to attribute them to some sort of deep-rooted error’ ... ‘one must know how to go *underneath the symbol to the reality* which it represented’ (2, emphasis added).

Referring to ‘believers’ Durkheim writes that his study ‘rests upon this postulate that the unanimous sentiment of the believers of all times cannot be purely illusory’.

But from the fact that a “religious experience,” (parentheses original) if we choose to call it this, does exist and that it has a certain foundation – and, by the way, is there any experience which has none? – it does not follow that the reality which is its foundation conforms objectively to the idea which believers have of it. The very fact that the fashion in which it has been conceived has varied infinitely in different times is enough to

prove that none of these conceptions express it adequately. If a scientist states it as an axiom that the sensations of heat and light which we feel correspond to some objective cause, he does not conclude that this is what it appears to the senses to be. Likewise, even if the impressions which the faithful feel are not imaginary, still they are in no way privileged institutions; there is no reason for believing that they inform us better upon the nature of bodies and their properties
(Durkheim, 1915 [1912] 417-418)

Thus 'religious experiences' have some validity, but their foundation does not correspond to the 'believers' rendition of it. He continues that it is society which is the reality which mythologies represent 'under so many different forms', but that 'the universal and eternal objective cause of these sensations *sui generis* out of which religious experience is made, is society' (1915 [1912], 418, italics original).

For Marx 'there is a central structural mechanism within capitalism and...it is necessary to organize one's concepts so as to grasp *its* essential features successfully' (Keat and Urry, 1975:112, emphasis original). Marx believes that the underlying mechanisms in modes of production like capital are 'obscured' in such a way that any conceptualisation based on 'the way society presents itself' will be 'misleading and ideological' (Keat and Urry, 1975)

However, any epistemological position is contestable and a problem with realism is that if society presents itself in a misleading way one wonders how *any* member of society might discern these underlying mechanisms. The assumption is that the intellectual has special discernment; however, it is judged that, read sympathetically, the degree of discernment expressed in locals' parades, floats, processions and satirical verses is very high. They are ingenious heuristic condensations of collective knowledge which amounts to more than any individual might be expected to possess.

Through iteration of theory and evidence the proposition was swiftly reached that *local authority, local emotion, local ethics, local rites* and *local action* (or inaction) are co-constitutive. Through repeated close reading of attempts to build a canal (and its' defeat) the author realised that removing or altering any one of these elements could compromise any or all the others, in this case authority to construct the Ship Canal. Reading other accounts of nineteenth century enactments prior in which authority was challenged or conflicted reinforced this discovery; the author saw many knock-on impacts.

The approach described above is both theoretically and empirically founded but its details can be transfigured into material objects or installations for heuristic purposes. Following Durkheim, the author understands very well that objects have heuristic value and offer powerful ways for ready understanding of theoretical and empirical complexes of knowledge. As Durkheim suggests, the affect of the group is projected into an 'emblem' and the author developed this idea through use of 'made objects' and installations, not for religious purposes but for social science and policy-making purposes.

One highly effective local leader offered additions to one of the installations the author had created; improving it and talking extensively about it. In another similar exercise another respondent modified one of the installations to objectify what a resolution would look like. This evidence that installations work in terms of reconfiguring situations and ideas for respondents was striking, though the author did not recognise immediately quite why. They worked equally well for respondents – sometimes to a startling degree - and as a means of clarifying my model of the relationship between the 'elements'. The author realised this but without absorbing the recognition that installations (cognitive sculptures) are totemic (Durkheim, [1912] 1915). This realisation, which came later, was not necessary to successful use of installations (see 'Diplomatic Pudding' 'Rival Radios' and 'The Bears and the Masked Threat' (below). Why visual methods manage to contain a great deal of data is a question neo-Durkheimians can answer. These and public art can be useful in what the author calls 'divining the local sacred'.

Defining and Divining the *Local Sacred*

The local sacred is, it is suggested, the most concise summary of the authority-emotion-ethics-rites-action (and-class) bundles, expressed most efficiently through objects. Though locals will not use this terminology, this research suggests that their clear feelings about places are probably the work of the sacred, that powerful social phenomenon. This understanding came to the author towards the end of this research – that the local sacred probably expresses the 'model' in totemic fashion perhaps because it is co-constitutive of the bundle. So how might one divine the local sacred with confidence?

The author knows that Dartford and LBH have special places. Dartford has Central Park, LBH its 'hidden jewels' and shopping centres. Very large gatherings have taken place successively in Central Park, focussing local affect on the object which is the Park. To elaborate; respondents spoke fluently and at length about how they felt about things such as their parks, libraries, and opposing political factions. The archives also yield rich evidence of strong feelings about public spaces, sewage schemes, house-ownership and topographical relationships. But the vocabulary of sacredness was only used occasionally (for example by Frank Clarke M.P. as 'liquid history', by Everard Hesketh in Dartford as 'Brighter and More Beautiful' and by Don in Westville, as 'Love of my manor'). Respondents were specific about their feelings, indeed place-specific. The author's sense was that her interest in their feelings was welcomed and she continues to experience a degree of reverence towards places and people. She divines the sacred partly by recognising it in her own reverence for the sheer amount of collective soul-searching that places have done. That is, she 'treats the evidence of my own feelings as data' (after the Tavistock Institute).

It is recommended that locals (and especially Town Centre Managers) may be able to identify sacredness in objects, especially those associated many times with large and emotive, ethically dedicated gatherings having authority-formation (or contestation) as their objective. Locals may construct, compare and discuss their own cognitive sculptures.

Unfortunately, Durkheim presents the sacred in a fragmented and rather obscure fashion, though he makes good use of the photography. He is less than clear cut in describing 'sacred contagion', 'sacrificial rites' and 'religious emotion'. Frankly, he could have been clearer, especially about how all his elements link. What is attempted is to identify local composites of elements, some of which Durkheim hardly discussed at all, such as 'class relations'. Durkheim's place-specific assertion that North American natives were more 'advanced' than native Australasians was presumptive. It can be said that there are place-variations which have a 'religious character' but this study will not be claiming that Dartford is more advanced than Uxbridge/ Hillingdon as there is no way to determine the superiority of one religious experience over another. It is safe to say that the sacred *is* encompassed by emotions (which contributes to its potent potentiality); that local emotions (and therefore the sacred) differ; that the sacred is a condensation of many elements including local authority and ethics; that it is

invoked by doing an apposite ritual. The sacred is co-constitutive of and expressive of the entire 'entity' and the sacred the author refers to is the local sacred.

The Method

The way that diachronic and synchronic comparison enables clarification of the research questions and of theoretical significance of place variations has already been alluded to. Corroboration of the instincts of the author was sought from local historians, librarians, and town centre leaders. In this way, the interviews, reports of meetings, accounts of nineteenth century political spats and so forth are clear distillations of authority and public feelings. The method is taken forward from this in two ways. Firstly, one has to step back from this array of distillations of emotion and authority and decide the answer to the question as to what these distillations actually constitute. The peculiar nature of this study is that it is an affective history that is articulated through exemplars. An exemplar of contemporary Uxbridge may differ greatly from an exemplar of contemporary Dartford. What might be striking about Uxbridge could be the display of a model of a giant pink handbag which was recently displayed in a Mall but contemporaneous to that in Dartford might be (for instance) a display in the museum of ceremonial past. Exemplification 'is complete unto itself'.

Divining and Depicting the Local Sacred

The author concurs with Durkheim that we are constituted socially and that sociality has, in a sense, a 'religious' basis. It is proposed that the local sacred – which he did not explore especially - is an historically specific outcome of a conjunction of elements, and especially a local conjunction of authority, rites, emotions, ethics and class. The local sacred is typically contested, but once established has significant permanence.

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Divining what the local sacred might be - and its practical consequences - involves more than asking locals what they consider to be precious and compelling, important though this is. It begins with years of iterative exploration of local histories, gradually narrowing one's compass, especially around features which would have attracted Durkheim's attention. This includes gatherings; processions; expression of polarised feelings; legal disputes; theatrical gestures towards the gallery of public opinion; ethical and policy disagreements; authoritative declarations and countervailing, even violent challenges but also quietude.

The local sacred is, it is suggested, the most concise summary of the authority-emotion-ethics-rites-action (and-class) bundles, expressed most efficiently through objects. Though locals will not use this terminology, this research suggests that their clear feelings about places are probably the work of the sacred, that powerful social phenomenon. This understanding came to the author towards the end of this research – that the local sacred probably expresses the 'model' in totemic fashion perhaps because it is co-constitutive of the bundle. So how might one divine the local sacred with confidence?

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It is recommended that locals (and especially Town Centre Managers) may be able to identify sacredness in objects, especially those associated many times with large and emotive, ethically dedicated gatherings having authority-formation (or contestation) as their objective. Locals may construct, compare and discuss their own cognitive sculptures. Indeed the importance of visual representation was recognised quickly

How the Exemplars are Selected and Analysed

I attempted to identify local composites of these elements: authority, emotion, rites and ethics, bearing in mind that I am attempting to work out the causal (o-constitutive) relationship between them and the instantiated local sacred. Some of these elements are central to the Durkheimian thesis, such as ritual and emotion. Others, such as ‘class relations’, are hardly discussed by Durkheim. These local composites constitute exemplars (see below). These exemplars are to be conceptualised both individually and as groups. The chronology of the account is breached theoretically and empirically because of linkages between exemplars (for example, drawing on past ceremonies by local authorities in the creation of new ceremonies which also contributes to future ceremonies).

Within the above parameters the sources are eclectic and pragmatically chosen. However, my assumption was not to seek out those exemplars which justified a present-day quiescent Uxbridge and a more animated Dartford (a form of presentism). Indeed, my starting-point, as I have pointed out in Uxbridge, was the conflict over the toll riots between the Countess of Derby and the burgagers. This is of note because the loci of attention in Uxbridge is and was the market (exchange/shopping) but contrary to the present-day it was the source of conflict rather than of low levels of animation. Another example is that Dartford’s improvement ethic is notable now yet my research unearthed the way that (as in many other towns) nineteenth century Dartford was very dirty and its ethical dispositions were still being worked out. This is one way that present-day Dartfordian affect is not explicable purely through a striking improvement ethic which has prevailed for at least eighty years. On the other hand, Dartford’s local forms of authority and their attached public affect have been enacted publicly since at least the

1780's. A large-scale enactment on Dartford Heath then is echoed in other large-scale gatherings on the Brent and in Central Park and Hesketh Park in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. These examples demonstrate the provisional nature of past forms of authority.

One of the propositions is that the local sacred may only be divined over time and in any case, needs enacting and re-enacting, as Durkheim emphasised. The significance of this methodologically is that besides detailed teasing out the exemplars on an individual basis in detail the cumulative nature of the exemplars requires examination. This point has a relationship with the emphasis on the diachronic nature of the study of the two local authorities and on its comparative synchronic capacities.

Sweeting (2005, 35) highlights Lewis Namier's classic *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* as an example of a synchronic analysis, or what Sweeting calls a 'static snapshot'. Thomas (1997) describes how Namier, through '[cutting] a cross-section through the British political system in the middle of the eighteenth century' ... 'destroyed for ever ... the notion of 'The Two-Party System in English Political History; summarised and publicised by G.M. Trevelyan in his 1926 Romanes Lecture of that title Single diachronic comparisons are valuable in divining the local sacred which is fashioned as a cumulative local process. However a great deal of illumination is possible by comparing the formation of the sacred in *two* locations. Sweeting (2005, 35) makes a similar point. I started thus:

1. As discussed, interviews of the local élite, participant observation of local authority meetings, participation in local authority meetings and that of its 'infrastructure of consensus' undertaking research for the local authority into public sentiment, various interventions undertaken into problems faced by local leaders, and my role as a flaneur in the area, documentary research including newspapers constituted the greater part of the research into contemporary Uxbridge. This research contributed generally to my understanding of present-day local authority.
2. The claim that local authority is an outcome of past enactments of earlier local authority formations and conflict between these formations demands diachronic treatment.

3. I was to be struck as to how contested local authority over the market tolls had once been in my 'okay' Uxbridge, suggestive of conflict between a feudal form of authority and that of an emergent petit bourgeoisie. Market toll disputes provided a convenient starting point for Uxbridge, by way of an intriguing contrast to the present day.
4. I was soon aware that public space was held in special affection in Dartford and the Dartford Heath Manoeuvres therefore provided a convenient starting point for Dartford.
5. I was and remain sensitive to the danger of making evidence fit preconceptions. Therefore, any evidence of dislocating conflicts, in Dartford too, was included. This enables realisation that, historically speaking, local authority was often precarious until the mid- to late nineteenth century, and much more settled by the nineteen thirties in Dartford.

The research began in relation to contemporary 'relatively autonomous' local authority and its local sentiments and its local sacred. These affects accrue over time, I realised. Other points to include: There cannot be symmetry of historical detail because the methodology highlights exemplars which are striking either in that they contribute to a cumulative picture of the places or striking in that they diverge. Affect may be striking even while low-key or striking in its animation. The method is very specific in that through examples of authority, emotion, ethics and rites can be derived the ways in which places differ and are the same over time and local sacreds clarified with confidence.

The author agrees with Durkheim that we are constituted socially and that sociality has, in a sense, a 'religious' basis. It is proposed that the local sacred – which Durkheim did not explore especially - is an historically specific outcome of a conjunction of elements, and especially a local conjunction of authority, rites, emotions, ethics and class. The local sacred is typically contested, but once established has significant permanence.

Divining what the local sacred might be (and its practical consequences) involves more than asking locals what they consider to be precious and compelling – important though this is – because they are not well placed to explain how local sacreds originated. It

begins with years of iterative exploration of local histories, gradually narrowing one's compass, especially around features which would have attracted Durkheim's attention. Gatherings, processions, expression of polarised feelings, legal disputes, theatrical gestures towards the gallery of public opinion, ethical and policy disagreements, authoritative declarations and counter-veiling, even violent challenges; but also quietude.

The next two chapters present a wide range of selected phenomenon from grand occasions for flag-waving, banners and bunting, down to pamphlets and ill-natured correspondence to newspapers. The local sacred can be divined slowly, for which locals can provide confirmation. Once detected, rich, luminous, captivating data describes place differences too pronounced to attribute to the chance effects of thousands of autonomous 'agents' and their 'revealed preferences'.

In this process priority has been given to rites, emotions, pamphlets and posters, etc. which have *authority*, *authority-formation* or *attacks on authority* as their identifiable objects. By doing this the practical importance of local rites, letters, and so forth, becomes easier to see and the neo-Durkheimian model more intelligible. The justification for the inclusion of a considerable amount of material is that this is rendered necessary in light of the cumulative nature of authority formation over long

The following method has been adopted for the Dartford and Uxbridge chapters: a series of exemplars is presented which, cumulatively, have explanatory importance.

Dartford and Uxbridge, which form the loci of modern-day authority in their respective boroughs, are treated as present-day outcomes of past authority formation (although it is recognised that other outcomes *might* have been possible and earlier conflicts *might* have had other outcomes). These sources are valuable, especially as they enable tracking of the formation of local authority over a long period, recording divisions, for example over what to do about filth, decay, disease and how to characterise past and future. The exemplars required purposeful handling. The exemplars have a cumulative impact, yet can be explored discretely, too. Differing sources were brought to bear in their shaping (including raw archives, photographs, oral evidence, and the copious observations of local historians).

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Chapter Five: The Findings

Divining the local sacred: Dirty Past and Brighter Future Dartfords

Authority; Rites; Emotion; Ethics; Action and Class 1780-2016

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse and discuss the Dartford exemplars, which reach back to c. 1780, forwards to the present day and forwards into the future. The ‘elements’ derived from iterations between the theoretical and empirical and from the research questions which inform the analysis and discussion. Figure 1 shows the proposed relationship envisaged between these elements. These elements are *local authority*; *local rites*; *local emotion*; *local ethics*; and *local action (inaction) over time* through which the *local sacred* is clarified.

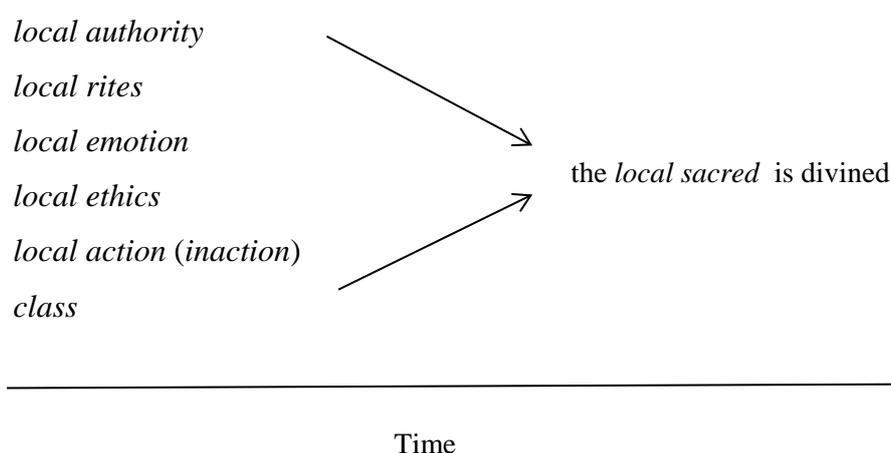


Figure 1: The ‘Elements’

The suggestion is that these elements are interrelated (empirically and theoretically), or co-constitutive. Therefore, whilst these elements may be discussed separately, they may also be discussed in their interrelated state.

The research questions, central to the discussion, are also recalled:

1. How can local authority formation be explained over time with reference to authority, rites, emotions, ethics, action, class, and the sacred? What are the relative attributes and deficits of Durkheimian and Marxian theory when applied empirically?
2. How can the sacred be conceptualised in the contexts of Uxbridge and Dartford? What forms do rituals, emotions and the sacred take in these settings and how do Uxbridge and Dartford compare?
3. What insights can be obtained through diachronic and synchronic comparisons?

The Dartford exemplars cluster in groups around differing modalities of authority formation and public affect over time. These ‘clusters’, linked by themes such as ‘The Commons’ or ‘Feelings over Filth’, for example) are set out below. The elements of authority, rites, emotion, ethics, action (inaction) and an emergent sacred are analysed and discussed for each exemplar, as the evidence permits. Although they have value as ‘stand-alone’ exemplars, over very long timelines they have cumulative qualities therefore diachronic explanation is needed too.

Although the underpinnings of the analysis are largely neo-Durkheimian, the relative usefulness of neo-Durkheimian and Marxian approaches underpins the analysis and discussion.

To contextualise the findings Dartford (present) and Dartford (past) are introduced as well as the local historians and observers who feature heavily in the findings.

The Dartford Exemplars

<p>c1780 – present-day</p>
<p>Section 1: The Authority of the Commons: Embodiments of Place, Space, Class and Affect: 1.1. The Dartford Heath Manoeuvres (1780)</p>
<p>Section 2: Authority Enacted with and without Feeling: Waxing and Waning Enthusiasm and Ambitions beyond Reach 2.1. ‘An Act for Lighting, Watching and Improving the Town of Dartford’ (1814) 2.2. Dartfordian Enactments of the 1834 New Poor Law 2.3. Willding’s Wharf (1831) and The Ship Canal (1835) Feelings over Filth: 2.4. <i>Report of the Committee Appointed to Enquire into Nuisances (1846) A Preliminary Inquiry into Sewerage, Drainage, Supply of Water, and Sanitary Conditions of the Inhabitants of Dartford (May 1849)</i> 2.5. Augustus Applegarth, Machinery Improver 2.6. Augustus Applegarth’s letter Alfred Russell, Chairman of the Local Board of Health concerning Croydon’s sewerage (1853) Conflicting Sources of Authority: 2.7. Manufacturing and Chartism in Dartford and Crayford 2.8. An epistolary ritual: Contestations over Chartism between Applegarth Senior and Applegarth Junior, the Reverend Applegarth. Authority confronts Popular Ritual 2.9. Suppression of the Guy Fawkes celebrations, 1863.</p>
<p>Section 3: The Authority of the Commons: Embodiments of Place, Space, Class and Affect: 3.1. Resistance to Enclosure of ‘The Brent’ (1876) 3.2. The Opening of Hesketh Park (1904) 3.3. The Opening of Central Park (1905) The Monopoly Period? 3.4. Dartford Urban District Council Mourning Rite: 3.4. The Policeman’s Funeral (1906) Wide Awake Dartford and The Association of Dartford Industries 3.5. Towards a <i>Brighter and More Beautiful Dartford</i> The Apogee of local Élite Authority 3.6. The 1932 Pageant and 1933 Charter Pageant</p>
<p>Section 4: The Local Authority Takes on the Mantle of the Authority of the Local Élite 4.1. The 1951 Pageant, 1968 Dartford Gala and Dartford Festival 4.2. The Library Centenary Exhibition (1916-2016) Towards the Local sacred 4.3. Reprise on Authority and Feelings over Dirt: The Local Authority’s ‘re’-representation and fostering of ‘Dirty Dartford through its Heritage Trail 4.4. The ‘Portrait Bench’</p>

Descriptions of Dartford

DBC's website offers official present-day contemplation of its past, featuring descriptions of ritual gatherings, many repeated on a large scale. The DBC self-description qualifies as an exemplar, here of careful selections taken from the local record. There is evidence of repeated ritual over time, copied and modified, and evidence of official acknowledgement of local ritual repertoire.

Dartford is a medium-sized English town just outside the Greater London boundary, just within Kent, on the river Darent, a little inland from the Thames estuary. Neighbouring Boroughs Bexley and Bromley became London Boroughs during the 1965 local government reorganisation.

Housing spread first up Dartford's West Hill and later up East Hill. Until recently, the town encompassed several thousand skilled manufacturing jobs, especially in pharmaceutical R&D and production, and in advanced refrigeration engineering (latterly in high-precision screw compressors). Many of these jobs were at graduate level. The area was also known for large scale chalk extraction, cement-making, paper-making, calico-printing, flour-milling, biscuit-making, explosives manufacture, mechanical engineering and machinery-making – often conducted under international licences. Dartford is associated with a remarkable history of experimentation and innovation, much of it tied to exports; some of it based on royal or government patronage. Most of these activities have ended, and, more than ever, Dartford residents commute to jobs outside the town.

Kent's local government is two-tiered comprising a County Council and twelve District Councils. Dartford Borough Council is one of these District Councils. Dartford Urban District Council was formed in 1894 and granted Borough status in 1933, an honorific title conferring minor additional powers. Nevertheless, its granting was marked by large and elaborate public celebrations. Official support and local enthusiasm for large public gatherings and processions was especially marked in the 1930s and continues.

It is the long history of public rites that interests me especially. An ambitious scripted Pageant Play and Industrial Exhibition was organised and staged within the Parliamentary Division at Hall Place, Bexley in 1932 promoted by Frank Clarke, M.P. for the Dartford Division, the Countess of Limerick and many notables. It was backed

by local councils and enacted by a mass cast of local amateur players.¹⁸ In 1933 a second pageant 'Dartford in the Making' was staged in Dartford's Central Park, where the Dartford Festival and other events are still staged annually. Celebratory, sorrowful and protest processions usually begin or end in Central Park, including 'Steam', an annual commemoration of Richard Trevithick's life and work, and the St. George's Day parade dedicated to social inclusion and diversity by making Dartford 'the St. Georgiest town in England' as declared on the Kent Equality Cohesion website (2018).

Dartford Borough Council's Self-Description

Much can be learned about how Local Authorities consciously and unconsciously *represent* (Durkheim, ([1912] 1915) their past, present and future from their websites. DBC's website (DBC, 2015) describes its region as 'one of the most exciting and dynamic...in the country'. DBC differentiates Dartford from other councils by asserting its 'sense of dynamic action that is making the Borough break free of its recent past and builds on a glorious history'. The Borough acknowledges heavy contraction of local manufacturing and a rich repository of past industrial and civic innovation. The website reminds us that Dartford has been 'a magnet for innovation and inspiration' and that 'Dartford has played a central role in changing the world as we know it'. DBC urges other Councils to emulate it by entreating 'If only ALL Councils were like DARTFORD!' This exhortation appeared in its 2010 *Dartford Borough Council: guide to branding*, and similar exhortations have been invoked by other councils. In Dartford's case, however, the exhortation constitutes only one of a host of declarations and proclamations asserting Dartford's worth.

At the time of writing the Council urges readers on Twitter, [@welovedartford](#) to 'keep [their] eyes peeled' for details of the 2018 Dartford Festival inviting people 'once again' to participate in 'The Battle of the Bands' in order to get a chance to appear on stage. The language used by the Council summons up a past Dartford, linking it with present day Dartford.

Dartford Town Archive

The 'Dartford Technology' section of The Dartford Town Archive (n.d.) suggests that Dartford has justifiably been called 'one town that changed the

¹⁸ The 1932 Pageant was orchestrated by the MP for the Dartford Division, Frank Clarke, and the Countess of Limerick (of Hall Place where the Pageant was staged) and local *Districts*.

world' and that 'trains, aeroplanes, paper, banknotes, tin cans and miracle medicines' all 'owe their existence to individuals or companies who at some time lived or worked in Dartford'.¹⁹ It explains how in November 2000, to celebrate the Millennium, Dartford Borough Council unveiled a mural commemorating these achievements at One Bell Corner in the town centre.

Dartford Borough Council consciously repudiates elements of the recent past [de-industrialisation], making links with a more 'glorious' past. The language used is reminiscent, as will be seen, of the Hegelian language of Frank Clarke, M.P. for the Dartford Parliamentary Division in the 1930's.

Dartford Borough Council draws on past events to represent itself to itself and locals in the present and future. It is self-described as 'dynamic' and 'action' orientated; words reminiscent of Durkheim's notion of *dynamogenesis* ([1914] 1969). It draws attention to an event which is large-scale, and outdoors, the Dartford Festival.

Local Historians

Sweet, in her article (n.d.) 'Local historians in the eighteenth century' emphasises the value placed by modern-day academic historians on eighteenth century local historians and antiquaries, suggesting that they provide an 'invaluable record of the ancient and present state of their localities'. Indeed, in *The English Town 1680-1840* (1999) she draws extensively on histories of localities such as Harrod's *The History and Antiquities of Stamford and St. Martin's* (1785) and Barrett's *The History and Antiquities of Bristol* (1789).

For my special purposes, non-professional local historians are especially valuable not just as recorders but as *protagonists*, whose perspectives, wry, or bitter, complaints and passionate assertions evidence the precarious state of the 'elements' listed above and permit unintended insight into the elements' complex and dynamic locally-specific inter-relationship, through sociological re-reading.

Local historians, satirists, and observers enable one to track local authority formation over long time periods. This is achieved by reading a succession of local opinions on, say, filth, decay, disease and protagonists' characterisations of past and future

¹⁹ Marine refrigeration is a significant omission. The expansion of the Australasian and Argentinian meat trades depended heavily 'reefer' ships equipped with systems developed and manufactured in Dartford.

Dartfords. Contemporaneous observers each occupied different class positions, providing varying perspective on events, doing so in a way that betrays their feelings. Some were enthused by expansion of local authority responsibility, again, say over filth, while other local commentators expressed their objections and profound dismay. Over time, they provide indication of moments at which local authority was precarious and the stage by which local authority was much more settled and with this fractiousness diminished.

A Sociological Reading of Historians and Observers

The proposition is that these sources be read sociologically. Cultural Theory, developed by Mary Douglas²⁰ with a Durkheimian genealogy, is useful to this end. Cultural Theory (also known as Grid Group Cultural Theory) cross-tabulates ‘social regulation’ and ‘social integration’ found in Durkheim’s *Suicide*, ([1897] 1952); Perri 6, 2017, 11). Four ‘thought styles’ (Douglas, 1996; Thompson and Verweij, 2004) are contained within the cells defined by these dimensions (Hierarchical, Egalitarian, Individual, Fatalist). Even the ‘individual’, thought style has its foundations in sociality. This is important methodologically. With Durkheim, I claim that all feelings, thoughts and actions are enabled socially, and the grid group typology of thought styles flows directly from this same claim. My sociological reading of local historians is principally Durkheimian whilst recognising their class positions in a way Durkheim did not.

The Grid-Group typology is parsimonious:

- Trust in expertise is an outcome of the ‘hierarchical thought style’ (Thompson et al., 1990; Thompson, 1999)
- Representative membership of an enclave – such as accounts written as a partisan observer – confers the ‘egalitarian’ authority of what ‘everybody knows’
- Ingenuity and competitive success are the principle objective of ‘individualistic’ reasoning
- Fatalistic reasoning is world-weary, mistrustful and preoccupied with the actor’s survival

²⁰ Douglas (2006) relates that Michael Thompson and Aaron Wildavsky were responsible for important theoretical developments to the Grid Group Cultural Theory which evolved into Cultural Theory).

- The 'hermit' position of social detachment offers a fifth from the dead-centre of the typology (e.g. Douglas, 2003)

I am sensitive to the 'thought-styles' of our sources because something can be learned from their use of the available 'voices' (prototypical elementary forms of reasoning, feeling and acting) and not just from the strict content of what they have written. Using this typology enables avoidance of naive reading of sources and texts.

Dartford Historians, Observers and Satirists

Local historians usually participated in local life whilst also recording and judging events either contemporaneously or as recollections. They are revealing for the positions they adopted and the varying emotional tones of their writing. They range between 'hierarchical' admiration for rank and spectacle (Mrs Potts, Mr Clarke M.P.); 'enclaved' support for the cause of improvement (Sidney Keyes, Everard Hesketh and Colonel Kidd); hermitic ambivalence (John Dunkin), gentle mockery of contemporaries (by Joseph Jardine), and bitter resentment of infringements of individual freedom (Joseph Applegarth).

Mrs. Ethelinda Margaretta Potts (née Thorpe) participated in social events held at the encampment set up for military manoeuvres enacted on Dartford Heath in 1780 and later wrote nostalgic verses about the Dartford Camp. John Dunkin was a printer, and author of *The History and Antiquities of Dartford* (1844), as well as participating in its political-economic-cultural life (and disputes). Joseph Jardine, Dunkin's contemporary, was a draper whose observations have the sardonic humour of a 'hermit'.

Everard Hesketh, whose portrait is displayed in the Borough offices, restructured J. & E. Hall around refrigeration equipment manufacture in the latter part of nineteenth century. Hesketh let his views be known through effusively optimistic speeches, as did Frank Clarke, M.P., whose visionary assessment of Dartford past and future in the 1930's bordered on the Hegelian. Clarke and Hesketh combine authoritative (hierarchical) tones with egalitarian declarations of social solidarity. Sidney Keyes, a contemporary of Hesketh's, published a two-volume *History of Dartford* funded by public subscription in the nineteen thirties, owned and ran a biscuit factory and was an active participant in Dartford's civic life. Described as a strict (Hierarchical) employer,

he tends, nevertheless, to write with genial (Egalitarian) approval of the town's collective civic improvement.

Mrs Ethelinda Margareta Potts

Mrs Potts is our earliest Dartford source. Dunkin (1844, 354) describes how she came to record the 1780 Dartford Heath manoeuvres in verse. Officers taking part in the military exercises took houses near the heath for their families and local gentry then visited them, including the Misses Catherine and Ethelinda Thorpe (Mrs. Potts). These 'ladies' are described as having been excited by 'military mania' and took to dressing *en militaire*. Miss Thorpe captured the events in verse.

John Dunkin

Dunkin was a local bookseller and publicist, and a well-known local figure. Though belonging to influential circles, he also criticised them. In his 1844 *History of Dartford* he praises and attacks local developments and reports attacking him. He criticises local contestations over education and criticises the New Poor Law (below). He draws parallels between the treatment he received from town authorities and the treatment, Pocock, another local historian had received. Because of his ill-treatment Pocock never wrote a history of Dartford, leaving a hiatus.²¹,

One of Dunkin's severest criticisms was aimed the National School for Boys and Girls, opining that 'No Master with the slightest *pretension* to erudition has ever filled the situation, nor has it produced a single scholar who has in the least distinguished himself' (1844, 240). He protests that he and Pocock were punished for their criticism of the local establishment. Dunkin writes:

The subscriptions (1841) were £80. 6s., Collections £28.12s.5d. How easily institutions of this kind may be converted into instruments of petty annoyance and personal ill-will by professedly charitable, but crafty, designing and over-bearing individuals, has been often manifested...For several years the writer was a subscriber to this school, but he had the *misfortune* (?) successfully to obstruct a pet project of certain parties:

²¹ Pocock is the author of *The history of Gravesend and Milton* (1797). Dunkin records that Pocock suffered similar treatment from 'the mean-spirited cabal that then (1797) governed the town...' [parentheses original]. His offence was to insert the translation of the charter, granted by Charles 1 in 1632, into his *History of Gravesend*. Dunkin relates (1844, 239) that, as punishment, Pocock was deprived of his livelihood by a 'clever but overbearing jurat' at a *burgmote*. Dunkin writes that he forebears from mentioning his name since 'the worthy' is still alive.

viz: the wicked attempt to pull down the Church-houses in Overy-street ... (1844, 238-239, fn.), (*emphasis original*)

Although he praises standards at the long-established Dartford Grammar School, he castigates its feoffees (trustees), writing (235) that their appointment was ‘a great abuse’, their ‘test of fitness’ being personal wealth.

Dunkin also praises the Wesleyan Methodists, particularly the way John Hall (senior), former journeyman, and, by then, successful mechanical engineer, converted two cottages into a chapel on his premises in 1794. This was enlarged for its growing congregation (1844, 259, fn.). Dunkin welcomed how the Methodist Sunday School emptied the lanes of uncouth youths.

Although a recorder of local events, Dunkin was also caught up in local conflicts over authority as well as having mixed views over imposition of central authority over local authority, such as the New Poor Law (see below).

Joseph Jardine

Dunkin and Jardine both subscribed for shares in Edward Hall’s abortive 1835 Dartford Ship Canal scheme, detailed below. Jardine was a linen draper (Pigot and Co.’s Royal Commercial Directory, 1840, cited Keyes, 1938). Jardine penned a number of anonymous satirical verses describing the state of local institutions and his 1846 satire on divided opinions about filth is featured later.

Sidney Keyes

Keyes’²² *Dartford Historical Notes* (1933) and *Dartford: Further Historical Notes* (1938) are the best-known and widest-ranging local histories. Keyes had several local positions including Commissioner of Sewers, Cricket Club Committee Member and Chair of Dartford Urban District Council (1903-1905).²³ His Darenth Flour Mills was a major local employer. Keyes was Hesketh’s and Kidd’s contemporary, and as well as all kinds of past events, Keyes chronicles every conceivable contemporary development

²² Though Keyes’ writing is genial, Scannell (1976, 75) describes Keyes as ‘a formidable character, physically powerful and autocratic, a successful miller who patented Daren flour, and a man whose rule over business and home was absolute.’

²³ Other chairmen included C.N. Kidd J.P., and Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Dudley Gordon, D.S.O., both prominent in the civic as well as political life of the town.

in Dartford – most of which drew on Hesketh’s and Kidd’s support. He welcomes these developments as improvements.

Summary

I have discussed the local historians and observers who are drawn on extensively later. I will now discuss the first cluster of exemplars (Section One) relating to public space, beginning in the 1780s at a time of national emergency.

Section One

The Commons: Place, Space, Class and Affect:

Dartford Heath Manoeuvres, 1780

Introduction

The reason for reaching back thus far is that these enactments are striking for their spectacle, boldness and scale. However, there is evidence of strong and enduring public feeling towards Dartford’s commons which predates these manoeuvres. ‘Dartford Heath, 1780’, below’ sets out the principle enactments:

Dartford Heath, 1780

20th July	Five thousand troops march to Gravesend and back
27th July	‘Grand Public Display’ of eight thousand troops
5th August	‘Grand Review ‘
5th August	‘The Recruiting Serjeant’, a burletta, performed at the Camp
	Miss Ethelinda Margareta Thorpe’s verses concerning the ‘belles’ dressed <i>en militaire</i> parading on the Heath
After effects recorded afterwards	Miss Thorpe’s emotions expressed in verse

Context: Dartford Heath, Executions and Cricket

Dartford Heath has long since been common land. It covers 314 acres of woodland now (Dartford Borough Council, 2015) but once was much larger, including ‘The Brent’.

Historically, the Brent provided a setting for duels, executions, cricket and boxing matches, and military exercises. In 1555 thousands gathered on the Heath for the spectacle of Christopher Ward, a local weaver, being burnt to death for Protestantism (recorded by Dunkin and by Keyes).

Nowadays, all that is left of the Brent is Hesketh Park, Dartford Cricket Club's location. The Club is mindful of the links between sport and celebration. According to its website (Dartford Cricket Club, n.d.), the Brent is where cricket matches were first played in Dartford. They continued throughout the eighteenth century, having very likely been played in the seventeenth century, too. (This contrasts with Uxbridge, the comparative case study). At the New Ground, Uxbridge Moor, only four first-class matches were held between 1789 and 1790. According to Dartford Cricket Club Online (2004), Hesketh Park is the last remaining stretch of the Brent which was 'open Common land'. The website describes how, under threat of enclosure in the 1870's, Dartford inhabitants 'presented a petition to the Court of Common Council' which pointed out:

... a portion of the Brent has been used as the cricket ground of the town throughout the whole period of living memory, and the whole of it has been constantly resorted to for all sorts of past times, and has been looked upon as the recreation ground of Dartford.

The cricket ground 'was probably the site of the oldest recorded county match in the world'.

Dartford Heath and Military Display

It is military exercises which provide the first of many detailed exemplars, in this case a large-scale public spectacle that appears to have had an heuristic (sense-making) value to contemporary observers, connecting authority, place and a public. It is one of several exemplars which coalesce around mutually reinforcing local authority, local ritual and local affect over long periods. My sense of most of evidence to follow is that the events were intended to be as instructive to observers as to participants: deliberate exercises in making the metaphysics of social existence palpable, intelligible and moralised. This approach is consistent with Durkheim's treatment of classifications through which collective understandings develop, making sense of the world and shape it. More particularly, ritual events provide demonstrations of authority, and, I think, growing

consciousness and respect for the public interest. What is held in common is enacted on common land.

For further context; Rubenhold (2008) describes how France, through its entry into the conflict between America and Britain, escalated that conflict and that in February, 1778, the French went to the aid of the colonies. Rumours spread (Rubenhold, 2008, 45) that Louis XVI's forces were 'mustering' in Normandy and Brittany, with a view to invading England. 'Fortification of the south coast' was ordered by Parliament, which also 're-embodied the local militias, disbanded since 1762'. In the summer of 1778 fields near Maidstone (46) 'became the site of one of the eighteenth century's most impressive military spectacles: 15,000 militia troops ... pitched tents in an encampment that spread for nearly three miles along the pasture grounds of Coxheath'. A novel appeared entitled *Coxheath Camp* (2008, 46-47), Sheridan's 'new play' *The Camp* premiered at Drury Lane and the Duchess of Devonshire and Lady George Sutton adapted their husbands' uniforms as riding habits. Other ladies, too, appeared dressed *en militaire* daily. Rubenhold's description gives an idea of the febrile nature of those months and of the visual impact of the camps.



Figure 2: Portrait of Lady Worsley by Sir Joshua Reynolds, c. 1779 (oil on canvas)
Reproduced by courtesy of the Harewood House Trust

The above painting (Figure 2) by Sir Joshua Reynolds of Lady Worsley *en militaire* exemplifies the way that ladies *imitated* army officers' military dress.

Reconstructing a Timeline

Local historians have recounted the encampment many times, and therefore some textual ambiguities and conflicting dates appear. Writing long afterwards, Dunkin (1844) relies on Mrs. Potts' poems gathered together in *Moonshine* (1814, 1832-1835), in *The Morning Chronicle* (1780), and Pocock's 1797 *History of Gravesend*. Dunkin's detailed account includes long footnotes, is difficult to follow and omits references; but his imagery is vivid. These local recorders preserved memory without precision but felt that the events were worth writing about half a century later, in Dunkin's case).

relates that in 1779 and 1780, under threat of invasion, camps were formed on Dartford Heath and on Cox Heath in Kent and on Warley Common in Essex, and that troops were 'designed [to] act together in case of invasion' (Dunkin, 1844, 354). The camp at Dartford consisted of the 52nd, 59th and 65th line regiments and the North Hants; Northampton; Montgomery; East York, and Hertfordshire militias. Until their departure that September, their activities provided the main local interest (Dunkin, 1844, 353-354).

Military Displays July-August 1780

Local historians reported that between July and August 1780 thousands of troops took part in marches to Gravesend from Dartford Heath as well as a 'Grand Review' taking place.

Five Thousand march to Gravesend then back to Dartford Camp

Keyes (1938, 502-503) relies on Gravesend historians, Cruden and Pocock, and Dartford historian, Dunkin, for his account of the 20th July march: Military camps had been established in Kent and Essex (due to the military threat from France). To facilitate movements, three stations were established at Gravesend and three on the opposite side of the river, in Essex. Ropes were stretched across the river in order to convey laden barges across the river. I summarise Keyes' account:

Five thousand men (all the regiments on Dartford Heath) struck their tents very early and marched to Gravesend. They embarked at the three stations at 6 a.m. and were 'warped' across the river in barges to the Essex side, landing at 11.30 a.m. They then marched into marshes at the rear of the Ferry-House and piled their arms there. At 4 p.m. they returned to the Kent side, and then marched from Gravesend back to Dartford Heath, arriving at 11 p.m.

'Grand Public Display' of Eight Thousand Troops

A yet larger display took place on 27th July 1780, whereby eight thousand troops marched to Gravesend and were conveyed in both directions in under eight hours 'amidst an immense assemblage of people who witnessed the proceedings' (Dunkin, 1844, 355). Dunkin (1844, 354 - 355, footnotes) reports that according to newspaper reports, troops were to 'receive his Majesty at Dartford Camp', then march to Gravesend.

Grand Review at Dartford Camp

The Grand Review is concerned with large-scale display, very formal, consisting of two elements, the actual review by the General, then the exercise undertaken by officers and men in crossing the river and returning.

The review was undertaken on Saturday, 5th August by Lieutenant-General Pierson, Lord Amherst, Colonel St. Leger, Earl Fauconberg, the Duke of Manchester, Lord le Despenser, and General Carpenter. The earlier river crossings were repeated and *The Morning Chronicle* of 9th August, 1780 elaborates the order of events, summarised here:

Lieutenant-general Pierson and those reviewing the troops appeared. The flag was displayed from the signal gun; seventeen guns were re-fired from the park and the entire arms presented arms. Martial pieces were played. The General drew his sword; the orderly drum and flag gun drew up on each side of him. The review began. Columns formed in twenty four different ways, then reducing columns, forming the square.

At 11.30 am tents were struck and at 12.30 the whole army was divided into four divisions, marching off from the heath with artillery and baggage. They proceeded to Gravesend at 3.30 pm and were warped over to the other side. This was undertaken through a 'bridge of boats' moored across the river with a 'deal' platform across them large enough for eighty men. The crossing took an hour and a half 'amidst the greatest concourse of people ever assembled'. Batteries from Tilbury Fort were fired. Grenadier and light infantry companies marched up, took the batteries, which were named forthwith 'The King George and Queen Charlotte'.

At 5 pm the troops were 'refreshed'. They then crossed back to Gravesend, continued to Dartford Heath, arriving at 8.15 pm, pitched tents and were dismissed 'with universal applause'.

Violent Quarrel

A quarrel broke out between soldiers from different regiments on the evening of the Grand Display.²⁴ The quarrel was between a soldier of the 52nd regiment and a soldier from the Northampton militia, leading to 'a battle in front of the lines', Dunkin (1844, 356). Events got out of hand and Dunkin, citing *The Morning Chronicle* (n.d.),

²⁴ Dunkin incorrectly reports the date as 6th August.

reported (1844, 356) that Colonel Straubenzie of the 52nd regiment was roughly treated whilst attempting to subdue the disturbance. Both regiments had to be prevented from pitching in. The violence Dunkin reports was considerable, including the loss of two fingers, an ear being cut off and dangerous sword and bayonet wounds.

Stand-Offs and Duels

The military displays provided an opportunity for the soldiery to reinforce their self-confidence through complex and conspicuous troop movements lasting several hours. However, ‘stand-offs’ or ‘enclaving’ (Douglas, 1992) between militias had resulted in brawls. A duel had already taken place in June, between ‘an officer in the Northampton militia and a gentleman of the law’ (Dunkin, 1844, 354), based on an account in *The Morning Chronicle* (undated). ‘[t]he seconds interfered after the first shot.’ Intended to demonstrate the authority of the British state, the exercises thus exposed insecure command of officers over the rank and file as well as the susceptibility of some officers to become embroiled in brawls and duels. Dunkin relates (356-357) how, despite officers’ attempts to maintain discipline, troops were guilty ‘of much excess; and ‘committed several depredations’. It was reported, too, that many soldiers owed money to local shopkeepers who approached their commanding officer without success.

Comment: Emotions are clear in the description of the brawls and duels such as excitement and tension. The emotions seem to have been aroused by the troop movements, modified for some through the choreography of the duelling ritual.

In neo-Durkheimian terms the ‘energy’ expressed in these confrontations probably originated in the ‘social solidarity’ (or ‘enclaving’ as Mary Douglas puts it) of each regiment, choreographed marches and displays.

It is clear that the manoeuvres were intentionally spectacular, demonstrating the skills and authority of the British army to the people as well as to the French. They proved capable of inspiring awe in spectators through the responsiveness of the troops to commands, enacted on a large-scale over several miles.

A Burletta: ‘The Recruiting Serjeant’

A performance of a burletta by officers and ladies is striking for its transgressive and satirical representation. Dunkin (1844, 354, footnote) describes how several officers

rented houses near Dartford Heath for their families and officers dined with each other's families and in the mess during the Dartford Camp. The local gentry were invited, including the Misses Caterina and Ethelinda Thorpe (later Mrs. Potts). Dunkin, citing the *Morning Chronicle* (n.d.), records that on the evening of 5th August the 'nobility and gentry' were then entertained by a musical play, *The Recruiting Serjeant*. This was performed by officers and their ladies in a large marquee, after which, the general entertained them with a supper. Some of the noble visitors did not leave the camp till Sunday noon'.

Dunkin does not give details of the burletta (composer Charles Dibdin., playwright Isaac Bickerstaff, [1778]1788). The subject of the burletta is relevant, however, particularly since it was officers and their ladies performing in it. 'The Recruiting Serjeant' is a humorous treatment of the horrors of battle and of the ambivalent attitude of a potential recruit's female relatives to war. The burletta features the Serjeant, Joe the Countryman, his wife and mother:

The Recruiting Serjeant presses Joe to join up despite opposition from his wife and mother. The wife declares she and the children will end up in the workhouse. The Serjeant then tries to persuade Joe with the references to the way that 'wenches' love red coats. This appeals to Joe who is then once again deterred by the Serjeant's references to the noise of battle and getting maimed. On that Joe has second thoughts and decides to stay at home. The Serjeant calls Joe 'a base paltroon'. Joe explains to his wife and mother the trick played. Joe and his wife and mother are reconciled. The final scene is an 'Entertainment of Dancing' with light-horsemen, recruits, and country girls. The Serjeant comes out with his party declaring they should all 'part like friends'. Toasts to the Royal Family follow, in which Jane joins. They wish 'success to his majesty's arms; and that they 'punish the rashness of France and Spain'.

The burletta is intriguing as an enactment of interactions between the military and civilians, performed by officers and their ladies at Dartford Camp for other officers and civilian guests. It is interesting that officers' wives play the roles of those of a lower social position (Joe's wife and mother) and presumably the role of Serjeant was filled by an actual Commissioned Officer. Whereas the Grand Review is concerned with enacting a spectacular show of force in a ritualised manner, the burletta parodies both domestic relationships and battlefields. Again, it has heuristic value for the officers and ladies watching the play, as well as those performing in it, *enabling sense-making*.

The Commons, Class, Imitative Rites and Public Emotions:

Dunkin describes how the ladies imitate their husbands (1844, 354) and reproduces some of Mrs Potts' (Miss Thorpe) verse.

Behold in epauleted scarlet BELLES advance,
Like HEROINES painted in some old romance. –
Who, thus accoutered may with due,
View the subaltern beauties of the plain;
By beaux protected, slowly march the groups
In all the pomp of flounces, silks and hoops,
By silken trains the wide parade is swept,
In silken fetters rebel gauzes kept.
Not only such are here-but those who blest
By fortune's gifts – or if you will, -opprest;
May thank those graces education brought
To deck in pleasing language many a thought
Perhaps but little differing if undressed
From those which harbour in a peasant's breast.

A notion of what the commons might be runs through the verses. The question of who has the right to parade on the heath is posed and challenged by Miss Thorpe. While parading demonstrates social ranks, Miss Thorpe asserts the similarities between the emotions of ladies and peasants, suggesting that class differences were dissolved, at least temporarily, social distances weakened by the common cause of meeting the threat of war with France and Spain. Gender-assumptions are challenged by ladies dressing *en militaire*. The 'rebel gauzes' kept 'in silken fetters' contrast with the 'epauleted scarlet' of certain belles. Neo-Durkheimian notions of imitation and subversion are recalled. The contrast between upper-class parading and violent suppression of the (anti-Catholic) Gordon rioters in London is striking.²⁵ Dunkin, (1844, 354) quotes Mrs. Potts (1835, 342 *Moonshine*, volume ii (ii, 342) for 2nd June:²⁶

By the riots in London, our Camp was deprived of three regiments, but with us remained the [Earl of] Northampton and one peeress.

²⁵ McCormack (2015, 129) discusses how it was important that militia and regular army alike kept up visual standards. He relates how the Northamptonshire Militia were camped at Blackheath in July 1780, just after their involvement 'in the bloody suppression of the Gordon riots' (2015, 129). The troops were to march a week later to Dartford under orders that 'It is to be expected that the Companys will be in the Best Order Posable as attention of all the troops now encamped on Dartford Heath will be fixed on their appearance'.

²⁶ Dunkin cites *Moonshine* volume ii, page 342 (he gives no year). The quotation appears on page 343 in *Moonshine*, volume ii, 1835.

The Gordon riots, then, would have disturbed the Dartford Heath spectators, but the then Miss Thorpe's text suggest that it was a consolation that the nobility was still represented on the Heath during the riots.

Sadness at Departure

Dunkin describes (1844, 357) how a 'select party of the officers' was invited to have supper with the ladies of the neighbourhood. Miss Thorpe was there and 'was very melancholy' due to the imminent departure of the military. Dunkin includes a quotation from *Moonshine*²⁷, where she (by then Mrs. Potts) describes her feelings at the supper and next morning when the military departed:

They broke not the bread of cheer— it was but the ghost of gaiety: for what
availed the attendance of beaux, to whom our GOOD NIGHT might be for
ever! and their morning salute accompanied with the groan of [moving] forges
— and still more dismal sound that of departing regiments!

Emotions Expressed in Verse²⁸

The following verse by Mrs. Potts evokes nostalgia, regret and sadness.

Mrs. Potts records her feelings in *Moonshine* (cited Dunkin 1844, 353)²⁹: beginning with nostalgia for times before the camp and for the camp itself, once departed.

From yonder Heath the lark no longer soars
The grasshopper ceases while the cannon roars —
Where sportive flocks once whiten'd o'er the ground,
Now bleaching huts are fixed our view to bound;
Where the furze phalanx could sweet herbage ward,
From prowling herds — now mounts the Captain's guard,
Or veterans wait till ovens here disgorge-
Or Sutler scores, - and here too glows the forge.

The verse is quite complex. Mrs. Potts is writing about events which took place probably many years before. She writes in the present tense, as though still present at the Camp, and highlights the tranquillity of nature disturbed by manoeuvres, referring in the past tense to times when sheep and cattle grazed. Instead of nature, the view was

²⁷ The quotation is from *Moonshine*, volume iii, dated 1835 (343). Dunkin mistakenly refers to volume ii, 334.

²⁸ Mrs. Potts' maiden name, at the time of the camp, was 'Thorpe'. Her verses were published under her married name.

²⁹ No volume or page reference for *Moonshine* is given by Dunkin for this verse.

now of bleaching-huts. The gorse around the meadows had been taken over by the Captain's Guard and veterans gathered round the stove and the Sutler [provisions and store].

Like the other verses, the verse has heuristic value, providing a short-cut into affect (including nostalgia for the loss of the military, as well as regret for the spoiling of the Heath) and an ethic too.

Mrs. Potts looks back as a participant who was already familiar with the Heath. Analepsis and prolepsis are doubly applied: through the medium of Dunkin's writing about Mrs. Potts' verse and within Mrs. Potts' verse itself. The verses are also a made object, an 'emblem' in Durkheimian terms, to be drawn on in the future, in order to evoke the affect around the commons. Emblems have heuristic value. In the case of the Heath, they are material in that they are written materials which can be read, spoken and remembered.

The manoeuvres were recalled sixty-four years later and then almost one hundred and sixty years later. The site of the long row of tents was still apparent in 1844 (Dunkin) and in 1938 Keyes (503) wrote that 'the site of the tents is still apparent as the traveller crosses the Heath from Heath Lane towards the Bexley Mental Hospital'. Dunkin and Keyes too may have experienced nostalgia for the Dartford Heath manoeuvres without having experienced the events themselves.

It is significant that so much is known about the Dartford Heath encampment and its 'after-affects'. Recent internet references (cf. Maypoleman, 2018) show that as children, locals were still aware of its exact location since they had been told about it by adults who had played on the Heath in the 1930's. It is suspected that local fondness (and use) of public space, and readiness to defend it against violations and encroachment draw on a repository of 'noble sentiments' which the manoeuvres did much to foster.

Summary: What I dare to call local 'religious' emotions coalesce eventually around collective heteronomy: risk-reducing improvements which put others first. The manoeuvres seem to have had a lasting effect not so much on the military or central state as on the authority of the commons. Grand displays, conspicuous costumes, fighting and musical entertainment, gender *inversion* of dress, subversive female

behaviour and spectacle have left an implicit memory activated on many later occasions. The memory persists as local knowledge.

The Heath episodes were, I think, intentionally spectacular. They have *some* relation to political economy in that mass access to common lands featured in pre-capitalist modes of production and strong local sentiment against ‘inclosure’ probably arose from this. The grip of collective heteronomy and liking for big events sits comfortably with neo-Durkheimian analysis. The transgressions and *inversions* seem to have accentuated patriotic and then nostalgic feelings. Local attachment to the commons fits less easily with Weber’s declaration that the state is that authority possessing a monopoly in the use of legitimate violence. What we see through Durkheim is authority-formation and its accompanying affects.

Durkheim’s description of representative rites 1912 [1915] (371-388) encompasses both the serious and the playful intent of spectacle. We make the neo-Durkheimian suggestion that the Heath episodes have heuristic force: when army and militia leave, local *belles* are desolate as described by a participant-observer. The Heath encampment seems to have marked and modified locals’ lasting ‘representations’ of the sacred, invested in authority. Ethelinda Potts, John Dunkin, Keyes and even latter-day children are affected as the Heath is still held up as a place worth visiting. Though the cause of improvement is not obvious here, collectivism and authority are apparent enough.

It would, I hazard, be difficult for the soldiers, officers and belles on the Heath (or anyone taking part) to say exactly what it was which exercised their feelings so much. What makes the soldier so angry he fights with another soldier from another regiment? Or what makes Miss Thorpe spend so much time capturing her thoughts in verse about the Heath? From these episodes the researcher can begin to make connections between the anger, or regret, or joy felt on the Heath, and the notion of local sacred. These feelings were captured through plays, poem and texts with ‘totemic’ significance.

‘The Commons’ were reprised through many later disputes and celebrations (below) concerning land enclosures and the opening of Dartford’s parks. The status of the Commons took many decades to determine locally and in the next section we will show that it involved confrontations between public feelings and local authority as well as ‘happy occasions’.

Section Two

Introduction

Authority, rites, emotions, ethics and action do not always coalesce straightforwardly.³⁰ The exemplars in this section demonstrate how class interest, affect and actions did not always align in Dartford in the early and mid-nineteenth century. ‘Dirty Dartford’³¹ was emphatically not on a pre-ordained Hegelian trajectory towards a ‘Brighter and More Beautiful Dartford’, not least because these compelling ethics did not apply to the Commons as clear-cut opposites. It was not a given that improvers would prevail over economisers. This lends weight to my argument that my fundamental assumptions are neither historicist nor teleological in nature. Indeed, I fully recognise that, certainly in the timeframe under consideration here, outcomes were *always* provisional and subject to revision.

Although class plays a part in shaping outcomes, with a detectable change of gear between early and late nineteenth century Dartford, it does so in a cross-cutting fashion only after which faltering attempts at ‘improvement’ give way to much more forthright and successful efforts.

Mid nineteenth century politics in Dartford were complicated, as in other industrial towns, with fierce disputes over public policy between self-styled improvers and economisers. Improving was characterised by a commitment to public works and eradication of dirt (heteronomy) and economising by devotion to self-help (cf. Samuel Smiles), domesticity and advocacy of cesspits (autonomy). In (intra-)class terms improvers are broadly characterised as ‘Big Capital’ and economisers ‘Small Capital’ with corresponding ethical dispositions. But there are conspicuous exceptions (‘big’ economisers, and ‘small’ improvers). In early nineteenth century Dartford ethical dispositions and feelings about public policy did not always correspond with class positions in an expected way.

Imperfect understandings of disease and public health issues led to faulty reasoning, as will be seen in the Applegarth exemplar (local) and in the 1849 report to the General Board of Health by William Ranger (central government), complicating the picture still

³⁰ For simplicity the following exemplars are laid out chronologically, although the discussion will make linkages across time.

³¹ ‘Dirty Dartford’ refers to a local verse about Dartford, which will be discussed.

further. Dartford's regulatory institutions (and local taxation systems) meant that improvements were highly visible and vulnerable to immediate self-interest (rate-payers' worries about their ability to pay). Comparatively, Dartford (whose dirty condition was mentioned in Parliament) was more troubled by dirt than Uxbridge at this point. At this juncture in Dartford, some interests were cross-cutting, *not* competing, as will be seen. Interests and ethics were still being clarified through public meetings, boards (such as for lighting) and through what I call 'epistolary public rites'.

For convenience, the exemplars discussed in this section are listed above, presented around selected themes. These exemplars show that enthusiasms could be short-lived, partly because the regulatory mechanisms were not developed sufficiently to enact their functions. (This will be seen in Uxbridge too, in relation to private housing, rather than to responses to public filth as was the case in Dartford).

The following exemplars illustrate waxing, waning, lapsing and failing authority, frustration and exasperation within the first half of the nineteenth century. A local improvement act, enforcement of the central state's New Poor Law, the enclosing of a quay perceived as public right of way, and an attempt to construct a ship canal constitute multi-faceted exemplars encapsulating authority and rites and class and action, and still more, inaction.

I will show why authority failed or lapsed with varying degrees of ill-feelings.

Authority Enacted with and without Feeling:

Waxing and Waning Enthusiasm and Ambition Beyond Reach

A feature of late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century local authority was the somewhat haphazard acquisition of legitimate power promoted locally through sponsorship of *Private* or *Local Acts*. These created 1,114 Turnpike Trusts; 125 Boards of Guardians for the Poor; hundreds of Drainage Boards and around three hundred Improvement Commissioners or Paving Commissioners. Keith-Lucas, (1977, 11) points out that '[M]any other bodies [were] set up for the management of docks and Canals and other purposes'. Local Acts provided for the establishment of Boards of Trustees or Commissioners. Boards would usually include the Member of Parliament, landowners, the Dean, Vicar and electors selected by a ballot of rate-paying householders. Keith-Lucas highlights that the 'typical Act' would grant Commissioners power to levy rates to improve paving and lighting, provide piped water and drains,

widen the streets and prevent obstructions. But local authority conferred by Acts did not always ‘stick’.

Early examples follow: a local Street Lighting Act which passed but for which enthusiasm waned; authority for poor law administration imposed on Dartford causing some annoyance; public feelings stirred up due to enclosure of a perceived right of way, and a Local Bill for a Ship Canal that was defeated.

‘An Act for lighting, watching and improving the Town of Dartford’

The 1814 Improvement Act obtained by Dartford endowed the town with powers which were either not enacted, or when enacted were then allowed to fall into desuetude. The trajectory of the Act is set out below, although an account is required also of *why* enthusiasms waxed and waned.

The 1814 Improvement Act

1814	Dartford obtains an Improvement Act
1826	Dartford Gas Board set up. John Hall becomes a member. The Commissioners agree to take gas from the Board
1832	Parishioners petition for reinstatement of lighting which has lapsed
1849	Report to the General Board of Health for Dartford criticises the town for not using all the powers it had under the 1814 Act

The ‘ingrossed’³² Bill for ‘lighting, watching and improving the Town of Dartford’ was passed on 27th May, 1814, gaining Royal Assent on 17th June the same year. Keyes (1938, 596) highlights that it only took nine months from presenting the *Petition* to receiving *Royal Assent*. This would have required successful ‘petitioning’, involving mobilisation of local feeling, and considerable enthusiasm.

The Act stated that public streets in Dartford were ‘not properly lighted, watched, and cleaned...and subject to various Nuisances, Annoyances and Encroachments’ (Keyes, 1933, 468). Various powers were available within the Act to address these problems

³² Written out formally

(see below). Dartford adopted gas lighting in 1826. In reality, 1826 seems to have been a relatively early date to adopt gas lighting, although lighting powers were available by Dartford's Improvement Act. Sweet (1999, 83) points out that 'by 1826 ... almost all towns over 10,000 had gas companies'. However, Dartford's population, according to Keyes, (1933, 499), using figures supplied by J.J. Hurtley, Clerk to the U.D.C., was, by 1831, only 4,715. Keyes (1938, 264) points out that Dartford 'was only fourteen years behind the first gas company to receive the Charter' and was 'amongst the pioneers of public gas supply in the United Kingdom'.

The Dartford Town Archive (2000-2009) describes John Hall as being active in advocating local services and becoming a member of the Board of the Dartford Gas Company when it was set up in 1826. A general meeting was held in July 1826 which the Vicar chaired where income was discussed. Anticipated income from lighting fifty-two public lamps was £208 per annum and £420 for 120 private lights. Apparently, the meeting was of an opinion that 'the proposals had a good chance of a reasonable remuneration for those who took part in the enterprise'. The Highway Trustees granted permission to lay pipes and the Commissioners for Lighting agreed to take gas from the Company. Work progressed rapidly. According to the Archive public gas lighting began in June 1827. This was achieved through a contract to light sixty-eight lamps.

Comment: From this account, the rhythm of suggestion-making, meetings, sentiment-formation and practical action is clear. It is notable that public needs were to be met by a private provider and that religious differences were not a problem (John Hall was a Wesleyan Methodist, but the Anglican Vicar also instigated the procedure).

Waning of Enthusiasm

However, the authorities' enthusiasm waned. Keyes (1933, 279-281) records that in 1832 the parishioners of Dartford printed a circular requesting reinstatement of lighting for the town which had, it seems, been discontinued by the Commissioners. This 'requisition' was presented to the Churchwardens so that a Vestry Meeting could be called to inquire into the reasons. Mr. D. James, Churchwarden, chaired the meeting. The Vestry 'resolved unanimously' that gas lighting had, from the beginning, contributed to the convenience of the inhabitants, and 'to the prevention of those nightly depredations which are most successfully practised in the dark' (Keyes, 1933, 280-281). The Churchwardens were thanked for 'their prompt attention to the wishes of the

inhabitants' (1933, 281). Keyes suggests that the Commissioners were out of touch since some (M.P.s and magistrates) were not Dartford residents.

Comment: The lapsing of authority over lighting and consequent dissipation of authority disconcerted the locals. Earlier enthusiasm for improvement by the authorities had lapsed and available authority had been dissipated.

Deficiencies of the 1814 Act criticised

The much later *Report to the General Board of Health, entitled Preliminary Inquiry into the Sewerage, Drainage, and Supply of Water, and the Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of the Town of Dartford* (dated 10th May, 1849) summarised the 1814 Act (Keyes, 1933, 485-486). William Ranger, Superintending Inspector to the General Board of Health responsible for the report, highlights how powers available in the earlier act were not all being used. These had included the ability to appoint a clerk, treasurer and officers, to erect lamps, remove nuisances, clean the streets and levy rates.

Ranger's report confirms that the *Commissioners* had contracted with the *Gas Light Company* for lighting the town and levied a rate to meet the costs and pay for lamp maintenance, and the *Surveyor of the Highways* who was responsible for the cleaning and watering of streets and highways repairs was financed by the parochial highway rate: a seemingly impressive array of powers. But Ranger also reported that the *Commissioners* had limited themselves to 'mere lighting', neglecting their powers over removal of nuisances including filth and rubbish. He criticises the deficiencies of the Act itself in drawing boundaries, leading to difficulties in levying charges, and also criticises a problematic threefold jurisdiction over roads, that of Trustees of the Roads, Commissioners, and Surveyors of the Highways.

Comment: An ambiguity resides in local authority in that the Commissioners possessed a wide range of powers yet did not exercise them. Public rituals, momentary enthusiasm, an ethical commitment (here to public safety) and ambitious actions lacked effective institutionalisation, without which affects dissipated. Exterior imposition of authority was the alternative, as seen with the Poor Law Amendment Act.

The 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act, Enacted locally

This exemplar is valuable as it encapsulates local feeling about a centrally imposed Act, raising questions about the relationship between *imposed* regulation and ritualization.

The significance of this national Act is widely acknowledged. Through this new Law the administrative unit by which poor relief was administered changed from being the Parish to being the Poor Law Union which was a combination of parishes. The new boundaries often failed to conform to existing Borough and Parish boundaries (Fraser, 1979). Poor Law 'Unions' reported to the central Poor Law Commission. In principle at least, their newly appointed Boards of Guardians could be 'compelled' to abide by the Poor Law Commission's directives and, from 1847, those of its successor, the Poor Law Board (Besley, Coate and Guinnane, 2001). Central authority cut across local forms of authority (the Parish) and administrative powers locally were transferred to the Union and strengthened.

In 1836 the Poor Law Commissioners used the new Act to unite Dartford Parish with twenty others: a considerable boundary enlargement centralised around the *Dartford Union Workhouse* to which inmates from other parishes were transferred. Dartford's administrative importance was augmented by the creation of the Dartford Poor Law Union. Its governance was taken over by a new Board of Guardians, having previously been the responsibility of Dartford's Vicar, Churchwardens and Overseers (Shadbolt, 1995, 8-9). This concentration of powers, responsibilities and means, provoked the annoyance of John Dunkin, local historian. Dunkin shared *The Times'* contempt for the New Poor Law concluding that:

The New Poor Law was introduced under pretence of reducing the rates, but has not done so, though it has greatly increased the sufferings of the poor, and *The Times* newspaper of April 26th, 1844, says "the law affronts men's understanding whilst it picks their pockets, and treats them like fools while it legalizes an extortion, which out of every shilling it professes to raise for the relief of the poor, gives tenpence to some otiose salaried officer or absentee inspector"³³ (1844, 436, footnote).

³³Dunkin inaccurately points to *The Times* of 26th April, 1844 as the source of the quotation. However, *The Times* of that date actually gives extensive coverage to what it calls 'The Great Mott Case', to which Dunkin may be elliptically referring: Mr. Mott, Assistant Poor Law Commissioner for West Riding of Yorkshire, called into question the way that the Board of Guardians was run. Mr. Ferrand, M.P. for Knaresborough, was Chairman of the Board. The Board's unsatisfactory conduct included '[giving] relief in aid of wages', for example. Somehow (!) the report was leaked and divulged in Parliament by Sir J. Graham, a political opponent, to the disadvantage of Mr. Ferrand. However, when the report was made public, local corroboration by witnesses was not forthcoming. "The name of Mr. Mott was expunged from the list of Assistant Commissioners". (*The Times*, 26th April, 1844)

Dunkin has mixed feelings about changes in his conflicted Dartford which coincide with opinion articulated in *The Times*. He feels sympathy for the poor, whilst at the same time aggrieved by the notion of monies going to distant officials. Central authority, imposed locally, can provoke mixed feelings. Institutionalisation requires repeated ritualization, especially when authority is imposed from outside.

Ambition Beyond Reach: Willding's Wharf and The Ship Canal

Neo-Marxian regulation theorists attempt to link changing forms of local governance with contemporaneous 'modes of accumulation' often deploying a vague form of functionalism (Jessop, above). Smith (1984) is more specific in that he insists that the exact mechanisms are identified, claiming that it is the 'big bourgeoisie' which pushed for 'improvement' while smaller owners favoured 'economising' and leaving matters as they stood. As one of Dartford's most technically advanced manufacturers, John Hall's backing for gas lighting can be treated as providing a 'big business' impetus. But in cases to follow matters are not so clear cut. The author finds contrary evidence of small business enthusiasm for, and big business opposition to improvement. The Ship Canal case (below) encompasses careful adherence to, and sequencing of rituals which raised public feelings markedly, conflicting and ultimately confounding passions and animated irreconcilable interests. But the forces which stopped the scheme were Mr. Wilks, owner of the 'big' Phoenix Mills and a *bigger* railway company.

The reason for including these exemplars is to reinforce the suggestion that neo-Durkheimian attention to the animating effects of ritual accounts for these kinds of anomaly; that class matters, but that alignment of passions with class interests and creation of authoritative institutions is far from clear-cut, especially in early to mid-nineteenth century Dartford where authoritative demarcation of public from private interests and the funding of even small changes remained contentious as will be shown.

Willding's Wharf

Dunkin (1844, 328) describes how rights to the Town Wharf had gradually been usurped, using Richard Penny's 'Account of Dartford's Town Wharf' which had appeared in *The Gravesend Journal*, November 1838³⁴. To summarise:

'Townspople' were accustomed to 'land and cart their goods' freely and grew complacent about access to the town wharf. Indeed, Knock, lighter-man, landed his goods, carting them away without being charged. However, in 1831 the wharf was sold by auction to John Willding, 'seedsman'. Knock had become ill a couple of years before and had 'dropped his lug-boat'. By abandoning it, the inhabitants' 'freedom of the quay' lapsed. Following purchase, Mr. Willding announced his intention to 'inclose', -provoking public outcry – then erected a fence, locking up the premises. The wharf was then let to Mr. Philcox, referred to by Richard Penny in 1838 as 'still occupying it'.

Comment: This episode qualifies even the neo-Durkheimian model in that this time instead of public passion producing authority changes, authority change ('inclosure') provoked the 'outcry'. Strong feelings are provoked when reconfiguration of authority is attempted. The inhabitants' exercise of their 'quotidian' (Perri 6, 2007) rites in crossing the quay (i.e. their 'local authority') was abrogated when Willding locked it. He displaced local authority with raw power and the failure of resistance by the townspeople shows here how power can trump rites. Following public outrage, Willding managed to recover some legitimacy by leasing out what had been a public-access quay. In other words, the relationship between local authority, emotion and rites is dynamic and change to one element affects the others.

Although the clash could be described using neo-Marxist terminology as between two fractions of the capitalist class; rentier interests versus those of traders, this does not quite account for the patterns of feelings and ethical dispositions among protagonists which do not correspond particularly well with their class positions.

The Dartford Ship Canal

A bigger dispute developed over an ambitious scheme to dredge a 'Ship Canal' out of existing modest, meandering waterways linking Dartford and Crayford to the Thames.

³⁴ Keyes (1938, 627) refers to Penny as 'a prominent member of the Independent Chapel in Lowfield Street...a very active man in public affairs; a prolific writer, he was an enthusiastic supporter of the Canal Scheme...'

The 'small' seedsman Willding supported the scheme, taking an option to buy £100 worth of shares in the putative Ship Canal venture. Profit and rightness would have gone hand in hand from his viewpoint., although not from everyone's. It could also be inferred that he had an interest in reduced transport costs which a Canal would have enabled.

The result of the public meetings, disputes and petitions was not a Ship Canal and the creation of *Commissioners* with considerable powers, but a modest increase in authority over a much smaller creek improvement scheme.

This exemplar is selected because Dartford Creek (and its hinterland) hardly features in local consciousness; a wilderness which, in conspicuous contrast to Dartford Heath, Hesketh Park and Central Park, is *not* the object of public affection, nor a 'sacred' site for ritual activity, or a space governed by a well-known authority. 'Dartford Creek' – and its governance - is obscure and neglected. It is unloved and unkempt.

The Origins of the Idea for a Ship Canal

The kernel of an idea about a Ship Canal was individual later magnified by ritual processes, which engendered much feeling. A paper, (probably by Richard Penny), entitled *The Origin of the first idea of the Ship Canal* (in Keyes, 1938, 645-6) accounts for how the idea came to Edward Hall³⁵ (son of John Hall, owner of a Dartford based engineering and marine business). Travelling in the same coach from London, probably in 1835, conversation turned to the Ship Canal. Penny asked Edward Hall to explain 'the *first* idea that struck him on the subject'. It occurred when Hall was travelling between Feversham (Faversham) and Dartford in connection with improvements of his father's gunpowder and brimstone works in Faversham. Hall was impressed by the amount of shipping on the Thames shipping and was mindful of Dartford and its 'half useless Creek' when the idea of a Ship Canal occurred to him. He knew about similar projects in similar circumstances elsewhere. Early next day he 'ascended the heights in the neighbourhood of the Creek' [i.e. East Hill] and envisaged that his idea was 'perfectly practicable', would boost trade and 'put a new face on

³⁵ A canal which straightened Dartford Creek would also have been useful for John Hall to transport goods by water.

society'. From this account it would seem that Hall envisages an advantage to the public.

Reckoning his plan practical, Edward Hall presented it to friends 'who entered heartily therein' (Dunkin, 1844, 329-330, footnote). According to Dunkin, Hall then published *An Enquiry into the Present State of Dartford Creek with means proposed for its improvement*, dated 21st September 1835. This 'maiden performance' was printed on zinc, therefore 'remarkably unfavourable for general perusal'³⁶ – by implication a tactical mistake.

Hall's circular highlights the inconvenience facing vessels approaching Dartford and how direct communication with Essex was hampered. He forecasts that land either side of the Canal would increase in value, commenting that 'it is extraordinary that no attempt should ever have been made to alter Dartford Creek from its original winding state' when similar improvements had been 'so generally introduced' (Keyes, 1938, 621). The Creek was at times unnavigable, circuitous and long, often presented with unfavourable headwinds. Hall emphasises barriers to 'developing local resources' could only be surmounted through 'extensive improvements' (1938, 621), including fifteen-foot roadways on the Canal's top banks and ten foot wide towpaths. The Canal was to be as deep as the Thames low-water mark.

On 4th November John Hayward, solicitor, gave 'Notice' of an application to Parliament for 'making and maintaining a navigable cut or canal' and to 'establish a ferry across the...Thames and 'to levy rates, tolls, and duties' for 'making and maintaining the Canal' (Keyes, 1938, 625).³⁷

From Public Meetings to Agreeing a Bill

A public meeting took place swiftly on 6th November 1835 at the Town Hall (Keyes, 1938, 625). The 'numerous' public meeting was of 'gentry, manufacturers, farmers and others, interested in the prosperity of Dartford and its vicinity.' The meeting's aim was 'to consider the best means to be adopted for carrying into effect a proposal to supersede the present Creek from the Thames to Dartford, by making a canal ...' Various resolutions were 'carried unanimously' concerning the necessity for improved

³⁶ It is assumed that this was an expensive printing process and therefore there were few copies

³⁷ In view of a projected railway to Blackwall, which would continue to Purfleet.

communication with the Thames. The list of names involved in proposing and seconding includes Richard Leigh, William Medley, Chas. Hussey Fleet, Edward Stoneham, John Tasker, Charles Stoneham, Richard Penny and the Reverend F.B. Grant (Keyes, 1938, 626).

The Actors

The background, including occupation and religion of the main actors is relevant:

Henry Berens, elected member of the Local Commissioners of Sewers (October, 1830) Chairman of the Local Commissioner of Sewers (February 1833-December 1844); *Richard Leigh*, Esq., farm owner and ‘a man of superior attainments’; *William Medley*, Esq. (member of an old Dartford banking firm); *Charles Hussey Fleet*, Esq, lived at Bank House, who ‘took an active part in all progressive local affairs’; *Mr. Edward Stoneham*, one of the Creek Navigation Commissioners appointed by the 1840 Act; *John Tasker*, Esq., member of a long-established local brewing family; *Charles Swaisland*, Esq., ‘connected with the silk-printing works at Crayford, and an original *Commissioner of Creek Navigation*; *Rev. F.B. Grant*, Vicar of Dartford; *Mr. Richard Penny*, a member of the Independent Chapel, Lowfield Street, and ‘an enthusiastic supporter of the Canal Scheme’; *Mr. Stiddolph*, auctioneer and estate agent; *Mr. Edward Hall*, ‘the originator of the Scheme’, engineer, brother of John Hall [jnr]. and son of Mr. John Hall; *Mr. Mumford Campbell*, one of first Directors of Dartford Gas Co; *Augustus Applegarth*, inventor of the rotary printing press; Mr. Jardine (silk mercer and draper)
(Keyes, 1938, 627-628)

This list is interesting as it represents concurrence among a diverse set of owners, large and small, and from both Established and Non-Conformist church members. Local brewers, Fleet and Tasker, local engineer (Hall), local calico printer (Swaisland) and local draper (Jardine) could be described as having an interest in improved transport of raw materials and finished products, notably Hall’s heavy marine steam engines (Porteous, 1981, 25). Dunkin backed the proposal by ‘subscribing’ for £125 of shares.

The Provisional Committee appointed is draw from this pool: Berens, Medley, Hall, Leigh, Fleet, Tasker, Swaisland, Applegarth, Stoneham and Jardine. Medley’s proposal that this committee be appointed was seconded by Stiddolph.

The committee was to state their opinion in a report for submission ‘to a general meeting’. Mr. Hall was thanked ‘for the pains he has taken in promoting the object of the meeting’ (Keyes, 1938, 627). The promoters also sought more wharfage, ‘there

being at present but four wharfs,...in the hands of three individuals' (1836, 8). Medley proposed that Mr. Mylne, engineer of the New River Company should be called in to agree the best entrance and termination point for the Canal with Mr. Clarke [engineer under the direction of Messrs. Hall]. The Provisional Committee resolved unanimously to accept their report and to recommend measures to begin the undertaking immediately.

Public Meeting (19th November)

The report and recommendation were submitted to a public meeting on 19th November which approved them 'with a few dissentient voices' (Keyes, 1938, 650) and agreed to a Bill for Parliament's next session.

Report (31st December)

In a report, dated 31st December, John Hall³⁸ remarks that he was 'surprised' (Keyes, 1938, 651) that the improvement, so easy to accomplish, had not been undertaken before. He emphasises that motives now existed in a way they had not previously; plans for improvements in transport by land and water in the vicinity of Dartford. However, he feared the town losing 'even its present rank' over trade' if it failed to keep up with other towns around it (651-2). He points out that now the sum required had risen to sixty-five thousand pounds, much higher than stated originally, but that those in the vicinity stood to benefit from the improvements, likewise the subscribers would benefit from favourable returns. Hall draws attention to the returns; a 7d tonnage rate would produce a return of at least 5% to subscribers, together with ferry, wharf and dock dues.

Resistance: Fooks' *Investigation of "The Enquiry"* (8th November)

The flurry of activity continued. Dunkin records that Mr W.C. Fooks, (Barrister) circulated a 'severe and caustic "Investigation" 'which extremely annoyed the author', although Dunkin concedes that together [with Hall's 'Enquiry'] these views 'afford a complete view of the navigation' (1844, 330, footnote). Fooks' pamphlet *An Investigation of "The Enquiry"* appeared swiftly on the 8th of November, 1835 (Keyes,

³⁸ I infer that it is John Hall. From the text it is not entirely clear. If not Hall, it could have been written by Richard Penny.

1938, 628-641) with objections expressed in a lawyerly manner including the following objections; the

- 'partial' and 'contradictory nature of "The Enquiry"
- loss of free navigation
- freedom for canal proprietors to levy increased tolls
- abolition through the Enquiry of a 'public navigable river, which was illegal save by Act of Parliament
- inadequate compensation for property-owners affected along the formation of the Canal

Fooks urges the existing Creek be left alone maintaining that trade could still be increased ten-fold on the Creek. A Ship Canal would be accessible by permission, not by right, meaning paying a tax which would be variable with the success of the scheme.

Comment: Here is clear expression of resistance to the 'improvers'. Fooks' 'economiser' ethic is that matters are best left alone; notwithstanding the extant limitations of the Creek it is *peoples' freedoms and rights that should prevail*: He doubts the improvers' claim that Dartford will become more vibrant as a direct result of the Canal and mocks the promoters' phraseology such as 'Our local resources must now be developed' and 'Money will be brought here', describing these phrases as 'hackneyed' and claimed advantages 'vain and chimerical'. He proposes that the Creek could be straightened and deepened thus avoiding the completion of a 'perfect job' through 'the most gross and daring infringement of both public and private rights' (Keyes, 1938, 635-636).

Fooks assumes that the Act 'which is now about to be obtained...in spite of a strong opposition' threatens 'all the many and wealthy individuals who will be injured by the undertaking' (1938, 638). He suspects that Hall's 'Enquiry' was a rhetorical document which poses a question so as to receive a certain answer: it assumes the guise of an improvement while what it means is the *abolition* of the Creek. He concludes by appealing to Dartford's inhabitants warning against being 'deluded by the specious pretexts and promises of benefit' (1938, 641) and urges them to 'rise as one man, and offer...your most determined and strenuous opposition'.

Comment: It is of note that, as with the enclosure of The Brent, and Willding's enclosure of the town wharf, Fook's anger was also triggered by what he saw as illegitimate power (power without authority) or by attempts by a protagonist to reconstitute existing authority in a new form. It strikes me that feelings animated in this way seem disproportionate to whatever interests were at stake, and, as seen below, in Wilks' case an interest seems to have been concocted. Given the civil- and mechanical-engineering expertise available to the promoters of the Ship Canal it is improbable that the scheme would, as Wilks was to claim, render his Phoenix Mill liable to flooding, and just as improbable that, as Wilks also states, that Edward Hall was intent only on benefitting himself at the expense of other people's trade.

These interests are *after effects of feelings*. It is noteworthy that Wilks and his associate seem to 'play both sides against the middle'. Wilks and Pigou were business partners. In the Canal case Wilks sides with Fooks, the self-styled defender of 'public and private rights'. But in the Brent case, Wilks' business partner, Pigou was determined to *remove* similar rights of free public access, very likely in the 'interests' of his intention to develop the land, probably for housing. One can infer from this that the relationship between authority, emotion, interests, ethics and action is contingent and that changes in any 'element' can provoke change in any of the others.

This being the case, Smith's argument that 'big' and 'small' businesses were pushed into conflict by the conflicting interests of big and small capital is at best, a simplification which is, moreover, inconsistent with close comparative attention to the many details in each case.

At this point Fooks' reasoning concentrated Penny's mind on the principle and theories of improvement. Penny is furious, finding reason to be angry as feelings polarise:

Penny's response to Fooks, 30th November, 1835

Dunkin & Son published a pamphlet consisting of three documents by Richard Penny: a letter to the 'inhabitants of Dartford'; a piece concerning the origins of the Ship Canal as an idea; and his speech at the November 7th meeting.

Penny's *Letter to the Inhabitants of Dartford and its Vicinity* (30th November 1835)

Richard Penny, enthusiastic supporter of the scheme, responded within the month with a letter *A Letter to the Inhabitants of Dartford and its vicinity, on the subject of the projected Ship Canal* in the form of a pamphlet published by Dunkin (Keyes, 1938, 641-645). He writes that now the excitement of the two public meetings had died down he would sit down to calmly address his 'Fellow Townsmen'. He emphasises the sovereignty of the majority over the 'dissentients' He refers to the 'new spirit of improvement', contrasting it with ten years ago: if Edward Hall had attempted such a project ten years earlier, 'it would have been considered 'the effect of a disordered brain' and he would have been ridiculed. However:

such is the *spirit of improvement* going forward, that no sooner was the project fully laid open, than the inhabitants of Dartford ... hailed the proposal, sanctioned the proceedings, and at once showed themselves worthy of being ranked amongst the *improvables* of the day (Keyes, 1938, 641 emphases added).

Penny reports that three or four 'dissentients' at the first meeting and at the second larger gathering, seven or eight, adding '...that after Investigator [Fooks] had done a BIT [sic] of eloquence, [he called] upon the inhabitants of Dartford to 'rise as one man' (1938, 641, footnote). Penny reminds these 'dissentients'³⁹ that although they have the right to oppose the proposed measure, the meeting had the 'purpose of effecting a great public good' [and were] 'stamped with the authority of the majority' (Keyes, 1938, 642).

He refers to an incident the day before the second meeting when the town was visited with a 'torrent' of pamphlets – 'a shower of investigations', admonishing Fooks without naming him:

... an antiquated individual [who] came into our assembly, clothed in the ideas of his grand-sire, without a smattering of knowledge of those events daily passing around him, perfectly ignorant of the general improvement everywhere taking hold of all classes of society. ... Why sir, - "beg pardon, but such things are not worn now" (cited Keyes, 1938, 642.)

Penny advocates change for Dartford, declaring 'our ancient town would date her modern prosperity from this day', borrowing the term 'dissentients' from Medley who was present at the first meeting, at which there was 'an almost unanimous vote of approbation'. Penny emphasises that improvement is visible throughout Britain despite

³⁹ Although the proponents of the Bill claimed that there was only one known opponent who was hoping he might obtain compensation, petitioners against the Bill included Matthias Wilks, and 'owners and occupiers of lands in Dartford' including George Willding (House of Commons, 1836, 12)

fierce ‘dissentient’ opposition, Dartford having the advantage of implementing improvements tested elsewhere, the town would ‘stand fair to realize all that we anticipate’.

He characterises the Canal as ‘exclusively our own’ and an ‘altogether local thing’, not having to contend with outside interests (1938, 643). Penny considered the district to have advantages but was mindful that local circumstances explained why some districts were rising flourishing as others decayed.

He anticipates that with proposed railroads operating it would be necessary to take advantage of all such favourable circumstances. Addressing Kent landowners, Penny reminds them of the pride held in Kent’s beauty and in its history whilst also reminding them that times were changing. Penny was confident there was no conflict between ships and railroads, envisaging the ship canal as leading from the Thames to Dartford then leading to a railroad. He saw the country ‘intersected’ with railways and canals, adding that railroads would improve accessibility, to the London market, whilst meaning greater competition. He refers to the ‘march of self-defence’ as being less well-understood than the ‘march of the intellect’ and of ‘improvement’. In conclusion, Penny emphasises the necessity to act upon Dartford’s advantages in order to combat the ‘effects of the spirit of improvement that is rapidly spreading around [them]’ (1938, 645). In other words, collective improvements would contribute to Dartford’s success at place-competition.

On the Present State of the Creek

In defence of the Canal Penny published a letter entitled *On the Present State of the Creek* consisting of his speech at the first meeting for the benefits of readers not present at the meeting nor acquainted with Dartford Creek. This was reported in *The Gravesend and Milton Journal and Dartford Agricultural Chronicle* of 7th November (Keyes, 1938, 646-647). To summarise, Penny declares he had felt the ‘insufficiency’ of the Creek for a long time. Although there had been objections to the charges ‘by interested parties’, the intention was ‘the greatest possible benefit at the least charge’. Penny cites the charges paid for coal by a major consumer of coal (2s6d per ton) whereas, he claims, it would only be 6d by Canal. He also envisaged making a railroad to bring goods to the canal to enable them to ‘to compete with their more influential neighbours’. He

was 'certain the town of Dartford would assume a new and improved appearance, for the instant the bill shall have passed ... industry [will] receive a fresh impulse, old Dartford [will] rise like a Phoenix from the fire, and future generations with gratitude [will] bless the memory of the projectors of the Canal' (Keyes, 1938, 647). He reported this had met with cheers.

Comment: The Canal proposal divided local opinion voiced by the economist Fooks, and by improvers Hall and Penny who valued collective forwards movement. In Durkheimian terms their different visions of the sacred, helped both sides form their own opinions.

The *Dartford Canal and Kent and Essex Ferry: Statement of the Objects of the Bill* was presented to Parliament in 1836 which stated that

... the several persons ... are willing at their costs and charges to carry into execution the said undertaking, but the same cannot be effected without the authority of parliament... (cited in Keyes (1938, 660).

The 'Committee of Management or Directors' consisted of: Sir Charles Morgan, Bart.; Henry Berens, Esq.; James Chapman, the younger, Esq.; Charles Hussey Fleet and William Fleet. Brewers; John Tasker and William Tasker, Brewers; Henry Chapman, Esq.; Edward Hall, Esq; Charles Swaisland, Calico Printer; Edward Stoneham, Gentleman. and Joseph Jardine, Silk-mercier.

Share Subscribers included William and John Tasker, brewers, of Dartford, John Hayward, Banker of Dartford, Charles Swaisland, Calico Printer of Crayford, James Allen, Brickmaker, of Dartford, John Hall and Edward Hall, Engineers, of Dartford, George F. Cavill and Thomas D. Caville, plumbers of Dartford, and Ann Clark, Spinster, of Dartford, Joseph Jardine, Draper, of Dartford and John Dunkin, Printer, of Dartford. Subscriptions for the £25 shares ranged between one and seventy-five. The full list of subscribers, occupations and number of shares purchased is included in the Appendix. This lengthy list is important because it allows a full comparison of the *highly diverse* occupations of subscribers and their level of subscription.

Public and Private Interests – Satirical Verses

Satirical verses regarding the ship canal project, entitled *The Ship Canal* appeared in *The Gravesend Journal* (n.d.) (cited in Dunkin, 1844, 330). These verses obviously

echo satirically the 'Origin of the First Idea of the Ship Canal' (1835) by Penny, already summarised.

The subject is public and private interests – the perceived self-interest of Edward Hall and members of the local élite keen to back the project. From their style the verses are likely written by Joseph Jardine, who composed similar commentaries on the divisive issue of Dartford's dirtiness (described later). Jardine – the draper - subscribed for fifty pounds worth of shares in the scheme. He provides thin disguises as to the identity of the protagonists and the poem was published anonymously, appearing in Dunkin's *History of Dartford* (1844, 331), having originally appeared in *The Gravesend Journal*. I briefly summarise:

Hall muses upon a major project whilst travelling on the roof of a coach, speculating that the town would be wealthier if it were on the riverbank, 'High on the coach one summer's day' 'And idly wished as he hurried Down, to change her situation...' This emphasises the impulsive and over-optimistic nature of the project. However, Hall's social circle is prepared to back him and use their status to advance the project. 'His friends consulted all declar'd their fullest approbation'.

A banker (unnamed but it is Mr. Medly, partner in Scott and Hayward, bankers) says that he will preside at the first public meeting. The writer draws attention, satirically, to the way that the Parson declares his readiness to back the project but does not offer a contribution. Contrary to the Vicar, the Lawyer has fees in mind and has some doubts about the scheme. 'But begged to know ere he began how his services would be paid'

Hall is accused by the writer of feigning belief in the collective benefits of the Ship Canal, whilst in reality furthering his own ends:

The man of Dartford warming
Quite
With th' welfare of town and
Friends
Has only in his glowing sight,
The advance of his own ends.

The project is cast in a negative light, as an abandonment of the Creek, rather than an improvement. For example, the 'clique' planning the project adopts an approach which protects them from loss.

Despite the November 1835 proposals being ‘warmly supported’ by Dartford inhabitants and backed by celebrated mechanical and civil engineer, John Braithwaite, a highly-esteemed engineer, the Bill failed due to ‘strenuous’ opposition by Wilks, and by the Dover Rail-road company (Dunkin, 1844, 331), which objected that the Canal would impede their projected railroad. Mr. Wilks was willing to spend £500 in defeating the bill, ‘but it was accomplished by the Dover Railway Company for £450, upon the principle of “no cure no pay!” A Parliamentary examination queried how the subscribers had been found, claiming that individuals had been paid to sign to fulfil the required number of shareholders appearing on the Subscribers’ Contract.

Mr. Wilks objected that: the Phoenix Mill had cost him £8,000 to build and that a Canal lock would flood it; the Canal would terminate short of the Mill and ‘a new road solely for the accommodation of Mr. Hall, who is the projector’ (Keyes, 1938, 661) might restrict trade.

The vain defence was that:

- The Canal had widespread local support with ‘scarcely a dissentient voice or two Public Meetings’ (1938, 661).
- several engineers considered the Canal would not threaten Wilks’ Mill
- Mr. Wilks and two others enjoyed a monopoly since they owned the wharves
- The water level (i.e. at the tail-race) of the Phoenix Mills could not be higher than the water level at the Thames entrance
- that ‘the undertaking originated with the Inhabitants of Dartford.... that the line was laid down by their chosen engineers, and Mr. Hall’s interest was in common with the other trades, ‘in proportion to the extent and nature of his business’ (Keyes, 1938, 662)

Another public meeting was held on the 19th August, 1839. A far less ambitious plan emerged under the authority of *The Commissioners of Sewers*, shortening and deepening the Creek to allow one hundred and fifty ton vessels. Another meeting was held on the 5th September, 1839 (Dunkin 1844, 331, footnote); the intention was to shorten the Dartford leg of the creek by three quarters of a mile and the Crayford leg by ½ mile, and deepen both by three feet, right up to the Phoenix wharf. A statement estimated costs for land, obtaining the Act of Parliament, legal expenses, engineers’ charges, etc. at £12,000 to be borrowed against projected toll revenue. The Chairman stated that this

would leave £25 yearly for expenses, not enough to induce people to lend money, ‘they therefore must take 3d by the Act’. ‘A Scheme to Improve the Dartford Creek’, [on Fooks’ lines] (!), received Royal Assent in 1840.

Summary: This case especially supports the proposition that it is unwise to read off interests from class positions. The Ship Canal case was animated by petitioning, counter-pamphlets, satirical verses, public meetings, witnessed promissory shares, fierce opposition by Wilks, a ‘big’, though old-technology (water) mill owner, and by a nascent new-technology railway company. Wilks, Fooks (the lawyer) and the railway company defeated it though whose objections swung the argument in Parliament is difficult to say. Support and opposition came from big *and* small capital.

The diversity of support is confirmed by subscribers who range from Braithwaite, civil and mechanical engineer (£1,250 worth of £25 shares) down to schoolmaster Thomas Barton (one £25 share) (Keyes, 1938, 655-658). John Hall, advanced engineer and manufacturer was a supporter and Jardine an ordinary draper; both of whom bought share options while Penny (a ‘Gentleman’ whose occupation is not recorded) supported it without committing to buy. The list of subscribers demonstrates very considerable diversity from the cutting-edge engineer, Braithwaite, to the bookseller, printer and antiquarian Dunkin. Furthermore, two sources of authority were at stake: commoners ‘traditional’ (customary) access and maintenance of the Creek and a new joint-stock company’s outright ‘rational-legal’ ownership and control over the putative Ship Canal.

It strikes me that the heat in this dispute is not attributable to competing judgements concerning financial risk and public and private advantages, but to where authority would rest. Why would commoners – Fooks in particular - care one way or the other if the Ship Canal bankrupted its shareholders in the way he foretells? In this sense his rage was a sham. He was *not* angry on shareholders’ behalf but because of ‘the most gross and daring infringement of public and private rights’ (Keyes, 1938, 636).

As already alluded to, unlike Hesketh and Central Park, for instance, the Creek (and hinterland) are presently unkempt, ‘obscure and unloved’. Philip Smith’s neo-Durkheimian account assists in understanding why this was the case. Smith suggests (1999, 21) that:

mundane place⁴⁰ is...the entropy state of place - a default setting towards which places must gravitate unless their orbit in one or another form of special place is maintained in the collective conscience.

The profane (Durkheim's ordinary) prevailed as the rites stalled and a compromise Creek improvement was agreed. Yet Central Park - barely half a mile upstream on the Darent - is venerated, kept picturesque, has a new Edwardian Bandstand and Tea Room and is used intensively for small and large gatherings. Past-perpetuating' and 'future-binding' rites (6, P., 2007, 52-54) fostered emotive conflict, and, in this case, Fooks and Wilks made the 'past-perpetuating' case successfully and the Canal proposal failed.

Finally, it is difficult to determine whether a Ship Canal owned and controlled by a private company would have provided a 'mode of regulation' to suit Dartford's 'mode(s) of accumulation' better than the Creek Commissioners did; or whether it was the economic mistake that Fooks claimed. If the Ship Canal Company had prevailed it would have been a component of Dartford's 'mode of accumulation' and its Commissioners, its Regulating body, but this did not transpire. Local and Parliamentary determination of what was best was a shot in the dark illuminated by rites and feelings, and not in any clear sense, interest led. No one can tell whether Dartford could have become a significant port. I suspect that putative success or failure could both have been accommodated by regulation theorists.

Confounded Feelings, Confounded Passions: Feelings about Filth

Introduction

This part of Section Two is concerned with Dartford's dirt and how to deal with it which led to local conflict. Chadwick's report *On the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population* (1842), the Royal Commission on the Health of Towns, (1843-45) and the Cholera Act (1846) (among others) had begun to clarify what nuisances were. Interest in nuisances was growing in Dartford (which reached a mortality rate of twenty-seven per thousand) about what threats they posed and what to do about them, animated by fierce local disagreement. The 1814 Improvement Act was not effectively

⁴⁰ Philip Smith (1999, 16) suggests four 'elementary forms of place' - 'sacred', 'profane', 'liminal', and mundane.

institutionalised and this created a dissipating affect within the Commissioners. Torpor set in notwithstanding the evident urgency with which the act was originally 'petitioned'. Sanitation and drainage in Dartford, as in other industrializing towns, were severely wanting, little change having been made since the 1814 Act.

The Public Health Act (1848-9) created a national General Board of Health. However, its' powers were only permissive at that stage. However, if at least 10% of ratepayers wished they could request a Local Board of Health. (This had to be agreed by an inspector). The central Board of Health could impose a Local Board if mortality exceeded 23/1000. Hamlin and Sheard (1998, un-numbered page.) suggest that they were unwilling to do so without 'substantial local enthusiasm'. They write that 'for a town, the main benefit of adopting the act was that it acquired, far more cheaply and easily than by the alternative means of a private act of parliament, the legal powers to make itself healthier' (1998: un-numbered page).

Three exemplars follow encapsulating differing and conflicting views about 'nuisances' and dirt and what should be done about them: a local committee satirised in verse by an observer, an *Inquiry* by the a centrally appointed Superintending Inspector and a letter from a local manufacturer, who is much exercised by Croydon's approach to its sewage confronted with outbreaks of fever.

Local Enquiry into Nuisances (1846)

A local Committee was appointed in 1846 to enquire into Dartford nuisances. An anonymous observer – or participant observer - (almost certainly Joseph Jardine, local draper) satirised the Committee's activities in verse.⁴¹ Jardine was 'the author of many witty publications...' according to a note (probably by Jardine too) accompanying the original verses. The note also states that it was due to the Committee's report that a 'Preliminary Inquiry' was undertaken in 1849 into Dartford's sewerage, drainage, water supply and sanitation under the Public Health Act of that year. Since it was necessary to petition for an Inquiry, I infer that the Committee's report was used in the petitioning.

⁴¹ Dunkin printed the verses.

I suspect that the verses have a similar relationship to that of the Ship Canal verses to the Canal project; that is, a satirical distillation of events written by a participant observer.

The verses, styled *Report of the Committee Appointed to Enquire Into Nuisances*, 17th September, 1846, are addressed to Dartford's 'commissioners of lighting and watching'.⁴² This implies criticism since the Commissioners must have been known by Jardine. The verses are summarised with brief quotes included:

Only half of the 'committee' turned up at the agreed place. However, undaunted, they set out for 'districts haunted by noxious exhalations' which are 'fatal to elements of life'. They obviously accept the miasma theory of disease. As they walk around the Committee take note of infringements such as dirt in the road.

Of the committee recommended,
At place appointed, half attended;
Which half with spirits nothing daunted,
Proceeded forth to districts daunted

A committee member named Sallow writes them down in his book. According to Porteous (1981, 23) "Sallow" was actually Callow, carpenter, 'a principle promoter of the [1849] inquiry'.

The first stench-hole to which they came
Is known to all as "Bullace Lane";
Where note of trespasses they took,
Which Sallow wrote down in his book;
Such as of cinders, - dung, a load, -
With muck of sorts, laid in the road.

They reach a ditch which contains 'slime, and scum, as pudding thick'. Jardine refers to the culvert 'still fast closed, where lawyer Fooks once interposed ... and .. threaten'd – by force of law – to stop'. 'Lawyer Fooks' is likely to be William Cracroft Fooks, the barrister who opposed the Ship Canal proposal. However, there was a Thomas Broadley Fooks listed in a Pigot and Co's Royal Commercial Directory for 1840 as an 'attorney' and 'clerk to the court of requests' (Keyes, 1938). Fooks is the only identity not disguised. It is not clear if he was a member of this committee. The verse recounts

⁴² Appointed under the 1814 Act.

how Fooks once threatened surveyors with law if they interposed over a closed culvert ('still fast closed').

Proceeding on, the reached a ditch
Containing stuff like seething pitch,
And slime, and scum, as pudding thick,
Enough the make beholders sick.
Here is the culvert still fast closed,
Where lawyer Fooks once interposed

Cursing the lawyer, the committee conceded defeat, the implication being that their 'office' might be threatened if they did not. The verse adds that it is easier to erect a nuisance than get rid of it. Lawyers are treated as devilish and Jardine recalls in the verse that Arbuthnot had once written that limitless funds are required in recourse to law. Arbuthnot may be the resident Methodist Minister in Dartford from 1820 to 1823 (Keyes, 1933, 287). Jardine refers to a right of drainage being lost 'for want of looking after'. The Committee finds in Spital Street an 'open cesspool from which ran, a mixture rich, of dung and tan; and grease and filth of every kind'. Apparently, the owner found 'The smell was not at all unpleasant, He thought it wholesome'. However, 'Others present, Begg'd to dissent'. 'Sallow' (Callow), an Improver, stirred the filth up with a stick.

The smell was not at all unpleasant,
He [the owner] thought it wholesome, - Others present,
Begg;d to dissent – and, with a stick,
Sallow stirr'd up the compound thick,
Which set afloat, above, around,
Such stinks as quickly clear'd the ground.

Jardine asks rhetorically (and ironically) what stink is, or a taste, or even beauty and suggests that '... the same sun that raises pinks, Can also rouse most horrid stinks'. The party proceeds to 'Clark's rent' which is the place which 'Most on the town reflects disgrace'. The court is unclean, with a teeming population. 'Miasma putrid' proceeds from 'one vile shed' where the 'teeming population ... must seek relief at nature's call' and 'morals and decency are lost'. 'Disease and dirt ... reign supreme'. The inhabitants have to 'beg the water they require'. The party find a 'stinking pool' which 'Scarp' (Sharp, builder and sawmill proprietor) proposes to 'vault over' which, in building terminology, refers to a load-bearing brick ceiling but also means jumping over

an obstacle. Scarp proposes a builder's solution. 'Scurrill' (Spurrell, a brewer) accuses Scarp of placing his economic interests in selling bricks first.

Up higher, "opposite the School,"
We found an open stinking pool;
And Scarp proposed to vault it over –
But Scurrill, who could not discover,
The use of that, - save bricks to sell:
But he perhaps knows less of drains,
Than malt and hops, and beer and grains.

Next, they view Fairfield where the public road has been breached by Mrs. Lee, the Lady of the Manor by letting her water run that way. A discrepancy is drawn between Mrs. Lee's high status and her unlawful behaviour. The party advances to Overy Street which is depicted as the most offensive street. Here there are 'stinking pools' and 'ditches stagnant with typhus'. 'Germs of death' are 'on all sides sowing' and children often slipped in up to their chin, Jardine claims.

Advancing still – next in our round,
And where offences most abound,
Is "Overy Street". But words must fail,
To paint the horrors which assail
The senses in this noisome region,
Where stench lives, - whose name is legion.

Eventually tired and 'befoul'd' the party retire. Jardine makes reference to 'Casker' (William Tasker, brewer, who with others, assisted Ranger's 1849 enquiry) as being a hard task master, although they had some fun. The party had lunch with Edward Gaul (Edward Hall, the engineer) who plied them with food and drink. Through jeux de mots (which he employs frequently) the author expressed the desire that his report is not crude and that it is a 'fair – or rather foul report'.

Jardine pokes fun at the Bench of Justices, making allusions which question their lack of insight and intelligence and makes unfavourable comments on the Board of Guardians.

But comprehend, I never could,
If "Board", a reference has to wood; -
I rather think there lurks unseen
Some irony, - the phrase beneath;
A sharp point in a peaceful sheath.
A "Bench of Justices" again.

The joke is palpable, - 'tis plain
There runs concealed a something sly,
More than exactly meets the eye.

The verses conclude with a qualified criticism of the poor for failing to seek out 'benefits'. The writer claims that the poor suffer 'double privation', living for the day and 'beg, and borrow, spend and lend, little referring to the morrow'. Though critical of the poor the author is kindly and admires their desire to control their affairs. However, they are uncomplaining and show gratitude. The writer ends by saying that the 'poor man's friend' is not looking for a return but acts out of 'christian love' ... 'and shuns display'.

The context is reform, lack of competence among committee members, mutual suspicion ('Scurrill' suspects the builder is anticipating profitable contracts ('bricks to sell') and thinks one might more easily vault the filth by jumping over it, belittling its dangers to human health. The poem favours improvement, setting out the balance of forces for and against. The verses act as a 'dividing practice' – the author (Jardine) and the reader need to be privy to local personages and practices which outsiders will not have. We know the author though the poem was unsigned and know the thinly disguised identities of those alluded to. The 1846 rhymes encapsulate ethical commitments and interests, identifying interests and commitments with *class* (variously, occupation and ownership). It reports divisions among the local élite, drawing the sting of criticism through humour.

It is probable that Jardine was a member of the *Committee*, therefore a 'participant observer'. He was a well-known member of the local establishment as he served on a number of committees. His observations have the objective quality of a slightly detached 'hermit' (after Mary Douglas). The representation of the poem as a 'Report' suggests a parody of, or parallel with, an actual inspection tour and subsequent pamphlet. This has not been found although a later official *Report* (below) refers to it specifically.

As with early adoption of Street Lighting, Dartford society, in the mid eighteen-forties became animated once more: Smith (1984, 141) states that J. Callow, builder (i.e. 'Sallow'), organised the petition covering the requisite one-tenth support among rate-payers to demand the formation of a permanent Local Board of Health through local

adoption of the 'permissive' 1848 Act. It is probable that poem on filth contributed something to local petitioning and constitutes evidence suggesting divided feelings.

The probability is that Dartford petitioned before Uxbridge - an indication of local élite concern to see improvement. Hearmon relates (1984, 54) that in April 1849 Uxbridge was the first town to petition Parliament for an enquiry under the new public health act. But William Ranger, Superintending Inspector, had already completed his Dartford inspection and submitted his report to the General Board of Health by 10th May, 1849. To accomplish this, the Dartford 'Committee' would have had to 'petition' for his enquiry sooner, in which case Uxbridge would not have been the first. (Uxbridge's Board of Health was only constituted provisionally, and it was not until 1853 that an Act confirmed Provisional Orders for a General Board of Health at Uxbridge at the same time as Accrington and Bangor). The Board of Health in Dartford (Smith, 1985, 143) comprised Russell (solicitor), Harrison, (Phoenix Stamping Mills), Gurnell, (chemist), Wilks, (the same proprietor of the Phoenix Mills, also gunpowder manufacturer, who had *opposed* the Ship Canal), Tasker, (brewer), Fleet, (brewer), Hall, (engineering manufacturer), Willding, (corn merchant) and Waller, (coal merchant); several of whom had supported the Canal. Smith is wrong to suggest – that by this point, bigger businesses subscribed to improvement while smaller businesses resisted. The Canal case and this poem on Filth show that the same individual (for example Wilks) sided with improvement in one case and as an economising 'dissentient' on the other, contra Smith (1984).

It is noteworthy that in Dartford petitioning was followed quickly by an official enquiry. Dartford's Local Board of nine members was constituted in 1850 and was fast to act but provoked bitter local ethical criticism in defence of health and freedom.

Ranger's Inquiry and Report (1849)

Based on his Survey, William Ranger, Superintending Inspector, made a report to the General Board of Health, *A Preliminary Inquiry into Sewerage, Drainage, Supply of Water, and the Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of Dartford* dated May 1849. This report is reproduced in Keyes (1933, 485-494), from which I will discuss extracts.

Ranger was assisted by Mr. Tasker, and others, including John Hayward, R. Tippetts, E. Cresy, junior, J. Callow ('a principle promoter of the inquiry') and Mr. Robins,

Surveyor of Highways. It is noteworthy that Callow participated in the 'Inquiry' of 1846, too, and is mentioned in Jardine's verses. Like Jardine, Ranger found Dartford's poor hospitable. He summarises the 1814 Act, criticizing its poor specification of boundaries and penalties. He criticises Commissioners appointed under that Act for not using their powers. For example, as well as lighting the town, Commissioners could also remove 'nuisances' such as (night-) soil and rubbish. Ranger also highlights that no fewer than three parties had jurisdiction over roads; the Trustees of the Roads, Commissioners (under the 1814 Act) and the Surveyors of the Highways Ranger.

The mortality rate for 1848 was estimated at approximately twenty-seven per thousand. (This exceeded the rate at which a Board could be imposed on Dartford). Ranger found the chief causes of mortality were preventable disease, endemic and contagious diseases. Ranger links 'miasma' and disease, quoting the Town Surgeon, Mr. Culhane, who observed that diseases which had run their course elsewhere were 'in our locality...marked, and their fatal termination stamped with the noxious and miasmatic character of the emanations from our stagnant ponds and ditches' (Keyes, 1933, 486). He cites Mr. Grantham who linked typhus with 'imperfect nutrition' and 'impure exhalations'. Grantham stated there was insufficient separation of houses from privies.

Ranger gives the average mortality for the parish for 1838-1844 as twenty-three per thousand.⁴³ He took evidence from Mr. Tippetts, surgeon to the *Poor Law Union*, who identified Webb's Court as inhabited by large families, of the 'lowest and dirtiest grade' and 'rendered the seat of fever of a most malignant, contagious and destructive quality' (Keyes, 1933, 487). At one end were piggeries, a dung-heap and filth. Mr. Tippetts observed that 'immediately fresh people take possession of these wretched tenements, they are attacked with fever' (Keyes, 1933, 487). Clark's Alley (mentioned in Jardine's verses), was only accessible through a covered passage, six feet six inches high and three feet six inches wide and had one privy for all the houses. Overcrowding was rife. Regarding 'Drainage', the rivers *Darent* and *Cranford* were receptacles for filth from the town and the marshes were filled with stagnant vegetation or stagnant water 'to such an extent that the most malignant forms of fever were liable to supervene' (cited Keyes, 1933, 488).

⁴³ The *Registrar General's* 'Report on the mortality of Cholera in England, 1848-9' lists deaths from the disease in Dartford but cholera is not listed between February 1847 and February 1848; presumably because it was not then epidemic.

Ranger quotes Mr. Culhane's allusion to 'permanent nuisances':

The noxious miasmatic character of the stagnant pools and ditches I have been called upon to see; particularly the one separating properties on the north side of the town, and running to Spital Street; the mephitic effluvia issuing from this one source alone (out of the many) is of the kind destructive to human life (Keyes, 1933, 488).

Ranger acknowledges the 1846 Committee finding (since lost) which had reported 'soil' from houses in Marl Place discharged into the Cranford, from which several dwellings drew water. Water supply was usually by pumps and few houses had a good supply. He also refers to Local Committee minutes of 1846 describing Clark's Alley as 'entirely destitute of a supply'. Mr. Tippetts (489) attested to 'the very air of these [alleys and courts] being impregnated with exhalations of the worst kind ...'

He admonishes Mr. Robins: the baker and corn-dealer and his colleagues were responsible for about thirty miles of roads but had done nothing towards drainage, 'anticipating that an enquiry would take place; neither do they make the repairing of the roads their study' (489). As unpaid officers with their own business to run 'the only return they receive for their trouble is the patronage, which is of some value.' 'Feeling my own judgment is not adequate to make a contract for works and repairing of the roads, men are employed by the day, making use of the materials nearest at hand.' Mr. Robins observes that Kentish ragstone would cost about the same and last 'about six times longer than the [local] flints they use (Keyes, 1933, 400).' It seems that roads and footpaths were an *institutional* failure:

Mr. Ranger criticises open roadside ditches, highlighting the Metropolitan Sanitary Commissioners who recommended tubular drains instead, creating better drainage, better road conditions and reduced maintenance. He examined the district's water (assisted by Cresy and Callow) and public sewers. Ranger concludes that the river Darent was the best future water source, via pipes financed by annual instalments by house owners. The town's favourable location lent itself to 'free and complete discharge of sewage' which could be used to irrigate meadows and marshes.

Ranger concludes that:

a very large amount of severe sickness, the great excess of premature mortality, and consequent expenses, may be materially alleviated, and

additional comforts secured to the poorer class by the application of the provisions of the *Public Health Act* to the town of Dartford' (Keyes, 1933, 493).

The measures for which he recommends 'that powers be taken' include 'for securing an abundant supply of water upon the constant system, filtered and carried into every tenement ...'; 'for converting existing privies into water-closets ...'; and 'for draining houses, courts, yards, areas, and streets, by means of tubular drains' (493). He states that, assuming the General Board warrants 'a distribution of charges over periods of time' then the Board 'should exercise its power, to save immediate outlays by owners and occupiers, by recommending advances of loans from the Commissioners of Public Works, to be repaid by annual instalments of principal and interest' (Keyes, 1933, 493-4). If a Local Board were appointed it should have nine members. Experience had shown the necessity of demonstrating 'efficiency of action' to the ratepayers and scrutiny over financial proceedings.

Ranger's *Report* and Jardine's verses apportion some blame on the poor's behaviour: lodgers in the 'common lodging houses' shut the windows as soon as the keeper had opened it. Bad air remained part of their thinking.

Outcomes

A Local Board of Health was established (Keyes, 1933, 494) but the interplay between the Public Health Act, the lost 1846 *Committee Report*, poem and Ranger's *Report* provoked passionate protest, similar to Fooks' over the Ship Canal. However, unlike the Canal proposal, with liabilities bourn by shareholders, all ratepayers would be liable financially for improvements to water supply and sewerage. Augustus Applegarth presented himself as speaking for this wider public, as is described next.

Augustus Applegarth, Improver and Economist⁴⁴

Moran (1973) describes Applegarth as devising and manufacturing printing-machines. This is relevant to criticisms I make of Smith (1984) who claims that at this time, 'improvers' and 'economisers' could be distinguished in class terms. Applegarth was

⁴⁴ "Applegarth" and "Applegath" appear as spellings. Sources' spellings are followed in citations, otherwise we use 'Applegarth'. Grace's Guide (2014) records his children were registered as "Applegarth".

an ‘improver’ of machinery, a pioneering technologist on a par with Hall, Braithwaite, Donkin and many others connected with Dartford, who was granted more than one patent in printing plates and machinery (including a six-colour process) and for improvements to steam-carriages. Although Applegarth could be defined as having been an improver of technology he had experienced bankruptcy and his calico printing business used handicraft methods. He was *staunchly opposed* to the Local Board of Health’s plans to introduce piped drinking water and sewerage. My point is that he cannot be placed straightforwardly into a ‘fraction of capital’ and that his economising instincts were much clearer than was his ‘class position’.

Applegarth, Machinery Improver

The Times newspaper accepted Applegarth’s offer of an ‘eight-fold machine’ based on thinking by Koenig and Bauer (previously associated with *The Times* but who had returned home in 1817); improvements which were already in hand. Applegarth was an innovator nonetheless: The *Bank of England* paid Applegarth and Cowper £18,000 to find a way of defeating bank-note forgers, based on Cowper’s patent of 1816.

Applegarth set up as a printing machine manufacturer in 1821. In 1824, Applegarth obtained a patent for a ‘rocking cylinder’ used for printing *The Times* in 1827 (Moran, 1973). The same year John Walter asked Applegarth to devise an even faster machine. Thomas Middleton, engineer, built a ‘four-feeder’ machine for Applegarth and others based on Applegarth’s design, because *The Times* had difficulty meeting demand.

By 1826 Applegarth was struggling financially and sold his Duke Street factory. A year later he abandoned printing-machine manufacture, concentrating on silk-printing.

According to Moran, he also ‘patented a machine for printing on rolls of calico or silk from bent intaglio plates’ (Moran, 1973, 130). Applegarth ‘returned to newspaper machine manufacture at the request of *The Times* before 1848’ (Moran, 130). In 1848 Applegarth devised a ‘type-revolving’ machine adopted generally for newsprint for many years.

The Morning Post (15th February, 1871), cited in *Grace’s Guide to British Industrial History*, in an obituary, stresses Applegarth’s innovative capability as the inventor of the steam printing-press, for inventing a machine which could print six colours at once, and for establishing ‘great silk works’ at Crayford (as well as listing other achievements).

In his speech, Lord Ashley, MP (House of Commons 18th February, 1845) praises Mr. Swaisland's and Mr. Applegarth's works:⁴⁵

...the whole of the premises, particularly the room where the teerers work, are clean, spacious, lofty, and well-ventilated, heated in winter by warm-water 643 pipes, and thoroughly drained. The same is said of the works of Mr. Applegarth...Showing, therefore, that health and cleanliness may be consulted by care and attention, and without any formidable loss of profit.

Applegarth the Campaigning Economiser:

Letter to Alfred Russell, Chairman of the Local Board of Health, 30th April, 1853⁴⁶

This letter which was made available by kind permission of Dartford Borough Library exemplifies Applegarth's feelings towards improvements in public infrastructure.

Though a mechanical rather than civil engineer, Applegarth made a study of water pipes and sewerage. He visited Mr. Johnston, Civil Engineer, in response to Mr. Russell's permission that Applegarth could inspect plans for the drainage of Dartford.

In his letter to Alfred Russell, he declares plaintively that he has not attended meetings of the Local Board since he was not aware that they were open to the public. He writes that the reason he had condemned the proposed arrangements even without seeing the plans was that the general outline of the Board's intentions included abolition of all cesspools which would be replaced by small pipes, with constant water supply from a reservoir. He was sure that capital and maintenance together deviated greatly from established practices of drainage and were, indeed, experimental. He doubted whether the town 'in its present state of transition from the support formerly derived from the road expenditure, and for which as yet no compensation is afforded by the rail', would be able to deal with heavy charges which would necessarily be imposed (1853, 4-5). Applegarth addresses many queries to Mr. Johnston although he was complimentary about Johnston's capabilities. He concedes that there was consensus that improvements to Dartford were necessary, especially to certain alleys and courts, alluding to the

⁴⁵ Lord Ashley moved in the House of Commons for an Commission to inquire into the employment of children in 1840

⁴⁶ printed by J.A. Reeves (1853) for private distribution. Held in the *Institution of Civil Engineers Archives*, Tracts 8 Vol. cxv, No.17.] and filed in 'Sewage 2', Dartford library

‘odious practice of throwing refuse into the public ways’ (1853, 5). He also concedes that if there are localities where cesspools were not possible then water should be used to remove ‘all ejecta’ (6). He rejects what he calls ‘the dogma’ that cesspools are injurious to the health.

He condemns centralization (6) on the grounds that had the Local Board not been directed they would, according to their usual course of action, have advertised ‘for the best method of performing the required duty’. Applegarth refers to the Local Board seeing the influence of their “parent” with regards to gaining the sanction of the legislature and therefore placing what he calls ‘blind reliance upon that which emanated from so high a quarter (6).

A perceived flaw for Applegarth in the new scheme is the likelihood of pipes breaking. He alludes to the recent *Official Report* of the General Surveyor of Works, under the Metropolitan Commission of Sewers, dated the 21st of February 1853, which examined pipes in different localities, discovering that deposits of between three and six inches had been found in the pipes. The report, he writes, states that men had to be employed to flush out pipes frequently. He suggests that this could not have been anticipated by Alfred Russell and the Board as an essential part of the system. The inquiry itself involved breaking up the ground in one hundred and twenty-two parts to examine pipes.

He refers to a meeting of the Institution of Civil Engineers, held in November 1852, which concluded that cleaning small drains cost more than the cost of building an ‘efficient sewer’. He wonders whether it would not be better to wait and let a ‘wealthier community’ bear the risks. He pleads (11):

At any rate let us know what we are to encounter; and if this system of drainage – no, not of drainage, for that term relates mainly to surface water; but if this new “idea” ...can only be maintained by constant watchfulness, great labour, and heavy expence ...why should we be so committed to the adoption of so expensive a measure, which if it fails must prove so highly detrimental to the welfare and interests of Dartford; which town might have its drainage improved for all useful purposes at a much less burdensome rate.

Applegarth complained (12) that had he visited Croydon ‘at great inconvenience’ that week, commenting that the town did not appear to be grateful for the ‘great boon bestowed upon them, seeing that they have acquired it for the mere trifle of £60,000 ...’. He comments sarcastically that there are individuals in that town ‘formerly reputed one of the most healthy localities in Surrey, which had, ‘since the introduction of “super-

sanitary measures” become the abode of fever, affliction and death (2,000 cases of fever, and 80 deaths in less than eight months)’ (12).

He relates how Croydon’s Local Board had called in Mr. Simon, Officer of Health for the City of London to visit Croydon, to make an enquiry into the case. Applegarth enclosed a report made by Mr. Simon along with his letter to Mr. Russell. Applegarth writes that the Report stated that although the intention of the works on the water supply and house drainage was to improve the health of the population, in contradiction to this, as the works neared completion, the town was struck by a severe epidemic of fever and diarrhoea.

Applegarth writes that Mr. Simon’s report speculated that the disease outbreak was caused by ‘the unusual rainfall of the season’; ‘the great influx of labourers employed in erecting the New Crystal Palace at Sydenham’, and ‘obstructions and breakages of the pipes used in the new sewerage’ (13-14). Though Mr. Simon believed breakages and obstructions could be blamed for ‘chief share in the causation of the fever’, since fever was most virulent in houses not connected with the new sewer, Mr. Applegarth concludes triumphantly that the *Report* also notices other ‘circumstances...attendant upon the adoption of this new system of sewerage, in which the fruitful sources of disease will be sufficiently apparent’ (14).

In short, Applegarth seizes on design flaws to discredit the systems entirely, and continues by emphasising economic failures, describing how sewage matter used as agricultural manure around Croydon was strained at the Filter House nightly, and then spread on land. Because it was no longer suspended in water, it had no monetary value. This was ‘instead of the great returns of profit which, if I am not greatly mistaken, was originally predicted to go far towards defraying the expences [sic] of the sewerage’ (15).

Applegarth quotes from the *Report* which described how residual fluid passes from the Filter House into the river Wandle where it gathered above a mill and how a further ‘large deposit’ takes place in the mill pond – ‘...a dangerous loitering place for what ought to be hurried away’ (15). Sewage from four hundred houses passed through two pipes, was discharged into a field, then into trenches, unfiltered:

[I]mmense gatherings of foetid animal matter exist, at points little distant from the town, and are receiving daily, new additions Whatever is of this material is not incorporated with the earth and appropriated by it, continues to rot and stink in the

air. 'A field of some acres, saturated with animal manure beyond its power of digestion, becomes, in fact a *gigantic cesspool* (15-16, emphasis original).

Applegarth differentiates between useful cesspools and those that are 'gigantic', therefore dangerous, like near Waddon, where a pipe discharged large quantities of human excrement which lay unaltered on the surface of a field. Applegarth quotes from the *Report* 'It seems to me that this immense faecal evaporation, reinforced...by similar agencies at Croham, does in its aggregate, supply the desired explanation of your fever' (16).

and (still quoting) that:

The difficulty has been to find not a sufficient cause, but one of new origin, and of general or extrinsic operation. Such - it seems to me, is found (16).

Applegarth concedes that the *Report* hints at how the new system might be perfected eventually; but concludes (17) that if any other party than a General Board 'protected by a special Act of Parliament' had proposed 'such acts ... they would have been rejected as suicidal' and stopped by law 'Magisterially' or by 'Injunction in Equity'. Applegarth considers Croydon to have been reckless to allow the contents of cesspools to be spread over the earth or water in a mill pond but considered cess-pits inactive if in sheltered places.

He distinguishes attempts to discover the causes of 'Endemic or Zymotic diseases' from 'common sense, the final judge of everything, which is in its best form the main ingredient of common law', suspecting the causes may always elude professional and scientific men, declaring that 'it is not for us at Dartford to form any dogmatic opinions upon such mooted and mysterious subjects' (18). Common sense, he claims, will draw its deductions from what has happened at Croydon. The new system cannot be relied on as a protector from the disease and its 'concomitants are promoters of the very ills it seeks to avert' (18), thus damning Mr. Ranger with faint praise.

Applegarth objects to the new system on several grounds: cost; annoyance caused by opening and flushing pipes and irritating surveillance by over-lookers and superintending inspectors using the authority of Clause 121 of the Act.

He felt that it was uncertain that health would be improved, and fever prevented. Indeed, if cesspools were abolished with contents spread around Dartford as around

Croydon ‘the same ordeal of disease and death must occur’ (19). It could be *worse* in Dartford if deposits ‘present rough surfaces to the atmosphere ...we shall be constantly exposed to malaria of the worst description’ (20).

Applegarth considered that the new approach presented ‘appalling liabilities’ that were avoidable reasoning that it should be straightforward to improve the drainage of Dartford since East and West Hills would clear their own sewers by gravity and the level parts of the town would have their sewers washed out by the waste water of the Cranpit. He found it ‘untenable dogma’ ‘that all cesspools were to be abolished, and their contents carried away’ (21) complaining also about the expense of ‘staff officers’.

Although he concedes ‘we, the ratepayers’ might not be best placed to judge, he thought that everyone could judge the £1,400 which had been spent in six months in Croydon. He describes the presumed economy of a pipe system as a ‘delusion’, and that poorer inhabitants would have to pay 6d or 9d per week for water-closets and pipes. The Government, he wrote, usually allowed important questions to be solved ‘by the gradual labours of scientific and practical men, backed by the good sense of the public’ but here they had ‘authoritatively enforced [the] new principle in sewage, of carrying away the contents of all cesspools’ (21).

Comment: What can be said about how Applegarth’s sentiments were derived? As in previous cases, animosity towards alterations in authority – here the formation of the local Board of Health – features. It is also interesting that Applegarth chooses to couch his opposition in the form of his own ‘inspection’ of public health failures in Croydon.

It is more difficult to say that his feelings are an outcome of his ‘class interest’; partly because his business fortunes varied over the years. Applegarth was both an improver of machinery and an opponent of the new system of water supply and sewerage. Calico printing was still a ‘block’ process not subject to much machinery and therefore in Marx’s terms constrained by the characteristics of ‘absolute surplus value’ rather than ‘relative surplus value’ (discussed earlier). His calico works employed many, but it was almost certainly run on craft principles, like neighbouring Swaisland’s works. It may also be relevant that the calico printing industry was very competitive and that Applegarth had gone bankrupt for a second time (in 1842), just over ten years before his letter to Alfred Russell. This may have affected his sensitivity to public spending. Applegarth was very animated by the cost of new sewerage systems. He justified at

length (by his own reasoning) in his letter the necessity to retain cesspools. A Durkheimian interpretation of his public rehearsal of his position probably helped him to clarify what was sacred to him: economy, autonomy and private self-preservation.

Conflicting Sources of Authority

Applegarth's Agitated Rejection of Chartism: A Strike and a Lockout

Applegarth's caustic letter to Russell (1853) had been preceded by a public contestation over Chartism between Applegarth and his son, the Reverend Applegarth (1848). This case is included as an example of energy created through counterclaims. Applegarth had gone bankrupt, and Swaisland had experimented with new techniques other than block-printing. Nevertheless, the answer of David Evans and Charles Swaisland to difficult trading conditions was to cut wages, placing them firmly in the 'competitive capital' category and provoking a strike. Strike breakers were sent by Richard Cobden, a friend of Swaisland's from Manchester. A bitter split occurred between Applegarth and his son, the Reverend Applegarth:

Manufacturing and Chartism in Dartford and Crayford

I draw on Daniel's account (2018) in describing manufacturing and Chartism in Crayford. Charles Swaisland and David Evans were prominent manufacturers in Crayford (near Dartford), the latter having taken over from Applegarth following his 1842 bankruptcy. Swaisland and Evans used block printing, Swaisland on calico and David Evans on silk.

Swaisland had been reported as a benevolent master. *The West Kent Guardian*, 13th July 1844, (cited Daniel, 2018, 26) reported celebrations for his workforce on the thirtieth anniversary of setting up in Crayford. A lunch was held on Dartford Heath followed by cricket and bowls. Workers, the Swaislands, and their friends (around four hundred) 'partook of a sumptuous repast'.

However, the trade depression of 1846 led to wage cuts. In 1847 the workers at Swaislands went on strike. David Evans locked his workers out. *The Northern Star* of the second of October (Daniel, 2018, 37) reported that Richard Cobden, MP, (founder of the Anti-Corn Law League in 1838 from 1841, also a calico printer) had sent men from Lancashire to replace strikers at Swaislands.

Swaissland's workers were forced back to work in 1848 but joined the Chartist gathering on 10th April the same year at Kennington Common. Later, in 1853, there were further wage cuts at Swaislands' and at David Evans'. Once again, Richard Cobden sent in strike-breakers from Lancashire: class struggle given clear ritual form.

In the 1840's meetings had already been held at the Bell Inn, Dartford, where large numbers gathered to hear Chartist lecturers, including the radical Dr. Peter Murray M'Douall, explaining their need for the Charter. He 'was received with great applause' (*The Northern Star*, 12th October 1844, cited Daniel, 2018, 32).

Though the Chartists' *Land Plan* was not adopted locally, Dartford established a National Charter Association branch in 1848, Chase (2007, 315) explains, and 'mustered 935 signatures to the [Kennington Common] petition and engaged in a lively pamphlet war with opponents...' It was in these animated ritualised circumstances that Applegarth, senior wrote to local 'operatives' in 1848. Annotations by his son, the Rev. Augustus Applegarth demonstrate passionate disagreement between father and son.

'Epistolary ritual': Applegarth Senior and Junior

A 'letter', or pamphlet, addressed 'To the operatives of Dartford and its environs' was written by Applegarth Senior (1848), though signed 'A Working Bee' and printed in Dartford the day after the Kennington Common gathering. Only one copy exists of this pamphlet, Daniels tells us, at the Southern Methodist University in the United States. The *Applegarth Interactive Leaflet* and accompanying text are drawn upon by kind permission of Peter Daniel.

As Daniel writes, the letter was written anonymously but Applegarth's identity is revealed through annotated responses which his son made on the pamphlet which Applegarth senior wrote. Daniels describes how it was the leader of the Dartford Chartists who requested Reverend Applegarth to make responses. The Dartford Chartists leader had written a scornful review on *The Northern Star*. Daniels sets out these responses, and I select and summarise some of the comments made by Applegarth and selected retorts made by the Reverend:

In response to Applegarth Senior, the Reverend Applegarth declares that it is 'not fair to call Chartism sedition' (2) and that the extension of political rights is somewhat more than a "pretense".

The Reverend Applegarth believes that Chartists had no objection to members with property but 'does not consider now that property is essential.' He believed that all classes should be treated fairly (5).

Applegarth senior is opposed to the idea of common suffrage and makes sarcastic comments concerning the value of 'common suffrage by ballot'.

Reverend Applegarth considers that it is completely unfair for a small place to return only a couple of members, and a large place to do the same (6). He points out that the populous boroughs are counteracted by small boroughs under the authority of the aristocracy (6).

Applegarth senior makes ironic comments concerning Dartford's having contributed 935 signatures to the Chartist petition and what contribution that might make (6). He questions the effect that extending the franchise might have on the 'frame of society' (11)

Reverend Applegarth responds with words from Sir Joshua Walmsley's address to his Leicester constituents 'On all hands, it is admitted that the influence of the aristocracy in the Lower House is unconstitutionally great'. Reverend Applegarth highlights the advantages which Walmsley highlights including 'The reduction of the expenditure by many millions starting annually; the annihilation of class privileges; the equilisation of taxation...'

Comment: Here there is good evidence at the macro- and micro-scale of bitter local feelings. Employers and employees and father and son felt differently, expressed and extolled by the readily intelligible rituals of mass open-air gatherings, speeches at *The Bull*, Applegarth junior's 'waving off' of the marchers, his father's pamphleteering and bitter marginal notes written possibly with posterity in mind.

Summary:

Chartism was a challenge to the authority of both employers, national and local institutions alike, contributing energy (and bitterness) we think to local industrial disputes, and arguments between Applegarth and his son. This is something of a confounding mess as Richard Cobden, radical Liberal, Free Trader and founder of the anti-corn law league was involved in establishing the National Freehold Society, which, though 'radical', distanced itself from aspects of Chartism, particularly from their Land

Plan (Chase, 2003: 62) and helped break Swaisland's second strike in 1852 – proof of his anti-Chartist sentiment. Swaisland and Evans attempted to break the Block Printers' Union whose members must have been very disappointed in Cobden. The Chartists meanwhile had been suspicious of the manufacturers' motives in supporting the earlier repeal of the Corn Laws, attributing their support to their desire to lower wages (Schonhardt-Bailey, 2006, 368).

The class positions of the protagonists are relevant, but care needs to be taken before ascribing feelings to them. Radical by the standards of the day, Cobden was nevertheless ruthless in attacking striking calico printers, sending strike breakers from his mill down to help out Swaisland. Despite his protestations over the 'condition of England' and its working poor, his friendship with Charles Swaisland, whose class position he shared, contributed to his actions. For his part Applegarth senior's strong feelings are clear but his reasoning is more difficult to follow than in his later (and yet also not altogether clear) opposition to water-pipes and sewerage (above). He asserts the dangers of Chartism without explaining them.

Thus far the examples have been selected from well within the period that Smith (and others) describes as the 'competitive' period – up to the early 1880s. Smith's claim is that during this time production (Jessop's 'mode of accumulation') was characterised by a low degree of mechanism and small manufacture. He claims that owners representing 'small capital' were reluctant to countenance public improvements unless a) they benefitted themselves immediately and b) upheld *order*. He claims that the advent of 'big capital' and capital-intensive production allowed for improvements intended as beneficial to all. That is, a transition from 'absolute-' to 'relative surplus value' heralded a policy shift from order to wider-wellbeing. Is such a transition detectable? The following cases help to provide an answer. The first might be placed towards the end of the putative 'competitive' period. Again, its motif is order versus customary popular rights.

Authority Confronts Popular Public Ritual

Suppression of the Guy Fawkes Celebrations, 1863:

I draw on Conley's useful account (1991) in describing the suppression of the Guy Fawkes celebrations in 1863. Conley (1991) relates how banning a popular tradition led to confrontations and retaliation by holding illicit Guy Fawkes Celebrations in Dartford

(1863). She writes that anti-Catholic sentiment was strong in Kent. 'Anti-Catholic sentiment' being strong 'Guy Fawkes Night' was popular with some. But some found it to be a nuisance and the Mayor banned it (1991, 35). The authorities put up posters banning the celebration sanctioned by threatened prosecutions. Press reports describe how Dartford people had got used to seeing 'huge bonfire' on Guy Fawkes Day and that the fire was surrounded by 'hundreds looking on, shouting and gesticulating their admiration'. The newspaper reports that this tradition was an annual tradition in which 'all classes took part [and] there can be no doubt that the majority relished the excitement'.

Conley describes how Dartford officials requested extra police and on 5th November the County Captain arrived with a hundred Constables, sealed off High Street and marched up and down from 7:00pm to midnight. The next night celebrations involved fireworks, tar barrels, bonfires and throwing stones at the police. Conley states that counter-bills were posted announcing ten shilling for a policeman's head (1991, 35). The Kent reinforcements had withdrawn leaving ten Dartford constables. The police were 'very roughly handled'. The next day eight persons were charged with 'riotous assembly and assaulting the police and leading a noisy and tumultuous crowd of one thousand persons.' The police testified that the accused had led the disturbance and had been 'insolent and abusive' towards them.

The defendants were skilled artisans. Their employers offered bail but the Magistrates refused it so the accused were jailed until the January Quarter Sessions. A local defence committee hired a lawyer to appeal the decision. A judge at the Court of Common Pleas overruled the magistrates' decision ordering the men's release on bail. The defence committee met them at the railway station, banners flying. *The Gravesend Reporter* published reports on the 21st and 28th November and on 5th December 1863.

Conley relates how Gathorn Hardy heard the case at West Kent Quarter Sessions and Conley states that as the men were indicted for riot, the prosecution had to prove the men's actions had been 'calculated to inspire terror', which the defence counsel rejected:

as not a single witness had been called, unconnected with the police, to show that any of the inhabitants were placed in terror. The truth was but for the unnecessary interference of the police, everything would have passed off quickly, and nothing of this charge would ever have been heard. Why should the town of Dartford be

selected from every other town in the county or kingdom, in an attempt to put down a commemoration by which the people of England for over two centuries had kept in remembrance the failure of Guy Fawkes? (36)

However, Hardy advised the jury that the law forbade assemblies like these. Conley states that convicted of riot, and sentenced to three weeks, three of them received an additional three months for assaulting the police. Conley refers the reader to the *Gravesend Reporter* of the sixteenth of January 1864 and PRO, *Criminal Registers* HO 27, volume 137. Conley thinks the mayor and aldermen's motives were unclear since they were already unpopular – public feelings favoured the celebrants. Kent County Constabulary dispatched over one-third of its force to one town. This suggests fear of widespread rioting in Dartford.

Conley states that the next year, the town authorities swore in men who had formed the Defence Committee as special constables, which it was criminal to refuse! They were to keep peace on 5th November otherwise additional police would be hired which would mean raising local taxes. This tactic succeeded in suppressing the celebration (*Gravesend Reporter*, 18th November 1864, cited Conley, 1991).

Conley contrasts local sentiments with elsewhere: there were huge bonfires, fireworks and costume displays in Tunbridge Wells. In places other than Dartford there was approval or active participation by town authorities (*Mid Kent Journal*, 7th November, 1864) and Conley notes that Robert Storch found similar variations ('Please to remember the Fifth of November, 1815-1900' in *Popular Culture*.) Conley concludes that the police role in Dartford was 'largely imposed from above' and that they were seen as 'instruments of repression'⁴⁷.

Comment: The *Constabulary* felt more intimidated by this celebration here than in other Kentish towns, for reasons unknown to us. This appears to be a case of mis-timed imposition of authority triggering violent counter-rites from a 'noisy and tumultuous crowd'. We are reminded of Koschnik's discussion (1994) of 'rituals of national celebration' in the colonial, revolutionary and post-revolutionary eras in America. In the colonial and revolutionary periods election days were institutionalised and crowd action constituted 'legitimate institution' (1994, 212) and 'militant crowdactions...drew their participants from a much broader range of the social spectrum, [and] embodied a

distinction between “respectable” sorts and the “rabble” (the latter were excluded)’. (Koschnik’s parentheses). ‘Crowd action – with its associated tactics and rituals, such as effigy processions and bonfires – was a legitimate institution. Understood as an extra-legal, but necessarily illegal enforcer of communal welfare, crowd action was an “established social force.” (212)

Koschnik finds that crowd enactments had been negotiated and legitimised by the élite and, tacitly, by voters and spectators. In this Dartford case, bonfire nights had been institutionalised and the ‘huge bonfire’ with hundreds gathering and gesticulating were ‘crowd actions’ that had had the approval of authority and spectators. The de-legitimising of the event turned a legitimate body into an illegitimate one whose disruptive actions now make better sense. Had institutionalisation been maintained, through what Koschnik refers to as ‘negotiation’ then there would probably have been less trouble. When it transpired that the ‘rioters’ had public support, and notwithstanding the court cases, Guy Fawkes Night had to be reinstated. The events contrast markedly with authority and ritual handled expertly in 1906, a ‘Policeman’s Funeral’ (described later).

Section Three

The Authority of the Commons: Embodiments of Place, Space, Class and Affect:

Resistance to Enclosure: The Brent, 1876

The focus of this exemplar is *authority* over public space and affect. It shows some continuity with earlier exemplars including the 1789 Dartford Hearth displays and the enclosure of Willding’s Wharf.

Most of the Brent (approximately thirty-five acres within Dartford Heath) was, until 1876, open to the public. But by then private companies were acquiring and selling-on the land for housing (*History of Hesketh Park*, Dartford Cricket Club, n.d.). Mr. Pigou, a gunpowder manufacturer, enclosed part of the Brent that year. The townspeople saw this as seen as an illegitimate attack against them.

The timeline of the protests is set out below. It can be seen that the protests spanned several years.

4th May, 1876	Mr. Pigou, gunpowder manufacturer, encloses part of the Brent
May	Public protest. A committee appointed
5th May 5 th	Letter and 'memorial' signed by 218 ratepayers sent to the Board of Health, claiming 'free use of the Brent'
	A further committee set up
23rd May	Mr. Pigou reiterates his rights by letter
30th May	Public meeting
1st July, 1878	Enclosure Commissioners held an enquiry
	Town authorities reject Pigou's offer to leave seventeen acres unenclosed
25th March, 1879	The Commissioners find against Dartford. Board of Health to pay costs.

The Timeline of the Resistance to the 1876 Enclosure of the Brent

A public protest was staged on The Brent on the fourth of May and a Committee appointed from among the participants. On 5th May a letter, accompanied by a 'Memorial' signed by 218 ratepayers, was sent by the Committee to the Dartford Board of Health containing a resolution 'passed unanimously by thousands of our fellow inhabitants' (Keyes, 1933, 350):

...That this meeting, believing that the free use of the Brent for the inhabitants of this Parish is established from time immemorial, calls upon the Board of Health to take the necessary proceedings for securing the same for public recreation for ever.

...That a Committee be appointed to confer with the Board of Health and Mr. Pigou, to ascertain the question of the right of ownership of the Brent.

A further Committee was set up and 'on application to the Commons and Footpaths Preservation Society', a firm of solicitors recommended. Mr. Pigou responded by letter (23rd May) reiterating his rights over The Brent. Another public meeting was held on The Brent on 30th May where it was resolved to appoint solicitors should the title deeds require examination. The Enclosure Commissioners held an enquiry on 1st July 1878, under the 'Bignores, Dartford, Enclosure Act of 1877' (Keyes, 1933, 351). The Town authorities rejected Pigou's offer to leave seventeen acres unenclosed. Another Committee was appointed, including Colonel Kidd, (brewer) to investigate further. However, the Enclosure Commissioners found against Dartford stating, 'over no part of the Brent have the inhabitants of Dartford claimed or exercised an exclusive right of recreation' and 'have not established their claim to a legal right of recreation over the Brent' (Keyes, 1933, 351). The Board of Health met the legal costs. A banner was hung

across the High Street exhorting 'The Brent – No Surrender'. As Keyes wrote (1938, 351) this 'indicates strong feeling exhibited during the enclosure'.

Later Institutions imposed by the Government

Among notable institutional changes was the more compulsory creation of Highway Districts (1863). About the same size as the Dartford Union, the Dartford Highway District encompassed twenty-one parishes. Each parish elected one Way Warden since there were many complaints about the roads. Shadbolt (1995, 9) alludes to Parishes summoned for non-payments.

Parishes within the Dartford Union (other than Dartford) were constituted as a Rural Sanitary District under the Public Health Acts of 1872 and 1875 (Shadbolt, 1995, .9). The first meeting (1872), was attended by four Medical Officers and four Inspectors of Nuisances. The same year it was decided to divide the Union into two districts with important public health responsibilities. The 1872 Act made the appointment of District Medical Officers compulsory.

The Committee of Rural Sanitary Authorities (RSAs) for the parishes of the district of Dartford Union (except for the Parish of Dartford) met at Dartford Workhouse on 6th December 1872 to consider the state of water-closets and drains, unloading of dung barges and the conveyance of contents through Greenhithe.

The 'Monopoly' Period?

A most significant institutional change resulted from the 1894 Local Government Act which replaced rural and sanitary districts with Rural and Urban Districts (Shadbolt, 1995, 11). Dartford Urban District Council was created.

Local impetus through the Dartford Improvement Act of 1902 brought important new powers to the District Council. How was this animated? Keyes contrasts new enthusiasm for the Dartford UDC with previous difficulties in getting candidates to stand for the Local Board (of Health). Fifteen councillors were elected. Chairs of the UDC included Colonel Kidd (owner of a mechanised 'steam' brewer), S.K. Keyes, (mechanised flour miller) and Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Dudley Gordon, D.S.O. (J&E

Hall, advanced mechanical engineer).⁴⁸ This marks the beginning of Smith's 'monopoly' period in which advanced manufacturing prevails, and with it, 'instrumental' demands from 'big business' and 'big labour' for expansion of state authority over a widening range of public and private troubles (1880-1939). The elected members' occupations are recorded. Figure 3 sets out the names and occupations of the Councillors and votes received.

Name	Occupation	Number of Votes
G Tomlinson	Licensed victualler, the Railway Hotel	835
W. Greig	Paper mill manager	806
E. Hesketh, C.C.	Engineer	683
A.S. Dixon	Liberal Registration Agent	521
E.A. Quait	Gentleman	515
Mr. J. Sharp	Timber merchant	454
C. Hind	Coal merchant's manager	450
C.N. Kidd	Brewer	441
J.C. Dowsing	General labourer/Labour	441.
S.K. Keyes	Miller	438
G. Defraigne	Joiner/Labour	434
H.T. Exeter	Bricklayer, Labour	418
F.W. Cubitt	Iron founder, Labour	388
D.G Dunlop	Farmer	387
Dr. F. Clarke	Surgeon	324

Figure 3: Members of the New Urban District Council, 1894 (from Shadbolt, 1995, 13; Keyes, 1933, 497)

Probably the most energetic 'mover and shaker' was to be Everard Hesketh. I analysed the Dartford UDC minute books covering several years and from the outset they

⁴⁸ Lord Dudley Gordon's business partner, Everard Hesketh, also stood as both a UDC and County Councillor

demonstrate its widening and deepening concerns and confident exercise of the UDC's powers. Disease and nuisances still feature, but alongside an expanding notion of the local population's 'brighter and more beautiful' future.

The Dartford UDC Minute Book Extracts, 1897-8 including Medical Officer's Report, 1898 (viewed at the Centre for Kentish Studies), now available to be viewed at the Kent History and Library Centre, DA/AM/1/16)

I compress selected UDC Minute Book entries since they are very numerous but retain the flavour of some of the Council's meetings, and of the way that the UDC's powers were developing.

The Joint Hospital Committee listed the numbers of persons admitted to hospital in the year ending 31st March 1897, as well as the number of deaths (twenty-six) and the number of cases of specific diseases. Dartford, for example, had twenty-two cases of scarlet fever, twenty-two cases of diphtheria, and eight of typhoid fever. Bexley, on the other hand, is only recorded as having five cases of scarlet fever.

25th June 1897

Discussions took place on the availability of third-class rail fares since these tickets 'would be of material advantage' to factory workers and others. A considerable amount of regulation of roads declared 'highways repairable by the inhabitants at large' for which 'notices of apportionment be served on the respective owners in pursuance of Section 257 of the Public Health Act 1875'. In other words, the UDC was compelling owners of private ('un-adopted') roads to maintain them. Soon the UDC was taking them into public ownership as its enthusiasm for what one might call 'publicisation' grew.

23rd July 1897

Closure of the well at Upper Ruxley is ordered following analysis finding an excess of free ammonia and albuminoid ammonia 'rendering it unsafe for human consumption'.

An Inspector of Nuisances report was submitted (207-8).

17th September 1897

An application ‘to supply electric energy and current for street lighting in Dartford’ by the London-based Electrical and General Engineering Co. (via a “Provisional Order conferring powers”) stings Dartford UDC to apply for a Provisional Order of their own costing £200, with a view to becoming an electricity supplier:

Your Committee are advised that the Board of Trade will always grants such powers to local authorities in preference to a Company, but that it is not sufficient that the authority should merely oppose the Company’s application, but must, if they desire to defeat it, apply themselves for an order (210, emphasis added)

The UDC is ‘pushing at an opening door’ insofar as the Board of Trade smiles on municipal electricity undertakings.

17th September 1897

‘Pursuant to Notice given, Mr. DeFraine [*Labour*] moved (213):

That Mr. Hesketh, CC, a Member of this Council shall give reason to the Council why he shall not be ordered to close a Railway Arch...which he has converted into a common lodging house without obtaining the consent of this authority.

Mr. Hesketh withdrew while this was discussed.

The Deputy Clerk ... advised that [the premises] ...did not [... fall within the meaning of a ‘Common lodging house’.

... Mr. De Fraine’s motion was not seconded, but having raised the questions as to the sanitary condition of the premises...it was proposed by Mr. Tomlinson, seconded by Mr. Mitchell and unanimously agreed that leave be given to Mr. De Fraine to propose a resolution thereto.

It was then proposed by Mr. Dunlop, Mr. De Fraine seconded, and unanimously resolved that the Deputy Medical Officer of Health be requested to report thereon.

This was a jibe at Hesketh, who was a declared improver. He is being accused of hypocrisy by a member of the new Labour Party, a skilled artisan; with a farmer’s support. Mr. Hesketh is made subject to the authority of the MO.

12th November 1897

The *Medical Officer* reports that ‘since the last meeting’ there were eleven cases of measles, two cases of diphtheria, and two cases of scarlet fever. He reports having

visited certain vans used for human habitation on *The Brent*, in the *Fairfield* and adjacent thereto. He had been unable to find any water supply or sanitary conveniences. Complaints had been received about ‘the existence of nuisances on the premises where these vans are placed’. His *Committee* has instructed the *Inspector of Nuisances* to serve notices requiring abatement by the owners.

7th January 1898

The *Medical Officer* reports (266) that the measles epidemic is ‘almost at an end’. The two diphtheria cases reported are attributed to the condition of the river Cranpit. A telegraph is sent to the *Local Government Board* for a decision on a request to raise a loan to provide a surface water culvert in the bed of the stream. Hesketh urges works to begin at once ‘without waiting for a decision’.

Hesketh proposes tree planting ‘at intervals along some of the principle roads of Dartford’. It was resolved to put this to the *General Purposes Committee*.

4th February 1898

A bye-law is proposed governing provision of sufficient water for flushing W.C.s, submitted by Dartford Urban District Council under the 1875 Public Health Act.

4th March 1898

Medical Officer’s Annual Report (dated 11th February 1898)

This was addressed to ‘The Chairman and Members of the Dartford Urban District Council’ (303-340).

The *Report* shows mastery of statistics under several categories which are then elaborated. It gives figures for population, births and deaths registered in the previous year (1897) and increases and decreases in the birth and death rate. The figures are broken down between male and female and for each quarter of the year. The estimated population is 13,378 and the corrected birth-rate is 32.86/1000 while the corrected death-rate for the parish of Dartford is 16.15/1000. The Medical Officer (MO) draws on figures over a seven-year period showing the average birth-rate is 32.10/1000 and the death-rate 16.09/1000.

I refer to selected portions of the MO's *Report*:

The MO records that two hundred and fifteen cases of infectious disease had been notified under the Infectious Diseases Notification Act. These are tabulated for 'Dartford', 'Union House', and 'Cottage Hospital', by infectious disease type with totals comparing 1897 and 1896 (304): small-pox, diphtheria, membranous croup, scarlet fever, measles, typhoid fever, puerperal fever and erysipelas.

Although sixty-eight cases of smallpox were treated at the Metropolitan Asylum Board Hospital during the previous year, with 12 deaths, none were notified in the District. The MO is gratified that the care given prevented the disease spreading from the Hospital into the District.

Seventy-two cases of diphtheria are reported for 1897, a reduction on 1896 due to 'more careful attention to the sanitation of individual houses...more frequent scavenging and disinfecting of dust-bins...more frequent flushing of sewers...the closing of man-holes where they have been offensive, and the erection of ventilation shafts instead'(305). The water supply was 'under close observation'. The MO visited the reservoir on The Brent which was 'in a proper condition' (304-5). He suggests bacteriological analysis be made from time to time. Because this analysis is available in the Metropolitan Water Supply Report it was not thought necessary. The Council instructed the MO to scrutinise the Metropolitan Water Supply monthly reports by the Water Examiner appointed under the 'Metropolis Water Act' (1871) and those produced for the Local Government Board.

The Medical Officer accounts for the causes of the outbreaks of typhoid fever, measles, summer diarrhoea, and scarlet fever, tabulating notifications monthly (by street for diphtheria outbreaks. Eleven typhus cases notified, against twenty-four the previous year. One of those contracting the disease was 'in close proximity to what was once a stream but is now a source of danger to the neighbourhood' (306). There was 'thorough disinfection and fumigation with Sulphur' of houses where summer diarrhoea occurred and isolation of patients with scarlet fever at Bow Arrow Hospital, followed by disinfection and fumigation of their houses.

The confidence, thoroughness and authority of the MO's *Report* is palpable; a marked contrast to the way Mr Ranger's inspection had been received.

12th April 1898

Acceptance of local authority over health was growing. The Committee reports that the need to remove patients to hospital in early stages of a disease was becoming better recognized. The Committee urges 'complete isolation' of those with infectious diseases. It points out that the poor's habitations are not of a standard whereby the appropriate level of nursing and diet can be provided.

Summary

The minutes suggest a brisk and purposeful quality to UDC meetings. Little dissent is recorded. The Council was seizing the opportunities provided by national legislation to extend its responsibilities. Our sense is that the UDC was having some success in leading local sentiment as the next item also suggests, though enthusiasm for reform was far from unanimous.

The Dartford Improvement Act 1902

Shadbolt (1995) notes that some years previously to 1902, the UDC had agreed with Lord Tredegar to buy out his market rights and a town meeting at The Bull Inn (the venue for many public meetings including Chartist gatherings in the 1840s) had 'sanctioned the purchase' (25). However, due to a 'technical error' they had to start the process again. In June 1901 the General Purposes Committee had recommended the Council buy out Lord Tredegar's market rights and property if he was still willing.

A second town meeting also sanctioned the purchase which was to be debt-financed. The Local Government Board stated it could not lend the money, pointing out to the UDC that borrowing to purchase the market rights could only be sanctioned under a Local Act. At the first public meeting to discuss this proposed Act, objectors prevailed. From Shadbolt's account of a public meeting at around January 1901 objectors had the strong feeling that the Council wanted to remove the market from the High Street. It seems clear then, that the local authority thought it was necessary to win popular sanction for its policy initiatives. Here the UDC has the idea then seeks a public mandate to carry it through. I mention this because Smith (1984) characterises a sequence where, firstly, policy is formulated by and within the local authority, secondly, a meeting is called to elicit enthusiasm for the existing policy, thirdly, policy is implemented and that this was typical of his much later period of 'advanced', or

‘relatively autonomous’ or ‘corporatist’ local governance. The UDC was already promoting this reversed policy-first sequence⁴⁹ by the turn of the 20th Century:

A further public meeting, perhaps the fourth on the subject, was called at the Assembly Rooms in the The Bull Inn (29th January 1902). This meeting was narrowly in favour. Lt. Col. Kidd, chairing, assured the gathering of townspeople that the UDC had no intention to move the market. Amid heckling, Kidd explained the *Council’s* wide ambitions which included generating electricity and supplying it to other and, writes Shadbolt, ‘take deferred payments for...wiring houses.’ Heckling continued. ‘In the Bill they were endeavouring to get powers to compensate anyone for loss of employment through outbreaks of infectious disease’ (Shadbolt, 1995, 25). The *Chronical* (undated, cited Shadbolt, 1995, 25) reported that ‘voices’ called out ‘that won’t do’ and the Chairman

You may say what you like. Put yourself in the place of a man prevented from going to his employment through an outbreak of small pox in his house. You would think it extremely hard” (Hear, hear.)

Invited to speak, Mr Hayward, Clerk of the Council began to explain the scope of the intended Act: the buy-out would cost around £2,000 but was interrupted by Mr. Bacon (a market trader) who to cries of ‘Hear, Hear’ said they wanted the market to stay where it was forever. Shadbolt records that private arguments broke out and the Chair called for order after which Mr Hayward explained that an Act would increase the UDC’s powers of compulsory purchase, pension its officials... Interrupting again, Mr. Bacon, leading the opposition, objected to the possibility of tramlines displacing his stall and ‘asked the working men largely represented that evening to look before they leapt. ‘If the market was taken away they would not have much cheap fish’ (1995, 26-7). Kidd proposed a motion, Hesketh seconded, and on a show of hands, Kidd declared a slight majority in favour to ‘loud cheers’.

⁴⁹ Smith points out an assumption which ‘pluralist’ and ‘instrumental’ models of the state share. In both models interests come first, followed by their expression (‘interest articulation’), then conflict and finally a policy outcome dictated by the prevailing interest. In both models policies are an outcome of interests, be they ‘subjective’ interest-group interests, or cognition of ‘objective class interest’. The conception of interests is radically different. However the finding that policy often *precedes* interest articulation is equally counter-factual to *both* models. Smith found several cases where policies were formulated ‘autonomously’ of any ‘demand’ for them. Constituencies which might benefit from the policy were then fabricated; for example ‘the motorised shopper who votes with their wheels’ would support a pre-existing policy of expanding retail provision in Chatham. The ‘demands’ came later, to which policies were only a seeming response. Even when no demand came and sometimes in the teeth of fervent opposition the policy survived.

The Act gave the UDC extensive powers including, to make, maintain and widen roads; compulsorily purchase up to ten houses occupied by the labouring class; construct electricity generating stations; force the inclusion of water closets in new buildings; power trams authorised by the *Dartford Light Railway Order* (1902) and prevent children exposed to infectious diseases from going to school and borrow funds.

Shadbolt writes that 'The approving of this Bill was a major move forward. Now the Council had been given teeth and could go about shaping Dartford...' (1995, 27). Dartford was soon generating electricity and powering its new tramway system.

Summary: I now discuss the UDC Minute Book (1897-8) and the Dartford Improvement Act (1902). They are grouped together because both exemplars are indicative of the rapidly augmenting authority and enthusiasm of the local authority.

The lengthy minutes record little opposition except jests at the expense of Mr Hesketh. One can sense convergence between Dartford's 'system of accumulation' (advanced manufacturing) and its progressive 'mode of regulation' (a Council keen to adopt permissive power and develop their own through a Local Act). Dartford gets the local authority it deserves, and improvement prevails over economising. The UDC was content to debt-finance new initiatives in a way that economisers would have found intolerable.

Smith characterises this as the 'monopoly' or 'instrumental' period, i.e.; from the last third of the nineteenth century until the nineteen thirties during which the local élite - owners of local large industrial concerns - were also involved in local politics and civic works. This was exemplified by Hesketh's election to the *Local Board* in 1884. He was already a County Councillor. However, closer analysis finds anomalies. The instrumental model asserts that élite members make demands to which (local) governments respond. But here the UDC demonstrates an imagination that tends to be ahead of the beat: formulating policy and then calling public meetings to gain approval. If approval (for example of the proposed Improvement Act was not forthcoming) then more meetings were called until Kidd deemed that there was at least narrow support.

Kidd and Hesketh appear more as 'emotional leaders' than 'instrumental demanders' of all kinds of initiatives, most of which are tangential or irrelevant to their brewing or engineering interests. Hesketh wants a 'Better and Brighter Dartford' to have tree-lined avenues. This had no direct relationship to refrigeration engineering. A telephone

system would benefit commerce, but it would also benefit every other subscriber and a public electricity power station and tramway likewise.

One can see from this that the UDC demonstrated a ‘relatively autonomous’ imagination thirty to forty years before it would be expected according to regulation theory, calling into question the value of periodisation. What matters more are the affective mechanisms; the persuasive sense of urgency conveyed by the Town Clerk in the face of strong vocal opposition from market traders. A major curiosity which refutes an interests-based view of policy is that the improvers Kidd and Hesketh were polluters of water and air respectively. Their demand that Dartford be made Brighter and More Beautiful suggests strongly that they were possessed as much or more by a cultural spirit than by an economic imperative.

Hesketh Park

To recall, the local inhabitants protested against the enclosure of the Brent by Mr. Pigou in 1876. Said to be aware of strong public feelings, Everard Hesketh (managing partner in J.&E. Hall) bought some of the enclosed Brent and gifted it to Dartford. Dartford UDC named it Hesketh Park. The public opening of the park took place on 20th April, 1904 (Keyes, 1933, 361-2). Representatives of public bodies, school children, the Fire Brigade and the Dartford Volunteer Silver Band were present. The gates were fastened with a gold bracelet which Mrs. Hesketh ‘released’. She made a short speech. The Chairman of the Council (Keyes) ‘moved a resolution of thanks’ to Mr. Hesketh for his ‘most generous gift to the inhabitants of Dartford of the Hesketh Park and Recreation Ground, together with the handsome Bungalow erected thereon’ (Keyes, 1933, 361).

Lieut.-Col. Kidd, J.P., formerly Chairman of the Urban District Council (U.D.C.) spoke, as did the Chair of the Kent County Council Education Committee. The afternoon was declared a ‘general holiday’ and streets were ‘gaily decorated’. Factory workers and schools had the afternoon off. The opening doubled as a celebration of Mr and Mrs Hesketh’s silver wedding anniversary and of a similar period of association with J. & E. Halls. A large crowd of locals and workers gathered to listen to Everard Hesketh. The following press report (5th September 1905, cited Smith, 1985, 159) captures the way he managed to catch hold and engage the crowd’s enthusiasm:

He knew that the question had often been asked why it was that he had not followed the example of many other employers in confining what he was able to do amongst

his own workmen. Now he wanted to take them into his confidence in this matter. Supposing he had confined these things to his own work people, they had to bear in mind that there were many works in Dartford much smaller where it would be quite impossible for the employer to make proper provision for the recreation of their own work people. Was it right that such work people should be debarred from the privilege of making use of these opportunities (“No! No!”). [Not only should facilities be] for the benefit of these works but for the benefit of the whole of Dartford (Applause) ... Once they did away with their little ideas and all pulled together for the benefit of Dartford, then he thought they would rise to another idea – patriotism, the love of country

The event closed with a firework display depicting duelling battleships and incorporated the words ‘1880-1905: Good-night’. The national anthem was played by the town band (Smith, 1985, 159).

Hesketh uses stirring rhetoric to evoke an idea of Dartford, which he links to the idea of patriotism and country. This is directed towards to a large crowd in an outdoors space which Hesketh has endowed to the town.

Central Park

There is a suggestion of social rivalry amongst the élite as Colonel Kidd (owner of Kidd’s Steam Brewery) soon offered (1903) the Urban District Council five acres of meadow upstream of the town centre for Dartfordians’ recreation. Later named the ‘Dartford Central Recreation Ground’, it was opened on 7th June 1905 by Colonel Kidd (Keyes, 1933, 448) who was presented with a silver key to unlock the gates. The Dartford Volunteer Silver Band played again, and speeches were made. A ‘representative gathering’ of local people and members of the Urban District Council attended. Included were Alderman J. Lawrence Mitchell, J.P., County Council Chairman and Councillors Hesketh and Keyes. This event is also described in Dartford Borough Council’s leaflet about Central Park (Dartford Borough Council, 2018). Central Park is still the site of large gatherings such as the annual free Dartford Festival (begun in the 1930s). Numbers were estimated by the Borough at forty thousand (below) in 2016.

Summary

Hesketh, and Kidd were eminently successful capitalists, but it is unclear why their belief in recreational space might be especially ‘capitalistic’ and specific to ‘big capital’. The neo-Durkheimian suggestion is that they were as much captivated by the

local sacred as by a class impetus such as seeking legitimation in the eyes of employees as ‘model employers’. To explain their land-donations and public declarations as interest-based is not credible.

‘Mode of production’ colours the case certainly. This had been common land and Hesketh and Kidd were returning what was now private property to common ownership. No individual owns Central Park. It was land they had to purchase. But the excitement demonstrated at the park openings probably went deeper than that of gift-making/receiving. These elite members cared because the Dartfordians already cared about these spaces. It strikes me that Smith is incorrect in suggesting that attitudes to common lands could be wholly encompassed by big business and improvement versus small business and economising. Doubtless there was also sorrow among small businesses at seeing the Heath and The Brent enclosed. Hesketh and Kidd were wealthy enough to act whilst small businesses were not. Hesketh indicated this in his 1905 opening speech in which he suggested that his provision of public space was necessary because smaller employers were unable to afford to make proper provisions for recreation for their employers.

While regulation theorists ascribe economising to ‘absolute surplus value’ in the case of public space in Dartford there is:

- a) No evidence that small business opposed Hesketh Park or Central Park
- b) No evidence that small business approved earlier ‘inclosures’
- c) Some evidence that big business supported inclosure (Pigou)
- d) Some evidence that big business opposed the improvement of the Creek (Wilks)
- e) Some evidence that small business supported improvement (Jardine)
- f) Clear evidence that big business supported restoration of inclosed land to public ownership (Hesketh Park, Central Park)

While it is easy to describe Hesketh Park and Central Park as improvements, it is also arguable that enclosed land was also ‘improved’ by building housing on it as compared with its previous state (grazing and small-scale mineral extraction) and at the expense of losing recreational space devoted to public purposes (such as sports, military manoeuvres and executions). These phenomena do not divide neatly into one type or another and do not fall neatly into different time-periods either.

Positive (indeed passionate) feelings towards common land preceded Hesketh's arrival in Dartford by at least a century and a similar passion endures some eighty years after he died; sustained by evolving rituals (cricket matches, pageant plays, the Dartford Festival and even local gangs willing to 'Stand up for Dartford' by confronting neighbouring gangs). The modalities vary but similar sentiments are recognisable throughout.

Mourning Rite: Policeman's Funeral⁵⁰

This exemplar is included as further evidence that growing collectivist sentiment, demonstrated by the UDC, was shared widely. In contrast to popular disquiet towards the police evident in the Guy Fawkes case (above), by 1906 there was widespread popular sympathy and sorrow expressed at the death of a police officer. *The Dartford Chronicle and District Times*, 17th July, 1906 reported 'the impressive scene at Dartford'.

The newspaper report is impressively detailed. Constable Polhill 'an esteemed member of the Dartford police' had died suddenly of appendicitis leaving a wife and child. Colleagues felt 'impelled...to suitably give expression on the occasion of his funeral'. A Metropolitan Police Band 'readily responded' to the desire expressed they be present. Large representations of Erith, Bexley and Belvedere districts were present as well as of other organisations. Dartford Fire Brigade 'showed their kindly feelings' by joining the cortege. The Dartford Rifle Volunteers and Dartford Detachment of the Medical Staff Volunteers were present.

The report describes the proceedings, summarised here. R Division Band headed the cortege, with the hearse following, accompanied by 'the immediate comrades of the deceased. A 'large body' of the Dartford Division followed. Two Inspectors were present from R Division and four Sergeants were with the force from Erith, Bexley and Bexley Heath;

At the Parish Church the first part of 'the solemn service was conducted by the Vicar, the Rev. P.E. Smith'. Hundreds of townspeople lined the route to Dartford cemetery.

Dartford Fire Brigade joined the cortege under Captain Butler 'showed their kindly feeling by joining the parade'. The Dartford Rifle Volunteers and the Dartford

⁵⁰ I am indebted to Dr. Mike Still, Dartford Museum for drawing my attention to this account.

Detachment of the Medical Staff Corps Volunteers were present along with twelve Dartford postmen, under Head Postman Saxby. Conductors and motormen of the Dartford tramways, and several railway men came.

The cortege was headed by the R Division Band, under Band Inspectors Bandmaster. The hearse followed, 'escorted by the immediate comrades of the deceased'. A 'large body' of the Dartford Division followed. Superintendent Kemp and Inspector Hayward accompanied the Division. Inspectors Sims and Judge were present from the R Division. Sergeants Paddon, Salmon and Hook were with the force from Erith, Bexley and Bexley Heath. Twelve Dartford postmen under Head Postman Saxby were present.

At the Parish Church 'the first portion of the solemn service was conducted by the Vicar, the Rev. P.E. Smith'. The journey to Dartford crematory then resumed 'the route...lined with hundreds of the townspeople'. The 'Dead March in Saul' was played on nearing the ceremony

The rhythm and sounds of the event are recorded: 'the cortege proceeded slowly', 'the band meanwhile rendering the funeral marches of Chopin and Beethoven'. The 'huge procession, swelled by the large number of townspeople, filed into the cemetery' to the Dead March in Saul played on nearing the cemetery

At the eastern end of the cemetery a large quadrangle was cordoned off near the grave for representative, and military, police and firemen. Their heads were bare, awaiting the bier. Members of Dartford police carried the bier whilst the public who were 'many deep' gathered outside.

After the funeral and during the return march through the town the band played 'Sons of the Brave' which is lighter in tone.

Comment: Solemnity and solidarity is detectable in the reporter's forensic attention to accuracy, which was compelled by the assembly. He had to 'get it right'. And as in all the cases, Edmund Polhill's funeral is included here as an example that is theoretically significant not only to us but also because it was emotionally and ethically significant for participants and onlookers. It is quite clear that the connection I make between *authority, ritual, affect* and *ethics* (here the ethic *solidarity*) was also made in the *public mind*. It is striking that most uniformed services demonstrated collective sympathy for a

police officer's family and were granted leading roles; suggesting awareness of their overlapping civic contributions.

This case is well-contained within neo-Durkheimian theory. It establishes the intensity of collectivist sentiment shared between the local authority, postal workers, firefighters, police and citizens and how solidarity had been repaired in the forty or so years since the Guy Fawkes riot. It shows such a thing as 'local emotion' and that a 'local sacred' had been elicited in a satisfying rite that was designed and practiced to perfection.

A class explanation is not efficient in this case as once more citizens have turned out en masse and the UDC will have given its blessing for road closures etc. What strikes me is that feelings were mobilised by the institutions without any obvious purpose to this sad celebration. Its scale is out of proportion with the unfortunate and unheroic death of a young officer. A police officer died leaving widow and child. This is not usually sufficient reason for a vast gathering involving the highest échelons of the police force. The newspaper report that the officer's colleagues were 'impelled' to give expression to their feelings at his funeral; Durkheimian phraseology matching his description of 'piacular rites' in which 'mourning is not the spontaneous expression of individual emotions' ([1912], 1915, 397) and 'is made up out of collective ceremonies which produce a state of effervescence among those who take part in them' (399). This matches the newspaper's description of the different stages of the funeral. While Durkheim's description is generic, this funeral is shaped by specifically *local* forms of authority and has spatial and temporal specificity. After Philip Smith, (1999, 17-18) we see the association between human action, contagion, [i.e. of the sacred], spatial location and 'progress towards a more pure or perfect place'. Philip Smith writes 'Sacred places are created by means of mythical or real human actions that are narrated in terms of what Frye calls (1956) "themes of ascent"' (1999, 17, parentheses original).

The creation of sacred place from mundane spaces in this way involves narratives of violence, heroic actions of self-sacrifice, and risks taken on behalf of the collectivity. Archetypal themes of spiritually motivated death and rebirth are often associated with myths that account for sacred places...

Throughout the world we can find altars which metonymically transplant the Hill of Golgotha... More recent examples would include battle sites such as Gallipoli, the Somme and Stalingrad which have become catalysts for nationalist and ethnic myths. These represent the places where the heroic sacrifice of lives enabled evil nations to be defeated. Such places can also

be metonymically transplanted (with varying degrees of success) into places of more geographical centrality such as railway stations Austerlitz, Waterloo)

(1999, 17-18)

Here a literal ascent of East Hill, matches other kinds of ascent in Dartford, such as its trajectory towards a *Brighter and More Beautiful Dartford* which was marked in many other ways too. The annual ‘Steam’ cavalcade honouring Trevithick makes the same trip up East Hill to honour, I suggest, the same ‘pure sacred’.

Wide Awake Dartford and The Association of Dartford Industries (The ADI)

The ADI is self-described as having arisen at the suggestion of employers that there should be a party to represent Dartford’s interests (reported 25th February 1921, in Smith, 1984, 164). Smith (S.L. Smith) describes the ADI (and direct business participation in the UDC) as ‘instrumental’ (after Miliband), in other words, civic expression of big business interests, or, in Jessop’s terms, representing congruence between a ‘Fordist Mode of Accumulation’ and a ‘Fordist Mode of Regulation’. Indeed, at first the ADI imposed a high property qualification. To become a member, one had to be wealthy and the ADI was a ‘big business’ organisation, exclusive of ‘traders’. But what ‘mode of regulation’ and what policies did Dartford’s business élite have in mind? The ADI Handbook, 1921, declared that:

The Association ... has been formed with the conviction that the control and development of the town by its Local Authorities is capable of much improvement ... in order ... to ensure in an enlightened community the full benefits of local government (i.e. freedom to manage one’s own affairs) it is necessary to secure the sustained interest of the ratepayers and to cultivate a pride in township in the hearts of inhabitants

(cited Smith, 1985, 164)

The ADI was indeed a political party representing ‘big capital’ and fielded candidates in UDC elections from 1924 (Smith, 198, 168). The *West Kent Advertiser* (17th November 1926) headlined “‘Our Industries’: A Splendid Social Function, Lord Dudley Gordon’s Advice’. The ADI’s journal announced that a social evening organised by the ADI, held at J. and E. Hall’s dining room was ‘what can almost be described as a brilliant social function’. A ‘roof’ of blue, yellow and white decorations had been arranged and ‘... hanging ferns and banks of greenery, set off with red, white and yellow chrysanthemums harmonised with the general scheme; while here and there

green trellising covered with laurel and ivy subdued the red ornamented lights'. The scene is described as not having been excelled in Dartford for many years.

Comment: The context was, of course, 'industrial unrest' and one could say that the ADI was an attempt to legitimate big business by promising to back an expanded role for local government, so that a more ideal town could be fashioned gradually – the now familiar proposition of 'a better place to live and work'. Whether a better place to live and work is an expression of big business interests remains a moot point. It might be argued alternatively, that the ADI's journal, *Wide Awake Dartford*, and the self-styled 'Brighter and More Beautiful Dartford Movement' are expressions of 'religious' sentiment rather than expressions of class interests; a sentiment that had been a very long time in the making and which had grown (spasmodically) since the street lighting scheme. To ask the question in a different way: in what sense is it in the 'interests of monopoly capital' to urge publicly, that the fruits of accumulation be distributed via taxation and enhanced urban services rather than more directly via bigger wage packets for one's own employees? Why should they borrow books from a public library rather than buy their own books with their own otherwise higher wages which would be that much greater than 'small capitalists' could afford? If legitimation was the aim, why not gain loyalty through high pay and low taxes rather than diverse public services and higher taxes?

Hesketh, in any case, appears to have been a popular figure among workers who nominated him as *President* of their working men's club for more than forty years consecutively. One answer to my question is that one's sense of interests is shaped by convincing rituals. This is what the *Express* wrote about Everard Hesketh in 1911:

...with Everard Hesketh the fact that he had taken up his life's work in Dartford, made Dartford and everything in and about the town of abiding interest to him. In the engineering concern of what he has been called the second founder, his endless energy found full play, but when his day's work ended, those energies found a marvellous new play time in finding new improvements, new developments, new attractions and new enterprise for the civic, social and general life of the town and its inhabitants. He is essentially a Master Builder and his powers know no limitations, manifesting themselves as earnestly and successfully with men as with engines, with *communities as with motors*. One can only realise what his life in Dartford has brought to the town when one looks back over thirty years, and compares the *Dirty Dartford* of those days with the flourishing, busy, populous but airy garden girt Dartford of today.

(*Express*, July 28th, 1911; emphases added)

'Instrumental Demands' does not describe the relationship between the ADI and UDC. The expression suggests that demands arise from interests, but it is difficult to characterise the ADI's encouragement of the UDC to expand its services as instrumental in this sense. The *Association* sought 'improvement', 'enlightened community', 'the full benefits of local government', supported 'social movements' and a 'wide awake', 'Brighter and More Beautiful' Dartford. This is about maintaining an upwards trajectory, not realisation of interests.

The high property qualification set by the ADI does however suggest a wish to exclude small business (possibly economising) sentiments. There is no evidence that the ADI pleaded specific 'big business interests' but there is evidence indicating it did not want to give a platform to small business thinking.

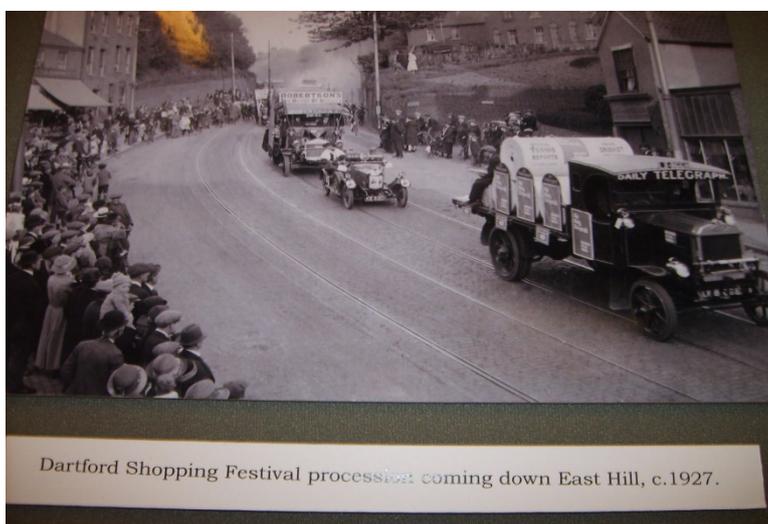


Figure 4: The Shopping Carnival (mounted). Re-photographed by the author at Dartford Borough Museum's 2011 exhibition *Hang out the Bunting* (courtesy Dartford Borough Museum) (original photograph courtesy of Kent Archives and Local History Service).

Figure 4 is from the *Hang out the Bunting* exhibition held on 18th June – 29th October 2011, Dartford Borough Museum. As the context is a 'Shopping Festival' we assume that the newsprint-rolls manufactured by the *Daily Telegraph Mills* express Lord Dudley Gordon's assertion that manufacturers and traders had parallel interests. We think the correct date is 1922 though *Shopping Carnivals* may have been repeated in different years.

The Dartford Local Traders' Association (succeeding the Early Closing Association) was formed in 1919 (Smith, 1984, 166-168). In 1922 a 'Shopping Carnival' was co-

organised with the Association of Dartford Industries. However, the key speakers were not small traders but members of the local élite: Lord Burnham, owner of the Daily Telegraph Mills, and Lord Dudley Gordon, partner in J. & E. Hall. Jack Mills, Labour M.P., was also present. Lord Dudley Gordon toasted the Shopping Carnival in Central Park emphasising the parallel interests of the two associations. Lord Burnham emphasised the communality of interests of the worker and ‘capitalist’. He said that ‘it was no use trying to imagine the capitalist as an ogre. If we did we were doomed’.

Smith reports how ‘Jack Mills said he had “little to add” to what had been said except to say that the traders’ “super optimism” was justified’. It was Everard Hesketh who proposed the vote of thanks (Smith 1984, 167). Successive carnivals were recalled recently, officially, as seen in figure 5, below, which is comprised of three montages re-photographed by the author at Dartford Borough Museum’s 2011 ‘Hang out the Bunting’ exhibition.



Figure 5.1: ‘Celebration of celebrations’. Dartford and District Carnival Brochures for 1936 and 1937 (mounted). Re-photographed by the author at Dartford Borough Museum’s *Hang out the Bunting* exhibition (2011). Courtesy Dartford Borough Museum.



Figure 5.2 (above): 'Celebration of Celebrations'. Dartford and District Carnival Brochures for 1939 and

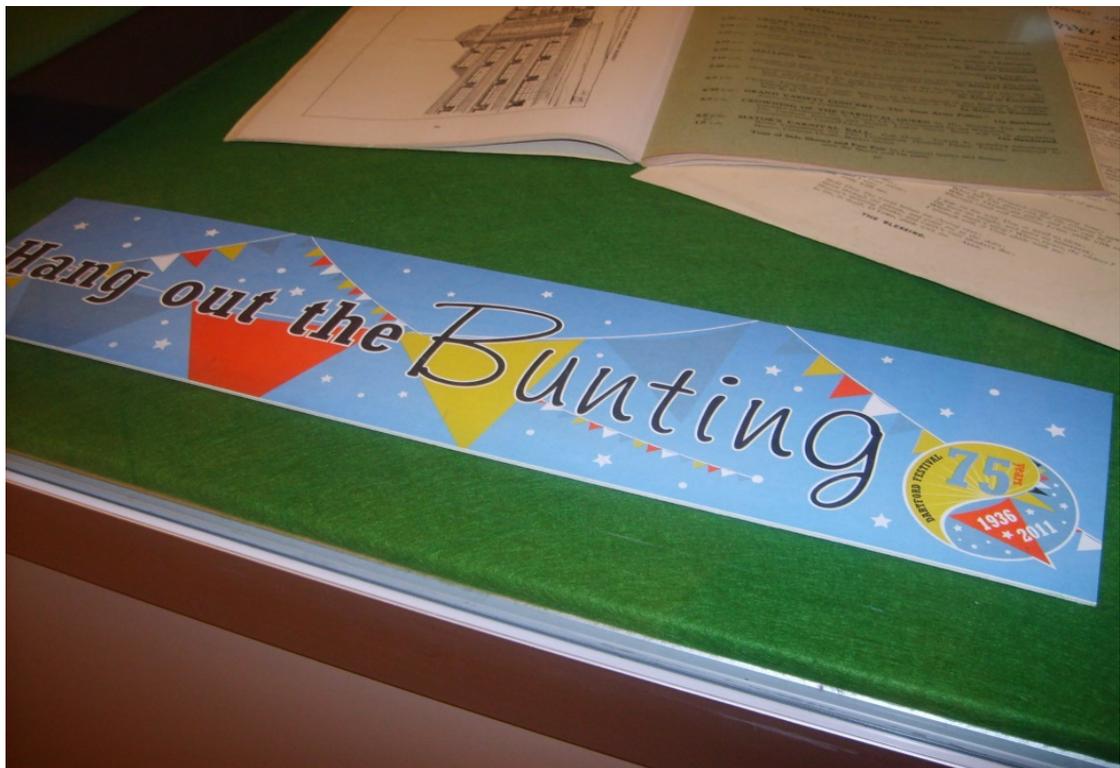


Figure 5.3: 'Celebration of Celebrations'. Panel designed for the 2011 *Hang out the Bunting* Exhibition (mounted). Re-photographed by the author at Dartford Borough Museum's 2011 exhibition *Hang out the Bunting!* Courtesy Dartford Borough Museum.

The graphic design developed to advertise the 2011 *Hang out the Bunting* commemorative exhibition was based closely on design-values displayed in the publicity for the *Dartford Carnival* (figure 5.3). The typeface for the year-dates is similar or identical, the star-spangled motif is similar, and the colour palette is close to that used on the 1936 *Carnival* brochure. *Hang out the Bunting* also repeats the red-orange triangular device but adds a more literal depiction of bunting. ‘Bunting’ is presented in a more informal (looping) script.

The Apogee of Local Élites’ Authority: the 1932 Pageant and Industrial Exhibition, and 1933 Charter Pageant

The 1932 Pageant and Industrial Exhibition, together with the 1933 Charter Pageant, are very probably the most significant exemplars in the Dartford chapter, encapsulating the high point of the Dartford élite’s authority. The Pageant and Industrial Exhibition underline the interrelationship explored between authority-development, ritual, emotion, ethics and action. I suggest that this event acted (and still acts) as a heuristic for the local population somewhat as it has done for my research purposes. In other words, the arcane metaphysical links between authority, emotion, ritual, ethics and action – which even Durkheim struggled to express succinctly - were acted out locally with plausible clarity.

Figure 6, below, captures these elements of authority, (over time), ritual, emotion, ethics and action with vivid imagery.



Figure 6: The 1932 Pageant and Industrial Exhibition. Re-photographed by the author at Dartford Borough Museum's 2011 exhibition *Hang Out the Bunting!* (Courtesy Dartford Borough Museum).

Lady Limerick, who resided at Hall Place, Bexley, favoured the idea of mounting an historical pageant in its grounds in order to boost morale and industry during the Great Depression (Wooller, 2006, 15).

With Frank Clarke, M.P. for the Dartford Division, a committee was established. *The Bexleyheath Observer* (cited in Wooller, 2006) proposed *The People's Pageant* as a title but *Hall Place* met with popular approval. However, although Episodes were chosen from the distant past to minimise controversy, they still offended future Labour Mayor of Erith, the Reverend John Wells Wilkinson, who wrote that 'Episode I was a racially motivated massacre, Episode II a myth and Episode III a dynastic alliance. As for Episode IV the Peasants' Revolt had started in Erith not Dartford' (cited in Wooller, 2006, 15-16). There were complaints from several councillors too.

The Pageant was held from the 18th of July to the 23rd July 1932 and an Industrial and Educational Exhibition was held in a neighbouring field. The *Pageant* lasted six days, with four days devoted to public performances involving 4,000 ‘pageant players’ (Keyes, 1933, 609) under the direction of a professional ‘pageant-master’. An audience of approximately thirty thousand attended and fifty thousand attended the adjoining Industrial Development Exhibition (Wooller, 20006). Performers were backed by a chorus of five hundred and an orchestra of one hundred - a massive mobilisation undertaken with less than six months of preparation. Over three hundred people served on the ‘Main Committees’, and roughly the same number on ‘Episode Committees’.

There were six historical episodes with each Electoral District within the Parliamentary Division having responsibility for one episode and one or more scenes: Therefore Crayford; Swanscombe; Stone and Greenhithe; Bexley; Dartford Erith and Bexleyheath all had their own episodes. Dartford was responsible for Episode Four (Scene one) ‘Visitation of Dartford Priory’ and Scene Two ‘Wat Tyler’s Rebellion’. Parliamentary authority through Frank Clarke, and local authority, local civic leaders and local big manufacturers organised, promoted, and participated in the Pageant and accompanying Industrial Exhibition. It built on earlier civic enactments and, it is suggested, contributed something to later place celebrations such as the Dartford Festival, ‘Steam’ and the ‘St.Georgiest Town in England’ parade.

The 1932 Pageant was deemed worthy of re-staging (on a smaller scale) in 2007. Some of the photographs taken in 1932 were kept and then donated to the curators of Hall Place in connection with this partial re-enactment, which marked the seventy fifth anniversary. Again, in connection with the 2007 event, local recollections of 1932 Pageant were passed on to Hall Place curators and incorporated into a ‘Pageant Fact Sheet’ (Hall Place, 2007). One surviving local described the 1932 event as ‘the happiest day of my life’.

Having introduced the 1932 Pageant, the exemplars are discussed next, and necessarily in light of its relevance to the thesis, the available evidence is scrutinised forensically. This evidence includes contemporaneous accounts from correspondence; minutes; photographs and newspaper articles (including *The Dartford Chronicle* and *Kentish Times*); retrospective accounts of the event; secondary sources, including *The House of*

Broken Fortunes: Hall Place in the Twentieth Century (Wooller, 2006); and artefacts, particularly the *Souvenir Programme* and *Book of Words*.

Local newspaper reports and confidential correspondence allow chronological reconstruction of the Pageant and convey the sentiments of those involved. One can be quite confident of what the spectator saw and what the Dartford MP's (Frank Clarke) neo-Hegelian thoughts about Dartford's historic trajectory were.

The *Book of Words* transposes contemporary public feelings onto past events. The *Official Souvenir and Programme for the Pageant and Industrial Development Exhibition*, together with the *Book of Words* (published by the 'Publicity Committee of the Dartford Parliamentary Division Industrial Development Exhibition and Historical Pageant') describe the area's place-advantages in high prose.

By comparing different sources, we see clearly that correspondence between officials including the Clerk to the Council (Dartford) and those mounting the Pageant (Frank Lascelles and William Russell) is abrupt and even harsh whereas the public presentation was remarkably high-minded and idealistic.

The Beginnings: January 1932: Lady Limerick sponsors the idea of a Pageant

A 'representative gathering' of constituents attended a meeting at Hall Place on 10th December 1931. Frank Clarke chaired the meeting and Frank Lascelles, a famous Pageant Master, was invited to explain the idea to the gathering. According to the *Report of a Meeting Held at Hall Place* (DA/A/C43 Centre for Kentish Studies, 2009, now at Kent History and Library Centre), the Countess had a long-standing desire to stage an historical Pageant at Hall Place. Frank Clarke, the local M.P., indicated that the time was right to attempt to attract work to the area 'by lime-lighting the great industrial facilities to the outside world'. He mentioned the successful pageant held in Barking and experiences with pageants in South Africa, India and in depressed areas of Britain.

A Committee was appointed (after proposing and seconding) to investigate and report back.⁵¹ Further meetings were held in quick succession and a Finance Committee was

⁵¹ Mr. A.C. Davis, Mr. Russell, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Morris Wheeler, Mr. R.H. Starkey, Mr. J. Francis Watson, Dr. Renton, Mr. Waterman, Mr. N. Cannon, Mr. D. Strickland, Mr. Kinnison, Mr. Notley, Mr.

also appointed, later to report to a general committee meeting. It was decided that the pageant should embrace the local history, ancient and modern, of the districts of the Parliamentary Division and that the industrial aspect was to be prominent. Lady Limerick sponsored the idea, supported by Frank Lascelles, 'the greatest living expert on pageants', who conducted the well-received Rochester Pageant the previous summer.

Financing

Frank Clarke and J.J. Hurlley Promote the Pageant

The local M.P., Frank Clarke, wrote a general letter on the 27th January 1932 (DA/AC/43, Kent History and Library Centre), inviting 'personal cooperation in the efforts to stimulate trade and work in the Dartford Division'. He mentions Lady Limerick and Hall Place and that Frank Lascelles 'the great Pageant Master...placed himself at the service of the promoters'. He assured recipients that Mr. Lascelles' Pageants were all in receipt of 'a substantial profit' and that pledges had been received covering the £1,500 Guarantee Fund. The purpose, he wrote, was to draw the attention of the outside world to local facilities. He asked people 'to be good enough to forward...as early as possible, and not later than February 6th the names and addresses of those who will represent you', proposing the profits be devote to charitable institutions in the Constituency.

Frank Clarke justified the Pageant proposal in light of possible criticism since it was a time of world-depression. 'A vigorous effort...by all classes' was needed 'to quicken the commercial spirit and to boom our possibilities through the medium of a pictorial and demonstrative exhibition inspired by the collective enthusiasm of a determined people'

J.J. Hurlley, Clerk to the Council, wrote on behalf of Dartford UDC on the 4th of February, in a similar vein, but in a less flowery manner, (DA/AC/43, Kent History and Library Centre) inviting attendance at a meeting in the Council Chamber on 18th February 'to consider the question of raising the guaranteed quote allotted to the Urban District of Dartford'. Local committees were to be responsible for arrangements in each District. Guarantors of the £1,500 bond would enjoy preferential seating and discounted

Lingood, Dr. Jowett, Major Pochin, Rev. Moore, Capt. Beagley, Miss Jenkins, Mrs. Clarke, Miss Frier, Mrs. Stonham, Mrs. Sadler and others.

tickets. Dartford UDC's share of the guarantee was £375. He added that Frank Lascelles' figures for Carlisle, Stoke-on-

Trent, Rochester and Bradford showed 'returns on receipts over expenditure' of between £7,000 and £3,000.

The Press in Similar Vein

The Dartford Chronicle and Kentish Times (KT), 29th January 1931 echoed Frank Clarke and J.J. Hurtley by promoting backing for the Pageant and the need to finance it. It also announced that the Pageant at Hall Place '[would]...give expression to the historical and industrial aspects of the area embraced in the Dartford Parliamentary Division of Kent'. It emphasised the need for 'courageous men and women...[and that the Pageant] would have a stimulating effect on the morale of the population'.

A report headlined 'Hall Place: Bright Prospects' (*KT*, 5th February 1932, 8) credited the 'ample' response to the bond to the artistry and commercial acumen of Frank Lascelles. It declared that his artistry 'in this form of spectacular display had become almost a household word, not only in England, but throughout the World'. Lascelles' Rochester Pageant 'not only seized hold of the local imagination but it caught on in London'. The article describes him as 'master of the wizardry of scenic effects' and was confident that since he was in charge of the production the Hall Place Pageant would be even more popular since Lascelles was 'such a master of scenic effects.'

By the 12th February 1932 the *KT* reported 'an inspiring meeting' (9) at *Hall Place* revealing that the project would go forward with an assured guaranteed fund. Frank Clarke's words were reported at length under the heading 'New Industries'.

Frank Clarke on 'New Industries'

Frank Clarke criticised 'isolated parochial action'. The object of the 'proposed festival' was to advertise the Division, its products and possibilities in order to create or attract more manufactures, more trade, more shopping and more employment. The Division suffered from 'a severe handicap' in having five or six civic areas administered separately (except for Parliamentary, Magisterial and Poor Law purposes). There were fewer barriers with industry and commerce. A factory might be in one parish, its workpeople in others and the unemployed 'distributed throughout the Division'. No

effort to improve economic conditions could be looked for by ‘isolated parochial action’. Competition was to be combatted by concerted action as a Parliamentary Division. Their neighbours in Essex were making efforts similar to their own. It was wise that:

the peoples of the Dartford Division, unfettered by parochial organisation, should meet together as they were doing that night, and join a scheme that would flood light, by pictorial pageant, industrial exhibition, and trade demonstration, [on] what were the facilities offered by this Division to the world.

Frank Clarke referred to a box of responses to his invitation which was ‘a remarkable collection, worthy of preservation, personal assurances from constituents declaring not merely approval but tendering unrestricted personal service to the Division’.

He emphasised the need to cooperate when conditions were so bad instead of adopting the ‘phlegmatic Micawberism’ of waiting for something to turn up. Instead he thought it was a time for hope and pride when ‘the art of the pageant’ and the ‘art of the industrial exhibition’ was to be the ‘Division as a whole’. ‘In such an assembly’ he felt there was no need for him

... to stress the saving grace, the impetus to endeavour, and the assurance of conquest that came to individuals, when even with troubles and complexities around them, were reminded that they were fighting where their forebears fought and won. Whether North-West Kent citizens by birth, residence or occupation, all share equally in the story and the duties of our Division

He finished up by declaring that this Division was ‘the Birmingham of Kent’. Applause followed.

The Manufacturing Élite

Lord Dudley Gordon said that as President of the Dartford Industries and as an industrialist he, ‘heartily welcomed’ the Pageant. They had started wisely in getting Mr. Lascelles. ‘Now all that was necessary was to leave it to Mr. Lascelles, do what he said and then it would be a real success’. This would be a source of encouragement and inspiration, a ‘profitable advertisement’ not only for manufacturing, but as a residential area (applause). Erith was ‘a particularly difficult spot in the Division’ and its new Men’s Conservative Association needed to ‘limelight’ their district.

Backroom Brusqueness

The Chairman of the Finance Committee for the Pageant and Industrial Exhibition, J.J. Hurtley, (simultaneously Clerk to Dartford UDC) wrote a business-like letter to Frank Lascelles on 6th April (Kent Archive File: DA AC 43), in the tone of an employer-employee relationship. Hurtley wrote as 'Clerk to the Council', giving a greater air of officialdom to his letter : He wrote: '...The (private) view of the *Committee* was that because Mr. Lascelles was the main guarantee for the success, 'it [was] only reasonable that if there is any risk in the percentage falling below £400, such risk must be taken by the Producer'. Hurtley writes that he hopes Mr. Lascelles agrees with these views, and, if so he should sign and return the Engrossment Agreement.

Pageantitis

The audiences for Pageant rehearsals were infected with 'Pageantitis', the *KT* reported on 15th April (9). There was unconscious pageantry in the order and progress of the proceedings:

the audience arrived in ones, twos and threes, and sat apart or in small groups for half an hour after the advertised time of the meeting. Two hours later, infected with 'Pageantitis', which Mr. Lascelles had predicted they would contract, they had to be nearly expelled from the building.

The *KT* of the 27th May refers to imitations: 'pageantettes',

Backroom Work

The KT of the 15th April (9) reported that the different Committees were 'working very diligently and that a vast amount of unostentatious work was being carried out', and that its importance 'will become more apparent as the Pageant emerges from the nebulous'. The Pageant Master and others would be addressing enrolment meetings for performers. Bexley Heath Rotary Club members had agreed to guarantee the Pageant to the extent of 100 guineas. The Episodes were set out.

The *KT* of 22nd April (9) reported 'rising enthusiasm' ... 'had been aroused to a high pitch in every town and hamlet within the Dartford Parliamentary Division of Kent and beyond'.

For Councillor Bromfield behind the Pageant there was a spiritual ideal: much more than pretty sights it would bring the people of the different areas and classes closer

together with more mutual understanding (11). However, competition was apparent: on the 29th April (*KT*) it was reported that in the *West Kent Pageant* to be held at Tonbridge Wells, Tonbridge, and Sevenoaks in June there would be scenes depicting a market in Roman Britain at the time of Diocletian, and the visit of Elizabeth to Penshurst Castle.

Retailers were also to support the Pageant. With reference to 'Traders and Shopping Week' (*KT*, 13th May, 9) it was reported that traders had decided to do everything they could to advertise and decorate their premises to publicise the Pageant.

Dissent

The Erith Branch of *The Unemployed Workers Movement* opposed the Pageant. The *KT* of 27th May stated that Frank Clare felt there had been a misunderstanding. He understood that they believed the Pageant was political. Its point was to 'limelight' the area and that way get more employment. Since many industries were coming to Kent there was a need to show off the transport, cheap electricity and labour. 'Instead of moaning over present conditions, people ought to do something'.

The 27th May editions of *the Dartford Chronicle* and *Kentish Times* reported yet more dissent:

The Works and Town Hall Committee recommended that the Town Hall be let for their rehearsals in connection with the Dartford Industrial Exhibition and Historical Pageant, on a series of Monday evenings, at half the usual fees, that the caretaker receive commission on the reduced fees, and that he be given assistance in connection with the removal of chairs

Councillor Crosby was provoked; 'it was an alarming thing to reduce the fees to such an extent. It was a precedent which he certainly favoured on another occasion but found no support. So far as he had read, there did not appear to be anything beneficial to the district in the idea.' Councillor Stoneham said Councillor Crosby, as Chairman of a local organisation, must be aware that that one of the objects of the Pageant was to assist local hospitals...It would assist the Town Hall revenues when there was no other demand for the Pageant, which had as a further object the improvement of trade in the Division.'

As for Crayford's contribution, 'Councillor Lyle said that other authorities who had promoted pageants out of their rates had found them beneficial. All the other Councils

were giving financial assistance in connection with schemes of illumination. Crayford was not in a position to help in that way but could do its share in the manner recommended.’ ‘Councillor Homer protested that he had not been allowed to speak. He had given way out of courtesy to Councillor Stoneham, who he thought was intending to speak’. ‘Councillor Mrs. Bell said she thought the Chairman was using very autocratic methods.’ ‘The notion that Councillor Homer be heard was put and carried’. There was annoyance at how the Pageant had been initiated :

Councillor Homer saw the question of charges was of paramount importance. They had been asked to look at the Pageant as something that would be of advantage to the district. He thought it was an advertisement for certain people. At the outset all the organisations had been written to, and he, as secretary of a local organisation, was asked to submit the proposal to his people and request their support. It had transpired, however, that a committee had been appointed and a policy defined which they were asked to approve. He said that took strong exception to such procedure, and it was decided not to support the idea. The thing had been started the wrong way about. (2)

The Pageant and its objects did not appeal to his people, although if they had been approached at the outset, they had some knowledge of industry and its needs. They could also have made some suggestions regarding local places of interest, for example, the Moat House...There was also the workhouse in Dartford, sometimes known as ‘The Spike’ (Laughter). Councillor Homer saw the Pageant as a circus distraction from present troubles. He would not support it. Councillor Clark declared the Chairman ‘thoroughly incompetent’. His motion that the full charge be levied was then defeated. A large part of a more than two-hour debate involved such heated dispute that nobody was sure which motion had been carried.

J.E. Mills, the former Dartford M.P., was conciliatory. Interviewed on the 26th he emphasised the necessity for co-operation by all sections of public life to ensure a successful Pageant. He wished it well and was pleased to accept the invitation ‘to officiate as opener on one of the Industrial Exhibition days’. The Labour Party was working ‘with accord and good will, and Mr. Jalink, who was unfortunately unemployed, was doing good work in preparing banners’. Mr. Mills reminded the reader of the *Pageant of Empire* at Crystal palace just before the War and of ‘disgust’ at the portrayal of Wat Tyler and the Men of Kent as ‘scoundrels and hooligans’. If the facts were known of Wat Tyler’s ‘protest as a parent against outrage and violation’ ... ‘it would make one of the most dramatic scenes in a Pageant rich with possibilities’ Mr. Mills praised any attempt to brighten dark days and to ‘advertise the products of our

area'. These were 'worthy of the support of the people'. He was placatory about Councillor Homer; many 'could have rendered good service had their co-operation been sought in the beginning'. However now Councillor Homer had let off steam he and 'every other public man and woman in Dartford would pull their weight to show what can be done in a spirit of fellowship and pageantry'.

The 'Book of Words' and 'Official Souvenir and Programme'

The organiser provided two official records of the event, a *Programme* published by the 'Publicity Committee of the Dartford Parliamentary Division Industrial Exhibition and Historical Pageant' and a *Book of Words*. Frank Clarke's *Foreword* to the *Programme* is part poetic, part prosaic, part morale-boosting, part marketing. He wrote a second *Programme* article about the Industrial Development and Educational Exhibition. The *Book of Words* provided the script for each Episode showing each district's acting contribution.

The cover of the *Souvenir* and *Book of Words* shows a horse-rider, presumably the Black Prince of Episode Three, claimed to have honeymooned at Hall Place in 1361. This motif depicts upwards and forwards movement. The cover announces that the Pageant will be held in the 'Grounds of Hall Place' 'by the very kind permission' of the Countess of Limerick, 'under the personal direction of Frank Lascelles', a prominent 'Pageant-Master'. Underneath the Industrial and Educational Exhibition is alluded to along with 'afternoon displays' and a Pageant Ball.

The frontispiece of the *Programme* is a full-length photograph captioned 'Frank Lascelles, Esq., M.A., Master of the Pageant'. He strikes a romantic, pensive stance, holding a large palette while touching blossoms which trails down the arbour where he stands. His hair is combed behind the ears, in a vaguely pre-Raphaélite manner. The photograph does not contain an easel or half-finished painting. The image seems to suggest Mr Lascelles's multi-faceted sensitivity not confined to producing pageants.

The Patrons: a study in Social Rank

A page is devoted to seventy-three patrons. Titled members head the list, prominent place given to The Right Hon. the Marquis and Marchioness of Camden followed by other notables. Also featured are local notables and civic leaders including the Countess of Limerick and Lord Dudley Gordon. Clergy follow including the Bishop of

Rochester. Local Mayors and local government leaders are listed including The High Sherriff of Kent, local M.P.s including Frank Clarke; the Chairman of Kent County Council, County councillors.

‘Openers’ include the Dowager Countess of Darnley, Hugh Galloway (President of the Rotarians), The High Sherriff of Kent, John E. Mills, former Dartford MP, Lord Cornwallis, and Frank Clarke. His Royal Highness the Duke of York opened the afternoon of the second day and visited the Industrial Exhibition on 19th July.

A page is devoted to the sixteen organising committees including the General Committee (chaired by Frank Clarke; W. Russell, Secretary). These included: Executive; Publicity and Press; Central Workrooms; Designs and Costumes; and Horse. Only the Designs and Costumes Committee and the Central Workrooms Committee had female Chairs. Authors and Producers are ranked with Costume Mistresses and Secretaries. Frank Lascelles’ name does not seem to appear on any Committees. The impression given is that the aristocracy still have influence, at least in the world depicted by the Pageant, though Lord Plender and Lord Dudley Gordon also made significant contributions in accountancy and engineering respectively

Frank Clarke’s ‘Member’s Foreword’

Frank Clarke writes linking past, present and future throughout:

This Book will be handed down to posterity as a Souvenir of a magnificent and remarkable industrial effort by the united people of the Dartford Parliamentary Division of Kent. The five Urban Districts, with the co-operation of the one remaining Rural District, have with a joyous enthusiasm joined in a common endeavour to remind themselves of the ancient history of their Division, to take to themselves the spirit of happy resolution, and to invoke universal attention to the unique industrial facilities offered by vacant sites, efficient modern services and wholly sympathetic municipal administration.

The language is highbrow punctuated with practical comments. Clarke alludes to a ‘Frenchman’ who watched the Lord Mayor’s Show in 1914 ‘aghast’ at its light-heartedness but who exclaimed ‘a people who can do this can win through any crisis.’ Promotion of Englishness runs through his piece, melded with promotion of the local inhabitants.

Clarke draws a contrast between fifty years ago and the present day. The municipalities ‘nestled between Woolwich and Gravesend, had been ‘typical Kentish communities,

wrapped in intense parochialism. There were some people who still knew these communities. There was an isolated factory here and there, a few unostentatious shopping centres, and groups of residents whose families had had for generations a local habitation, and a substantial agricultural life.’ Whilst some traditions remained, the past fifty years had brought changes which had increased with ‘surprising momentum’. He emphasises the distinctiveness of the Division: the largest in Kent by population, wholly industrial, and its resolute refusal to be absorbed by metropolitan local government.

The Division stretches ‘for seven miles along the Thames’... ‘It reaches back into the orchards of the Garden of Kent’ characterised as having ‘Wide thoroughfares’ and ‘that great permanent factor in the life of the division’: cooperation between local governments and companies. These factors had facilitated the bringing about the projected Thames Tunnel. Once ‘national financial restrictions are removed by the practical genius of our race’ it would stand as ‘one of our first developments’. Clarke uses an obscure word, (‘pallalogranic’), flowery and elliptical phrases (‘that great permanent factor’).

No less than the Duke of York was ‘taking a personal interest’ in the Industrial Exhibition whose object was showing the world that they were glad they had chosen the sites they had, ‘the Birmingham of Kent’. Frank Clarke continues: the *Pageant* will have created ‘a common bond of local association’ enabling new residents to ‘more harmoniously mingle’. The Urban District Councils are responsible for at least one of six ‘representative’ scenes (Roman, British, Saxon, Norman, Plantagenet, Tudor, and Early English). There is ‘the courageous spirit’ and ‘resolve of a ‘self-reliant people’ [who] ‘overcame the difficulties of their times’. He closes:

I cannot conclude this foreword without setting on record the new spirit that this great Festival has already called into being. Districts have forgotten – I venture to hope to have buried – their insularities, and for the first time have welded themselves together as one people in a Divisional enterprise. If in the pageantry of past history we have bridged the gulf between ourselves and those who lived where we now dwell, if we have cemented modern industrial activity with our commercial life, if we have brought together in playful humour men and women of all classes, we shall with confidence open this year a new page in the history of our Division ...

‘Liquid History’

Frank Clarke emphasises the [totemic] importance of the Thames to the *Division*. It forms a boundary, is fed by tributaries which are of use to 'Industry'. He reasons that, much as locals had shared the historical traditions of the river, they could look forward to a greater share in the social and industrial life of the river as its advantages became more appreciated. (Clarke's family ran a Thames-side wharf business.) He relates that a Canadian and an American had compared the 'glories' of the St. Lawrence and Mississippi rivers. When they visited London during the 1914-18 war, a John Burns had asked them how the Thames compared. "'Man" shouted Burns, as though a sacrilege had been committed, "your St. Lawrence is just water and your Mississippi plain mud. The Thames is liquid history."

The Thames is also 'the great highway of the port', its creeks 'side streets' and wet-docks its garages. Thames watermen were an 'avocation' of 'the British coracles of pre-Roman days'. The inevitability of development requires adaptability, and the capacity to 'turn those changes into social happiness'. He acknowledges that the conditions of the employees are a consideration. Through town planning 'We...can create a local patriotism, and a civic pride, calling for orderly imagination, constructive discussion and collective organisation'. He remarked that the Thames's future did not lie in 'the preservation of pastoral scenes' and that they seemed to be adopting the idea whereby a 'well-planned town and social amenities can create a local patriotism, and a civic pride'

The fifty-eight exhibitors at the Industrial Development are listed with descriptions. I summarise just four:

Burroughs Wellcome's entry alludes to the 'romance of science and industry...the two are interdependent'. It also promotes its 'standard of precision; the purity of its insulin, where it was a pioneer. This entry connects the ideal and the practical more successfully than in Frank Clarke's texts.

J. & E. Hall's entry lists its interest in refrigeration and that it had been installing marine refrigeration since to early 1880's.

Frank Clarke probably wrote this entry for Herbert W. Clarke since the language resembles his:

In respect of age, virile adaptability to changing conditions and commercial stability, the amphibious business known as Herbert W. Clarke and Sons (Erith) occupies a foremost position amongst the main industries of Erith.’ Whereas the founder’s name has disappeared, ‘the name of Clarke has become permanent.’ The firm offered general wharfage work with facilities for all types of vessels as well as having a coal branch.

In the Daren Flour Mills entry Sidney Keyes, local Councillor and amateur historian describes the history of local milling and argues that it is unwise to depend so much on other countries for food. He points to ‘recent legislation’ which ‘tends in that direction’.

Electricity Undertakings of Bexley, Dartford & Erith Urban District Councils, and The West Kent Electrical Co. Ltd: This section proclaims that ‘The Electrical Era is Here’. The cleanliness of electricity in the home is emphasised. Cooking by electricity means ‘there are no fumes, dirt or smell to contaminate the food’.

Comment: Frank Clarke links a glorious past, an imperfect present and a glorious future attained by bravery and solidarity. For example, the Countess of Limerick had proposed the pageant, despite her bereavement. The districts were ‘one people’ ‘welded together’ having forgotten their ‘insularities’. The Pageant synthesises different times, classes, local authorities and businesses to attain a ‘merrier’ existence with the objective of co-operation and collective endeavour. The rite was schemed out accordingly, leaving a lasting impression on many. However, as the participating Parliamentary ‘Districts’ and the MP himself had little, perhaps negligible local authority and as the District Councils were distinct entities, conversion of collective sentiments into policy would be difficult. This reflects in bad temper behind-the-scenes, provocation of open anger in Crayford and a public row about the choir for which we do not have full details (below).

However, knowledge of how to act as a master of ceremony had developed and enthusiasm for large scale spectacle would be taken up in Dartford’s Incorporation Parade celebrating attainment of Borough status in 1933. It would be discussed many times and applied for in 1930 (see below). This was to be a moral event rather than a clear expression of a ‘mode of regulation’ befitting a ‘mode of accumulation’, though direct participation by large ‘industrialists’ along with around three-hundred and fifty notable committee members is interesting⁵².

⁵² Frank Clarke’s *Member’s Foreword* is followed by the names of every individual ‘representative’ who sat on every ‘Organising- or Episode- committee; more than six hundred and thirty. The Episode Committees were Crayford (Episode 1) (fifty-five representatives), Swanscombe, Stone and Greenhithe

Frank Clarke's inclusion of references such as 'limelighting', and 'Micawberite' have dated as has the notion of a 'smoking concert'. Direct participation by larger local manufacturers might arouse suspicion now as they would be more likely to concentrate exclusively on managing their businesses. However, the élite's attempts to affect public feelings by means of a large-scale rite are clear. And Hesketh *was* a popular figure: the *Kentish Times* reported (1st April, 1932) that he'd been re-elected president of the Dartford Working Men's Club for the forty-sixth consecutive time.

High Hopes of Bringing all Classes Together

'Wide Awake Dartford' described the Pageant effusively (Smith, 1984)

... in a great pageant class-hatred and religious differences and many points which go to make up friction in each country are forgotten, and there develops from this friendly intercourse of persons ... which will bind the social life of the district together more than any effort yet known.

The Pageant was also anticipated eagerly by the *Kentish Times* (8th July, 1932, 14-15)

The Pageant will indeed be a thing of beauty and a joy in the memory of those who will take part in it, and those who have the pleasure of seeing it for many years to come. ...

The following edition (15th July, 1932) included a message from the Pageant Master: 'You Will Never Have A Happier Time'. Frank Lascelles wondered whether the people had 'any idea of the wonderful spectacle of the history of their county which will be unfolded to the gaze of many thousands in the glorious setting of Hall Place, Bexley during these next few days' ... 'Be happy, my friends and love every moment of it, for you will never have a happier and more wonderful time.' E. Stratton Liddeard underlined 'the joy of the pageant referring to pageants as bringing 'joy to performer and spectators' and to 'the history, the colours ...' 'as year by year the number of pageants increases ...'. Pageants were a new art form 'in which all can share'.

(Episode II) (twenty-eight), Bexley Episode III (ninety-seven), Dartford (Episode IV) (thirty-nine), Erith (Episode V) (forty-two), and Bexley Heath Episode VI) (nineteen). Bexley had both the largest number of representatives and performers. The Committees included the 'Episode Committee', 'Sub-Committee for Lectures', 'Performers Committee' and 'Sub-Committee to Deal with Allocation of Parts'. There was a higher proportion of women on the Episode Committees than on the others and the elite appears to have sat on other committees. However, Frank Clarke sat on the Erith Committee and Mrs Frank Clarke was President of the Committee, Frank Clarke having come from Erith.

The Event

The local élite and press were invited to a lunch at The Bull and to the full dress rehearsal (*Dartford Chronicle* and *Kentish Times*, Friday, 22nd July). Frank Clarke repeated the description of Dartford as the ‘Birmingham of Kent’. He said that because there was no Borough in the area, the money had had to be raised by subscription. [This might have been Dartford U.D.C.’s reason for seeking borough status in 1933]. Local government bodies, industrial firms, employers and employees ‘were uniting in a common desire to show that they realised that the present financial clouds could not continue’.

Frank Lascelles referred to his twenty-year involvement in pageant production all over the Empire. ‘They’ had shown ‘the people of India and Canada, South Africa and other places, that they should realise it was their duty to hand on what they had received’. Now they were going to do the same in Kent. The Pageant ‘must have a definite value for the people of today and the people of the future. It was primarily a great social work, but it was also a great charitable work’. He did not believe there was ‘any better means in the present century of inspiring people... than...in pageantry. The history of the county as pointing to the future was a thing which must raise everybody in an absolutely miraculous way’. This was followed by applause.

The Kentish Times (22nd July, 1932) described how little children at the Pageant will tell their children ‘the story of the Pageant’. There had been ‘a most inspiring demonstration of unity in a common effort...for the common good’. It was not too late for those who ‘have stood aloof from the enterprise to catch its spirit, and make complete that unity and determination’. They ‘shall with confidence open a new page - a page in which shall be written the simple, but not inglorious, story of how a resolute and cheerfully-disposed people won its way to a merrier and more prosperous Dartford Division’.

The Dartford Times headlined ‘Vast Crowds at Hall Place’ and ‘Duke of York’s Visit’: the Duke visited the Industrial Exhibition on the Tuesday. In the evening the Lord Mayor (of London), the Lady Mayoress and Sheriffs and ‘vast crowds’ were ‘another manifestation of its popularity’. Mr. Raoul Hector Foa, High Sheriff, performed the Wednesday opening saying that ‘judging from the Industrial Exhibition, they had made much progress towards helping themselves. That was the keynote of success.’

Afternoon Displays

As well as the principle 'Episodes', 'Afternoon Displays' were put on Tuesday, 19th July and Friday, 22nd July including the St. John's Ambulance and British Red Cross Society, a 'Demonstration of Gymnastics and Dancing' by students of the Bergman Osterberg Physical Training College, and a Tug-of-War between Dartford and Bexleyheath Police.

The public record was one of resounding success. Headed 'Call for Pageant Master' *The Kentish Times* (29th July) reported participants rushing forward at the close 'with weapons gleaming in the electric light, like a Wat Tyler mob, shouting loudly what might have been taken for battle cries, but really: 'Speech! Speech! Speech! Lascelles! Lascelles! Limerick – Lady Limerick! Speech, Speech'. Mr. Lascelles, who was cheered, thanked the performers for the 'magnificent way they had reacted to the 'spirit of Pageantry'. Lady Limerick said producing the Pageant was 'a dream come true' to her, and she believed 'the spirit of Hall Place had been with them all in their greatest endeavours'.

Mr Frank Clarke in his reported speech refers to the Pageant as illuminating and inspiring the 'great industrial division'. Thousands had 'visited and revisited those brilliant spectacles'. They had been shown 'how rich beyond their imaginations were the resources of their residents and how gigantic ... their possibilities when their people were harmoniously roused'. He refers to 'this hour of our transcendental triumph'. But 'even at that moment, in their thoughts was that other pageant ... where the Division revealed the wonder of the present time ... the Industrial Development Exhibition'. He continues somewhat mystically:

In these delightful glades they had visualised the story of their Division's history. They had bridged the gulf of mystery that separated them from the men and women who lived where they now dwelt... [They]...learned the story of our Division. We do thank God for our vitality. We do look up...Let the new-born Dartford Division prosper.

Deficit Blamed on Misuse of Authority and Procedural Irregularities

Despite attendance figures of thirty to fifty thousand, the Pageant and Industrial Exhibition ran up a 'heavy deficit'. This is clear from correspondence between J.J. Hurtley and William Russell, the Organising Secretary for the Pageant; J.J. Hurtley and

Frank Lascelles, the Pageant Master; and between J.J. Hurlley and suppliers' (DA/AC/44, Kent History and Library Centre).

On the 4th August, 1932 William Russell submitted a preliminary statement of the financial position of the Pageant to J.J. Hurlley, the Town Clerk, in which he reported 'what would appear to be, after we have paid entertainment tax, a loss of some £297. 9s. 4d. Mr. Russell wrote that he although he did not wish to continue he was willing to attend one or two days a week to clear up the affairs of the Committee. He closes by stating that he did not 'think there is any purpose in attending a meeting of yourself and the representative of the Express Printing works at 10.30 a.m. this morning as I have already indicated the items which, in my opinion, should be reconsidered'.

The Town Clerk communicated that all further expenditure had to be approved by the Finance Committee, or in an emergency, by himself, as Chair. Considerable 'unauthorised' expenditure had been incurred and a Sub-Committee had been appointed to deal with 'outstanding accounts'. He was on leave for a month from the next day, Mr. Russell was leaving Saturday next, and Mr. S. Keyes was the acting secretary. Mr. Hurlley regretted the inconvenience but trusted that Mr. Dennington, (to whom the Town Clerk wrote, Da/AC/44), would appreciate the delay 'which must necessarily take place in clearing up the accounts'. William Russell attributes the loss to low takings at the gate due to one or all of the following reasons: threatening weather conditions, inaccessibility of Hall Place, extreme difficulties of transport, and general depressed conditions of the neighbourhood.

A statement by J. Spencer (12th September 1932) to the Chairman and members of the Executive Committee of the Pageant records more discord. Writing on behalf of the Publicity Committee he had found items in the accounts upon which members of the committee could not agree and for which they could therefore not accept liability. No orders were passed by the Publicity Committee unless they were funded. There was evidently insufficient communication between the Publicity Committee and the Secretary. He had had to emphasise the necessity of this consultation.

The account for printing included large numbers of items for other committees over which they had no control. He complains that orders for plans, performers' directions, and sundry items ordered on behalf of other committees were charged to the Publicity Committee. Mr. Spencer listed other charges assigned incorrectly to his committee or

which went ahead without the permission of the Publicity Committee. He wrote that orders for plans, performers' directions, and sundry items ordered on behalf of other committees were charged to the Publicity Committee.

Mr. Spencer pointed out that Members of the Publicity Committee had on more than one occasion taken exception to the attitude of the Secretary regarding instructions issued by the Committee. He points out that although anxious to serve the Committee, the Secretary 'was also to a large extent subject to the rulings and decisions of the Pageant Master, which occasionally were contrary to the instructions of other authorised Committees'.

Mr. Spencer continues more cheerfully by emphasising that 'Despite the fact that a heavy deficit has been incurred, the members of the Publicity Committee are of opinion that the Pageant more than justified itself, and the great good which is apparent everywhere in bringing all classes of people together in friendship, is a tremendous asset in the present difficult times' He concludes by declaring that:

...I wish to assure those responsible for the Pageant, that the one thought uppermost in the minds of the Publicity Committee, was to make the Exhibition and Pageant the great success it undoubtedly was, as a result of our efforts.

J.J. Hurtley wrote to G.F. Stringer, Clerk of the Metropolitan Water Board (on the 27th September 1932) regretting that ... 'Unfortunately the Pageant was not a financial success. In fact, we have a deficit of over £1,000' and that nearly all their creditors had cancelled their accounts or 'made allowances' of between 15 to 50 per cent. He asks for Stringer's assistance in excusing payment (of £6. 3s. 9d). This would be appreciated, assisting 'the endeavour which is being made to lighten the call upon the guarantors'.

J.J. Hurtley complained by letter to the Council to Frank Lascelles (12th October, 1932) writing that the Finance Committee were 'astonished' at what they described as an 'enormous number of unauthorised commitments which have been made'. They had been negotiating with creditors for reductions resulting 10% to 50% rebates. There would be 'agitation' for the financial result of the Pageant to be made public though he had concluded that this could be delayed further. He proposed that the Balance Sheet should be published, 'if possible by the end of the present month'.

Frank Lascelles was owed around £88 and J.J. Hurlley wrote ‘ I am directed to ask if you would be good enough to agree to a payment of £50, in order that it can be stated that you participated with others, in agreeing to a rebate of approximately 12%. J.J. Hurlley signed somewhat peremptorily with ‘I shall be glad to hear from you’ and as ‘Clerk to the Council’.

Comment: The communication between the Publicity Committee and the Secretary seems to have been inadequate, and the various protagonists assign blame for the deficit which was an outcome of the Pageant. Mr. Russell seems to have had conflicting responsibilities assigned to him which therefore caused difficulties.

‘Unhappy Voices’

The *KT* (16th September) asked ‘The Pageant Choir – Should it be carried on?’ A Captain Waterman had said that ‘he knew they wished to help the Pageant spirit going’. He felt that rather than pulling together it was pulling apart. Under a heading ‘Unhappy Voices’ the Countess of Limerick is reported as having been accused of getting something out of the Pageant. And under ‘Notes of the week’: ‘The pity of it is that the proposal to form the new choir has aroused such profound bitterness and regret’. Frank Clarke did not like the way it had been handled.

Wide Awake Dartford gave a more positive description of ‘Winding up the Pageant’ (1933,10). Mr. Hurlley had acted ‘so ably’ as *Chairman of the Finance Committee*. Frank Clarke placed the blame for the delay in presenting the financial statement⁵³ elsewhere. It was due to ‘a difference in opinion with the Excise authorities in the matter of the Entertainment Tax’. A surplus of £22 8s. 2d. was shown. Mr. Hurlley pointed out that this was the ‘direct outcome’ of ‘generous donations’ received.

Public Memories

⁵³ Expenditure:- Grandstand, preparation of ground, etc.’ £1,002 19s. 8d.; marquees, £172 5s. 0d.; lighting, £213 5s. 2d.; orchestra and music, £263 5s. 7d.; materials for costumes, properties, etc., £351 3s. 11d.; Pageant Master, £250 0s. 0d.; Secretary and staff, £213 6s. 5d.; office expenses, £242 12s. 8d.; advertising, £582 13s. 3d.; transport, £144 18s. 0d., printing, £1,117 8s. 8d.

Seventy-five years later The Pageant was recalled only positively. Here are several, comments gathered by organisers of a repeat *Pageant at Hall Place* in 2007 (by kind permission of Hall Place, Bexley):

I came to the pageant with local school children. I was only five at the time so I came with my mother who was their teacher. My father was in the pageant as a retainer. I believe he was the Duke of York. My cousin was also in the play. She was his queen. They were in the Henry the fifth episode.'

School children gathered along a winding path to look like the Thames. Old Father Thames was played and the children swayed like waves.

Lady Limerick opened it. I was in the parade dressed-up. Most of the schools in Kent took part. Lady Limerick was wearing a fur coat and a big hat.

I was ten at the time ... The Pageant was the highlight of my childhood. Until then Hall Place mansion and grounds had been the home of Lady Limerick and not open to the public.... We were told then that it had been the home of the Black Prince. The actual procession was an added enjoyment, which gave me a day I will never forget. Unfortunately the next day for the real thing it poured with rain.

Comment: A local pageant to promote manufacturing would not work today and in this sense a rather approximate connection can be inferred between the then 'mode of accumulation' and a 'mode of regulation' featuring enlarged local authority powers. One can imagine a causal connection between large scale workforces and this large-scale public gathering. It might be possible to argue too that Dartford's habit for large gatherings is a ritual hang-over from its once familiar large-scale factories – employing thousands in the case of Burroughs Wellcome/GSK and nearby Vickers. But the problem with this kind of neo-Marxian regulationist argument is that large gatherings – for example on *Dartford Heath*, had preceded large scale manufacture. And the protests against the byelaws restricting small traders drew large crowds too. So there is no clear link between, say enterprise-scale and ritual-scale.

It is clear that the Pageant and Industrial Exhibition had the direct backing of the local manufacturing élite and there is good evidence that this élite was pressing for the expansion of state responsibility for a very wide range of urban goods and services and the authority to provide them (for example Kidd and Hesketh's support for the 1902 Improvement Act and for every imaginable service expansion in health, transport, recreation and education). Direct 'instrumental' politicking by big manufacturers could be linked to their political redundancy as the state assumed all the responsibilities they had demanded of it. Thus, an intelligible link between 'accumulation' and 'regulation'

is probably clearer from the formation of the UDC to the outbreak of World War II than it was earlier. One could say that advanced manufacturers were successful in setting an 'improvement' agenda; but Bexley was a mostly residential district, Lady Limerick was an aristocrat and among the Organising and Episode committees showed wider 'representative' participation.

It would be quite difficult for regulationists (after Jessop) to fit this and evidence (below) which demonstrates Dartford's continuing propensity for large gatherings on the one hand, with its post-manufacturing 'mode of accumulation' and return to small workforces (in services) on the other. The responsibilities which Dartford UDC has today are not *that* different to those which the ADI pressed for, though some of these are effected by other authorities (education, health, highways and emergency services). If Jessop was correct, then Dartford UDC should be re-making itself, now that the local economy is dominated not by large manufacturing exports, but by wholesale and retail distribution mostly of imported goods. This is not the case. Indeed, Dartford is one of very few authorities *still* building public housing for rent.

The two hours of raging Council disagreement in Crayford is interesting. It seems to have been a mixture of ethical rejection (or suspicion) of the objectives of the *Pageant* and confounding emotions about a failure to invite participation in a proper manner (that is an accusation of poor ritual practice). The incoherent fury which meant politicians lost sight of what they had voted on, I suspect has a more profound cause: inadequate interdiction between the sacred and profane. What is striking about the *Pageant* is its loftiness and ritual invocation of so many historical spirits, Wat Tyler included. As neo-Durkheimians sometimes jest; don't worry about the profane, it is the *sacred* which we should be scared of.

A failure to encircle a sacred past with a *cult* that was adequate to its safe containment may have been the reason for such furious discord. A seemingly innocuous question over an historic figure like 'Where was Wat Tyler from?' (and over the 'the facts'), becomes a much more divisive 'Who does Wat Tyler belong to?! ... 'How *dare they* act as priests over *our* legacy?' Any ritual risks animating dissent and this may explain both the organisers' insistence that the event was strictly 'non-political' (preserving its sacred quality) and the critics' suspicion that it was political.

The Book of Words

The same portrait of Frank Lascelles is included as in the *Souvenir and Programme*. This is followed by an advertisement for 'Pageantry and Peace'. The flowery language of the 'promotion' discusses the manifestation of Patriotism from the smallest scale of the individual to the Family, Tribe, City State, Nation, then Empire. A rather convoluted link is attempted between Pageants depicting different forms of Patriotism at different times in history and *The League of Nations* which exists 'to express and give effect to World Patriotism'. Patriotism had in different Ages meant different things, it is claimed: in the individualism of early Man, and the narrow circle of the Family, and then Tribe, then in the City State, Nation and still greater Empire. There had been progression in the nature of allegiance. References to force and violence (as well as to cheerfulness) are found in the Episodes.

Some details are the same as in the *Souvenir Programme* and the *Member's Foreword* is repeated. The *Pageant Ball* is advertised, and the Episodes listed⁵⁴. An advertisement for the Bull Hotel claims that 'Queen Elizabeth stayed on several occasions'.

The Prologue is described as being adapted from the works of Spenser and Pope, 'omitt[ing] words if necessary. Clio announces that the audience will 'behold the coloured tapestry of Time unfold'. The Thames, Cray and the Darent are invoked. The 'Spirit of the Changing Year' invokes The Thames as friendly, and issues commands to Promise and Summer, Bounty and Winter. The Prologue ends with Clio anticipating the future where 'Unbounded Thames shall flow for all mankind'. Clio anticipates a time when the Roman Empire sinks, when Saxons and a Norman Duke vow peace, when a 'valiant Prince brings home his gentle bride', 'when holy women prove their holiness' and 'strife and turmoil past them by unhurt', and then 'comes in view – the pomp and power of Kings' 'Mid people's joy, and grief, and revelry'.

The Pageant Episodes are set out and I confine my attention to the Episode Four, the Dartford Episode which addresses class and Wat Tyler, written by Miss E.M. Jenkins, B.A. Scene I depicts Visitation of Dartford Priory by the Bishop. Interrupting dull

⁵⁴ Introduction; then Episode I Scene I, withdrawal of the Roman Legion AD 350-416, Scene II the Battle of Creccanford; Episode II is Kentishmen dictating terms to Duke William. AD 1066. (Scenes I and II); Episode III The Black Prince's Honeymoon at Hall Place. AD 1381; Episode IV Visitation to Dartford Priory (Scene I) and Wat Tyler Rebellion AD 1381 (Scene II); Episode V Scene I is The Triumphal Procession of Henry V along Watling Street on his return from Agincourt, 22nd November, 1415; Scene II is Henry V's Funeral Procession along Watling Street on the way from France to London, 1422. Episode VI is Henry VIII and May Day Scene, AD 1515, then a Grand Finale of all Performers

village life, different forms of revelry attract inhabitants from surrounding villages. A Miracle Play is enacted then the Bishop and his entourage arrives. Scene II refers to Wat Tyler rebellion which took place on 'open space near Priory, Dartford' with words taken from 'Contemporary Literature'. 'Personae Dramatis' include Seneschal, The Prioress; the Abbott of Lesnes, Tax Collector; Wat Tyler, his wife and daughter; Men of Erith, Essex and Surrey, and Dartford crowds.

An 'Historical Note' states that on 6th June 1381 four bands of rebels arrived at Dartford, after plundering and pillaging the house of Thomas de Shardelowe of Dartford 'bringing thence records of their hateful servitude'. The men of Erith and Essex join them and the Abbott of Lesnes is forced to march with them. Other high-born individuals were forced to join as well; Thomas de Cobham, Sheriff of the County, Thomas Truitt, Knight, and John of Farningham.

The episode explores injustice, class conflict and conqueror versus conquered. The scene opens with the Seneschal telling the peasants to get back to work, then retreating under a volley of bricks. The Tax Collector assaults Wat Tyler's daughter but she is rescued and the peasants vow to stand together. Wat Tyler enters with others. On hearing what happened to his daughter Wat Tyler stabs the Tax Collector. Other gather around Wat Tyler and Abel Ker and the men of Erith and Kent arrive. Talk becomes aggressive. The men of Surrey arrive and their leader vows they shall no longer be bondsmen to the Prioress. The calm Prioress directs them to Seneshal. The crowd grows hostile, but Dartford men interfere and Wat Tyler steps forward, proclaiming that the wrongs will be addressed to the King. One of the band vows they shall 'stand together'.

The Knights are arrested by the rebels. The Abbott of Lesnes pledges to lead them to the King. Abel Ker voices doubts about the reliability of an abbott's pledge. Documents, 'vile proofs of their servitude' are burnt and Wat Tyler and followers depart to speak with the King. A Soothsayer urges Wat Tyler stay since 'Who takes a sword shall by the same sword perish'.

Comment: The representation of Dartford as gathering place for entertainment and large-scale protest is interesting, though we do not know how this depiction was arrived at by writer or Episode Committee.

This account of The Pageant and Industrial Exhibition is lengthy and detailed, because each turn of events – particularly shifts in mood – is here treated as contributing, incrementally, to ‘the local sacred’. It has been difficult to determine where to start, but place-depictions, including scripted ones like this which will have dated since they were enacted, provide an opportunity for comparison with earlier events and later (and moods) and other (quieter) locations. Anticipating later discussion, it will be seen that Wat Tyler and mass revelry is remembered in Dartford while Uxbridge’s market toll riot and Chartist movement, described later, is (mostly) forgotten. How far this difference is explained by the past importance of advanced manufacturing enterprises in Dartford is difficult to gauge. Their active sponsorship of The Pageant probably did something to sustain the habit of large-scale gathering in public memory.

These events do appear to have mobilised local feelings on a large scale, by – I suggest – invoking the local sacred. The local sacred is difficult to articulate immediately but was given form in several imaginative ways, most of which have been re-enacted at the many large gatherings since then.

Nevertheless, the Pageant and Charter Parade probably represent the peaking of élite authority, and, in any case, they had worked intensively to get the UDC to expand its ambit, meaning a transfer of local authority from the élite to the Local Authority. Smith argues that élite efforts contributed to the ‘relative autonomy’ of the local authority. These celebrations suggest distinctively *affective and ‘religious’* underpinnings to the ‘mode of regulation’ with a wide-range of social sponsorship. (Even so not everyone was affected nor gave their blessing to the *Pageant*.)

For neo-Durkheimians, this repository of local affective techniques deserves special attention – and it is significant that a propensity to gather and march survives today. Durkheim’s discusses how ‘representative’ or ‘commemorative’ rites arouse emotions ([1912] 1915, 371-376) by referencing tradition, ancestors, using dramatic devices and ‘glorious souvenirs which are made to live again’ before the eyes of the participants ... [giving] them a feeling of strength and confidence’ (375). He claims that all rites have the same fundamental function: ‘the means by which the social group reaffirms itself periodically’ (387).

Perri 6 has proposed (6.P, 2007) a taxonomy of rites recognising that different time-orientations elicit different affects and which rites hold us accountable to our

commitments (for example, ‘past perpetuating rituals’ including ‘commemorative rites’). According to Perri 6 commemorative rites are ‘past orientated’ and ‘bind [...] by perpetuating accountability to past institutions’ (2007, 48-9). They ‘fulfil commitments’ to *past* ‘future oriented rites which dedicate us to ‘future action by present action of commitment’. The affect produced by these ‘definitive’ rites is ‘solemnly or reflectively effervescent’. 6’s insightful taxonomy dissects the relationship of *time*, different ritual forms and their creation of affected accountability, proscription and prescription. However, though both ‘historic’ and ‘future orientated’, the Pageants of the 1930’s were not especially about commitment and accountability. They reference real or mythic past events, but the affect is *zeal* more than solemnity; enthusiasm, even effervescence. These appear to have been high-energy gatherings resulting from many persons gathered at once, with that potential for ‘positive-’ and ‘negative energy’.

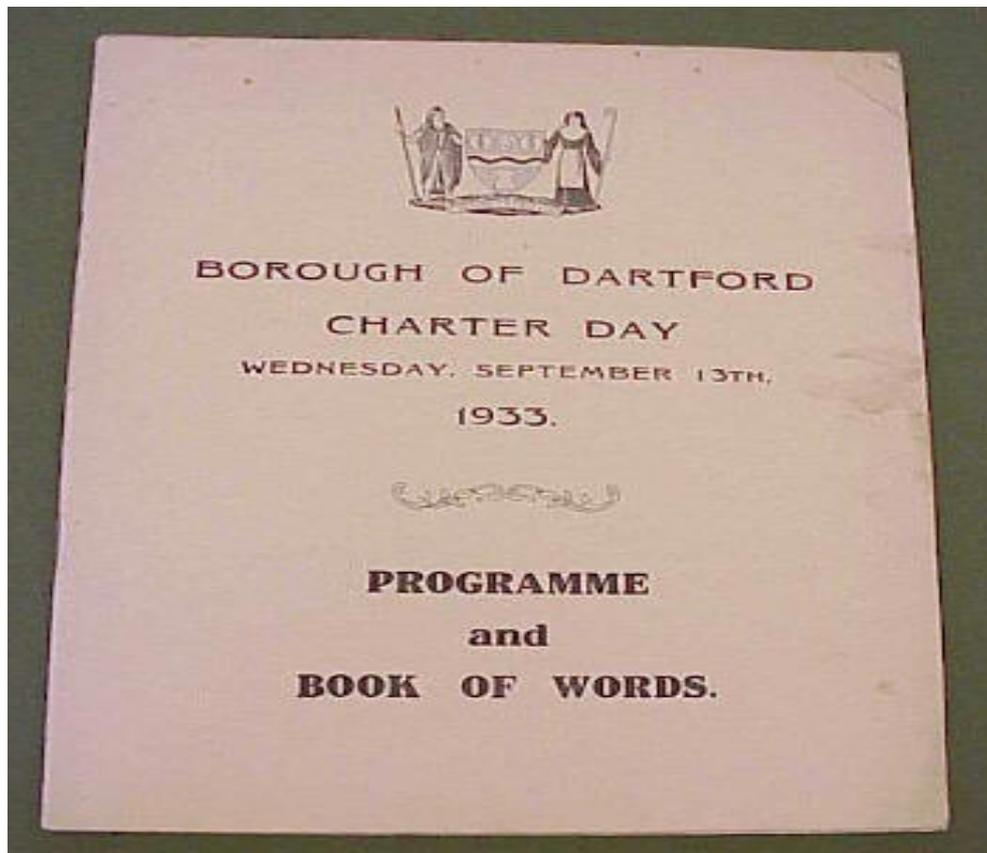


Figure 7: The Charter Day Programme and Book of Words (mounted). Re-photographed by the author. (Courtesy Dartford Borough Museum)

The image above (figure 7) shows the Charter Day Programme and Book of Words for the 1932 Pageant, which appears to have been derived from the 1932 Pageant.

Dartford's Incorporation and Charter Day Celebrations

I next describe the events leading up to the incorporation.

The trajectory towards Incorporation

The Dartford Town Archive (n.d.) outlines Dartford's trajectory towards a Charter suggesting that without a written Charter of Incorporation 'approved by the monarch' then 'no town can call itself a proper town'. The article considers it 'amazing' that Dartford did not acquire a Charter of Incorporation until 1933.

According to the writer the campaign for charter and borough status began in 1856, unsuccessfully. Apparently, in 1902 feelings were strong that the town should seek a Charter, but the idea was rejected. Again, in 1919 the idea was supported but did not come to fruition. However, the Dartford Traders' Association 'took the initiative and passed a resolution in favour of a town charter'. According to the Archive, in 1926, 3,626 of the Dartford householders signed a petition for charter which was presented to the King through Privy Council and an enquiry was held. A 74% turn-out in support of an honorary change strikes one as remarkable.

The Petition, submitted by the Urban District Council of Dartford, (1930) sets out the town's achievements and attributes in detail and depth including diverse achievements stretching back to 'long before Roman times' (Keyes, 1938, 4-7). These attributes included:

- the 1814 Act for lighting, Watching and Improving the Town of Dartford
 - Wat Tyler 'champion of the people's rights' who lived in Dartford 'from where he led his insurrection against the Poll Tax'
 - The Local Board of Health, elected in 1850
 - 'that there are 480 street lamps in the district'
 - 'that the District Council, under the Electric Lighting Order, 1898, supplies the district with electricity for public and private lighting, power and traction.
- (Keyes, 1938, 4-7)

The Inquiry

An inquiry was held on February 1st, 1933 as a result of the inquiry in the Council Chamber, Dartford. The inspector toured the town and visited some 'important' factories.

On 5th April, J.J. Hurlley, Clerk to the Council, received a letter from the Privy Council, 'requesting that a draft Charter should be prepared and forwarded for their consideration' (Keyes, 1938, 19).

Dartford's Charter of Incorporation was approved by His Majesty the King on 8th August, 1933, Keyes (1938, 19-32). From Keyes – a contemporary observer – the elaborate and large-scale celebrations can be distilled:

Having discussed the trajectory towards the obtaining of the Charter I now discuss the Charter Day Celebrations.

The 1933 Charter Day Celebrations

Arrival of the Dignitaries

The Lord Mayor of London arrived at 2.30 p.m. with the Charter at the UDC boundary on Dartford Heath, met by a civic procession from town, including A.G. Leney, (High Sheriff of Kent); Alderman A.J. Penney, J.P., and Mrs. Penney (Charter Mayor and Mayoress); Councillor Alec Webb, J.P. The Deputy Charter Mayor and Mayoress; J.J. Hurlley (Charter Town Clerk); Frank Clarke, (M.P., J.P., K.C.C.) and all Council Members and Town Officials.

The dignitaries arrive at 'the borough boundary closely followed by' the Lord Mayor (Alderman Sir Percy Greenaway) and his company (Keyes, 1938, 20).

A brief welcoming ceremony takes place which includes the High Sheriff of Kent introducing the Charter Mayor and Mayoress to the Lord Mayor. Six trumpeters in the 'Guard of Honour' sound 'a general salute of welcome'.

The procession re-forms and enters the town led by two mounted police officers, then Chief Officers of the Council, Members, Deputy Charter Mayor and Mayoress, the Vice-Chairman of the Council, the Charter Mayor and Mayoress, the Mace-Bearer with Mace. Prominent civic leaders follow; finally, the Lord Mayor of London and the Lady

Mayoress 'attended by their Sword-Bearer, Common Cryer, and Sergeant-at-Arms, bearing the emblems of their ancient offices'.

Photographs in Keyes (1938) show streets packed many persons deep. According to the Dartford Archive these celebrations were the best ever held in the town and the day was declared a public holiday. The Archive account describes how flags and bunting decorated the town

Keyes (1938, 20-21) describes the arrival at the War Memorial in Market Square of the procession. The turn-out was so large that police struggled to hold back the crowds. At the War memorial 'an open square' was formed consisting of approximately sixty members of the Dartford British Legion, the Old Contemptibles and the Kent Squadron of the Imperial Overseas Legion of Frontiersmen. The Lord Mayor laid a wreath at the Memorial with the new Borough Arms and Motto worked into it, with 'In Remembrance, from the new Borough of Dartford, September, 1933.'

The procession continues to the Rialto Cinema, Lowfield Street held in reserve in case of bad weather. All eight hundred and forty-five seats are taken by Dartfordians who manage to obtain places. They are entertained by popular tunes including 'The Sheik of Araby'. 'Cheers and applause' greet the Lord Mayor's retinue.

'Simple and dignified ceremonies' followed, then the Charter Mayor presented an 'Address of Welcome to the Lord Mayor' within which the Lord Mayor's visit to the Industrial Exhibition was recalled. The Chairman of the Council, Alec Webb, and J.J. Hurlley, Clerk, were signatories.

After Prayers led by the Bishop '...occurred what is probably the most important event in the history of Dartford' (1938, 23) when the Charter Mayor was handed by the Lord Mayor the Charter of Incorporation 'which had been graciously granted by His Majesty the King to the Municipal Borough of Dartford'. Keyes was evidently awestruck.

Unbounded Public Enthusiasm

Rain was followed by sunshine. The most 'spectacular event was when the Lord Mayor and City of London officials passed 'with thousands thronging the route' cheering heartily. There was 'tumultuous applause' (1938, 25). The procession was two miles long with a police car leading the way ahead of the Dartford Town Band. More than

eighty decorated vehicles constituted a big proportion of the procession, in addition to thirty-one cars containing the Lord Mayor, the Charter Mayor and mayors of neighbouring Districts. Representatives of various institutions connected with Dartford processed in 'full regalia'.

A banquet was held at the end of the day for principal participants. Alderman Penney is 'received with "Kentish fire"⁵⁵ in proposing the Loyal Toast' (1938, 27). The Lord Mayor proposed 'the Borough of Dartford', impressed 'by the progressive nature of Dartford Urban District Council' and the 'wonderful history' of the town. He alludes to Wat Tyler, Applegarth and the town's industries including the then new grease-proof paper mill.

The pageant play 'Dartford in the Making' a Fireworks

A pageant play 'Dartford in the Making' was performed in Central Park that evening, written by Arthur Botten, produced by Norman Paine. Norman Paine delivered the narrative over tableaux scenes to orchestral backing associated with each period depicted (Keyes, 1933, 29): 'The Stone Age', 'Peasants' Revolt', 'Death of Wat Tyler', 'Visit of Queen Elizabeth' and 'Today'. Different local organisations were responsible for different episodes.

At 10.30pm. a 'grand display' of fireworks took place, but rain stops the proposed late-night open-air dancing which is replaced by indoor dancing at different venues. The next day a tea was held for the 'old folks' of the town when six- to seven-hundred were entertained at the Drill Hall. On the Friday, three receptions were held simultaneously at the Wedgwood Hall of the Bull Hotel, the Church Hall Lowfield Street and in the dining hall at J. & E. Hall's works.

The Charter Ball

⁵⁵ *Kentish Fire* is a toast practiced in different ways, including three hand claps repeated three times followed by either one more, or continuous individual applause by all. Its origins are not known with certainty however many sources associate it with anti-Catholic sentiment, specifically, opposition to the *Catholic Emancipation Act* (1829). I do not know which variant was used in this case. However I infer from Keyes that everybody involved on this occasion would have known how to perform it. *Kentish Fire* had been adopted as a *Masonic* toast. I note that rituals can have 'high' and 'low' versions. It appears from the attempt to ban *Guy Fawkes Night* (reported above) that anti-Catholic sentiment was especially strong in Dartford and that the ban was imposed in anticipation of a *riot*. The 'high' version is suggestive of *legitimate use of violence* far removed from the 'low' version (rioting). Both *Kentish Fire* and *riotous assembly* could both be treated as invocations of the sacred, the first containing its violent potential through careful 'interdictions', the second releasing it with dangerous consequences.

On Saturday a *Charter Ball* was held in the *Bull Hotel*, the Church Hall, Lowfield Street, and the Dining Hall of Messrs. J. & E. Hall's works. The Incorporation celebrations seem to have ended with a 'Charter Peal' of *Stedman's Triples* (5,040 changes in three hours) on the Parish Church bells, on the same day (32). Keyes states that this peal is commemorated on a tablet in the belfry unveiled on February 9th, 1934, which is surmounted by the *Borough Arms*.

Comment: The *Incorporation* celebrations, like the *Pageant*, were designed to be inclusive of all ages, classes and businesses. There were many elements, most practiced before, but linked into a large-scale event over four or five days.

The emotions the celebrations animated are out of proportion to the new powers which *Borough* status conferred, for example, I understand, authority to appoint aldermen and to borrow money at lower interest rates). The celebrations do not seem to have been associated with any attempts to expand the scope and reach of the Borough's services - that is to alter Dartford's 'mode of regulation'.

The Inquiry, which preceded the granting of *Borough* status, like the celebrations, was used as an opportunity to rehearse past glories including the 1932 *Pageant* and to link these with the present. The celebration of past celebrations is pertinent. The wide range of sacred and secular musical accompaniments is interesting; all are uplifting.

As with the 1932 *Pageant*, 'progress' and 'history' were synthesised. Trevithick's centenary was marked by a memorial service at Holy Trinity Church shortly afterwards (23rd April 1933). Though he only lived and worked in Dartford in his last year of life the opportunity for another celebration was taken.

The evidence suggests a growing local authority capability to lead public sentiment rather than respond to it. This capability developed parallel to the UDC's growing array of powers, which it had sought or accepted readily; that is moral- and statutory-regulation were in-step. As Smith argues the increases in statutory authority had been campaigned for vigorously by the town's advanced manufacturers - firm believers in the welfare state. His argument is that the increase in local authority responsibilities contributed to the 'political redundancy' of the local élite, whose companies were in any case to be absorbed by larger joint-stock enterprises, enabling local authorities to enjoy 'relative autonomy'. I see his argument, but rather than detail public policy in Dartford

my focus will be the ritual practices which also outlived Dartford's big business élite. I will be looking for evidence that, not only the autonomous legal powers, but also the public enthusiasm which the élite also promoted survived their 'eclipse'.

These events do appear to have mobilised local feelings on a large scale, by – we think – invoking the local sacred. The local sacred is difficult to articulate immediately but was given form in several imaginative ways, most of which have been re-enacted at the many large gatherings since then.

Nevertheless, the Pageant and Charter Parade probably represent the peaking of élite authority, and, in any case, they had worked intensively to get the UDC to expand its ambit, meaning a transfer of local authority from the elite to the Local Authority. Smith argues that elite efforts contributed to the 'relative autonomy' of the local authority. These celebrations suggest distinctively *affective and 'religious'* underpinnings to the 'mode of regulation' with a wide-range of social sponsorship. (Even so not everyone was affected nor gave their blessing to the *Pageant*.)

For neo-Durkheimians, this repository of local affective techniques deserves special attention – and it is significant that a propensity to gather and march survives today. Durkheim's discusses how 'representative' or 'commemorative' rites arouse emotions ([1912], 1915:371-376) by referencing tradition, ancestors, using dramatic devices and 'glorious souvenirs which are made to live again' before the eyes of the participants ... [giving] them a feeling of strength and confidence'. He claims that all rites have the same fundamental function: 'the means by which the social group reaffirms itself periodically' (387).

Perri 6 has proposed (2007) a taxonomy of rites recognising that different time-orientations elicit different affects to which rites hold us accountable, including 'past perpetuating rituals' including 'commemorative rites'. Commemorative rites 'bind...by perpetuating accountability to past institutions' (2007, 48-9). They 'fulfil commitments' to *past* 'future oriented rites which dedicate us to 'future action by present action of commitment'. The affect produced by these 'definitive' rites is 'solemnly or reflectively effervescent'. 6's insightful taxonomy dissects the relationship of *time*, different ritual forms and their creation of affected accountability, proscription and prescription. However, though both 'historic' and 'future orientated', the Pageants of the 1930's were not especially about commitment and accountability.

They reference real or mythic past events, but the affect is zeal more than solemnity; enthusiasm, even effervescence. These appear to have been high-energy gatherings resulting from many persons gathered at once, with that potential for ‘positive’ and ‘negative energy’.

‘Enjoy yourself furiously’: Dartford Festivals 1936-present

I have presented evidence indicating Dartford’s propensity for public discourse, mass celebration and frank disagreement. I continue by providing examples from the post-war period in which regulation theorists acknowledge (but tend not to explain) the ‘relative autonomy’ of the ‘local state’; that is the relative independence of policy-making from interest and interest articulation. There is considerable evidence of this in Smith (1984), especially where policies appear *before* a constituency for them has come into existence and policies which are diametric to those interests which *had* been expressed.

My sense of it is that there is some relationship between on the one hand, what Flynn called ‘the infrastructure of consensus’ (mechanisms which elicit post-hoc support for pre-formed, that is ‘relatively autonomous’, policies, or which quieten opposition), and, on the other hand, public local ritual repertoires and public emotions. But it is difficult to distil what the link is between the ‘regulation’ of public feeling through rites and ‘regulation’ of interests using statutory powers to make and carry out, for example industrial and commercial development policies. I might say that confidence in making and effecting policies grows with every successful ritual elicitation of public feelings, especially since policy makers need animating too.

Again, there is far more evidence than can be reported here and this cornucopia is itself confirmation of local enthusiasm for public events among not just masters of ceremonies but also among news reporters, museum curators and historians. Indeed, the images which follow next illustrate how celebration of past celebrations is typical of Dartford.

Celebration of Past Celebrations

Dartford's First Carnival, 18th-20th June, 1936

The 1932 Pageant and 1933 Incorporation Parade described above meant that Dartford's Masters of Ceremonies had a wide-ranging repertoire to draw on. Dartford initiated its annual Carnival (today called the Dartford Festival) in 1936. It was dedicated to raising money for the Livingstone Hospital which survives due to strong local mobilisation against recent hospital closure proposals which is unsurprising (though the service it provides was contracted-out to Virgin Care⁵⁶). The dedication of the Carnival to a sacred purpose (health) is noted. A local historian (Francine Payne, n.d.) comments that the hospital was voluntary with running costs covered by patients' fees and donations. According to Payne the hospital was named Dr David Livingston 'at the suggestion of Mr Silas Burroughs (of Burroughs and Wellcome), the hospitals principle benefactor'. The foundation stone was laid by Mr H.M. Stanley, the explorer. The hospital became part of the NHS in 1948. According to Payne, despite attempts to close it, public opinion that it was a 'people's own' hospital frustrated plans and it carried on as a 'GP hospital and it continues as a local hospice.

A jester welcomed spectators and participants to the Dartford and District Carnival. The anonymous preface (probably written by Frank Clarke) commands the reader to 'enjoy yourself furiously... For three days Queen Carnival will reign supreme. Prepare to meet Her Majesty. Revel as you have never revelled before.' Events featured included a procession; 'a baby show'; 'a huge fun fair'; 'illuminations'; 'fireworks'; 'a Carnival Market', 'and a 'Mounted Gymkhana'.

Keyes writes (1938, 809) that the day began with a 'grand procession over a mile long, of decorated cars, tradesmen's motor lorries and horse drawn vehicles, and many fine tableaux including some humorous representations, which accompanied the Carnival Queen through the main streets to Central Park...'. A special service was conducted in Central Park. On 21st June the Chatham and Dartford Songsters ... sang the "Hallelujah Chorus"'. The hospital raised even more than the £1,000 hoped for, raising £1,594.

⁵⁶ <http://www.kentononline.co.uk/dartford/news/virgincare-49129>

The Dangerous Sacred: Frank Clarke affected by Nazi hospitality

Probably the best illustration of the dangerous forces that ritual invocation of the sacred can animate is Frank Clarke's enthusiasm for Germany's road construction programme under the Nazi Party (file 923.52, Dartford Library). He joined a large legation from several UK local authorities as guest of the German *Minster for Roads* and arrived back enthused:

The Kentish Times of the 24th September, 1937 reported that Frank Clarke would visit Germany as Vice-Chairman of the Transport Committee of the House of Commons and as a member of the Road and Bridges Committee of Kent County Council⁵⁷.

The legation would consist of MPs, Peers, highway committee Chairs, road construction companies and other interested parties. Arrangements were made by the Automobile Association and Royal Automobile Club.

The article is lengthy, and I summarise the logistical arrangements for the delegation. These include being entertained by the Lord Mayor of Berlin; visiting the site of the Olympic Games; lunching with the German Association of Automobile Industries, having dinner with the Lord Mayor of Leipzig who would accompany them a performance of *Tristan and Isolde*. They would also inspect the new 'motor roads'. They would travel to Munich-Salzburg motorway and inspect construction works. There would be a reception and dinner followed by symphony concert in Baden-Baden.

Frank Clarke reports back

Frank Clarke returned with qualified enthusiasm. He reports on the visit in *The Kentish Times* (15th October 1937) within an article entitled 'Human Elements in the Totalitarian State: What German Autobahnen Have to Teach':

Frank Clarke pays tribute to his 'companions on the trip, the Chairman of the Kent Roads and Bridges Committee, including an Alderman, the Kent County Surveyor, and the MP for Faversham, Mr. Maitland. They travelled new roads from early till late and attended civic dinners together.

They had been guests in Berlin at the 'historic open-air demonstration addressed by Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini'. It had been 'a memorable spectacle of organised sincerity'. Their coaches flew Union Jacks and 'tumultuous ovation saluted our

⁵⁷ The following German place-names spellings are as used by *The Kentish Times*

national emblem. The cheers of the people were a collective demonstration of what we met everywhere – the greatest friendship towards England’, though ‘rushing from town to town’ as an official delegation did not give ‘the most complete opportunities for forming estimates of popular opinion’. Clarke considered Hitler had the ‘devotion’ of the working classes. The minority were ‘not so captivated’. ‘The upper classes in education and financial wealth... acquiesced in the loyalty of the majority much as the intelligentsia in the British Socialist Party coalesces with socialist Trade Unionism in the Labour Party’.

It was national discipline rather than National Socialism which impressed him: the ‘obedient affection of the working-classes towards the Fuhrer’ was ‘personal loyalty untrammelled by political doctrines’.

Under the heading ‘The Dignity of Labour’ Clarke enthuses that ‘

Lounging and lipsticks are absent. Everywhere there is an ambition for physical fitness, and mental culture in a national setting. The league of youth is amazing in its strength of mind and body dedicated to the State. Not less noticeable is the dignity of the German workmen.

Frank Clarke referred to the ‘dignity of workmen’ at the Labour Camp. The mostly young men ‘moved about with personal pride in their service to the state’. Clarke describes the way that appointment to office was ‘selective’. Office was representative of the Fuhrer, a system ‘exotic to British democracy’. Clarke describes ‘virile’ national unity in which he did not detect ‘seeds of decay’. There was ‘friendship towards the English’ and ‘an infectious reality’.

Celebrations Resume

The Dartford Carnival was staged again annually after the War and without excluding repeats of other formats also recalled for *Hang out the Bunting*. The 1951 celebration in Central Park was partly inspired by the national Festival of Britain held on London’s south bank in the same year. However, unlike the Festival of Britain past and present is evoked here rather than the future.

The Library Centenary Exhibition (1916-2016)

Ever solicitous of ritual, the library marked its Centenary with an exhibition and via this we learned from *The West Kent Advertiser* (1916) how Dartford got its library. ‘[A] small knot of people gathered before the public library about to be opened’. There was a ‘chill wind’ and for that reason the Chair of the Dartford Urban District Council

unlocked the door to the reading room where the ‘formal opening’ was enacted. He and his wife (Mr. and Mrs. Smale), the Chair of the Library Committee, Mr. W.A.Ward, were amongst those present. Everard Hesketh had telegraphed from London: ‘Sorry cannot be present. Must congratulate you on Dartford’s possession of a public library, often attempted, now happily consummated’. Mr. Smale, was ‘heartily thanked for his hospitality to the visitors’. As a frequent visitor, I have been struck by a degree of interest and enthusiasm shown in my research by library and museum staff which I have never quite got used to: a ‘certain something’ re-enacted with every visit suggested by librarian and curators’ responsiveness and engagement. I say this with awareness of anthropologists’ tendency to romanticise places, demonstrated by Arensberg and Kimball’s study of rural Ireland (1968).



Figure 8: Finale of the Historic Pageant, Central Park, Dartford 1951 ‘Hang out the Bunting’, Exhibition, 2011, Dartford Borough Museum. (Courtesy Dartford Borough Museum)

The pond between performers and audience has been drained. We count more than a hundred performers wearing costumes from different periods (Figure 8).

The 1951 celebration in *Central Park*, was partly inspired by the national *Festival of Britain* held on London's south bank in the same year. However, unlike the *Festival of Britain* past and present is evoked here rather than the future.

Figure 9, below shows a float produced for the 1958 Silver Jubilee by a local building company.



Figure 9: *Celebration of Celebrations 1958 Silver Jubilee of Dartford's Charter* (mounted), re-photographed by the author at *Hang out the Bunting*, 2011, Dartford Borough Museum (original photograph from the collection of the late L. Hearn, also permission Dartford Borough Museum).

This float is an ingenious synthesis of past and future. The express purpose of the parade was to celebrate the 1933 *Charter* celebrations, another celebration of past celebrations (described earlier). This painstaking tableau anticipates Dartford's 'space-age' future expressed in boys wearing spacesuits and helmets and a rocket to suggest the town's 'trajectory'. The scene manages to connect the firm's prosaic scaffolding,

bricks, cement bags, wheelbarrow and cement mixer with a future Dartford that has ‘blasted-off’ from planet Earth.

‘Dirty Dartford’, ‘a meta-heuristic’

The following undated rhyme is distinctive for its ambiguity and self-deprecating qualities: ‘Dirty Dartford, Peculiar People, Bury their Dead Above the Steeple’.

Dartfordians are familiar with it though there are several versions including: ‘Dirty Dartford, Peculiar people; Bury their dead above the steeple’; ‘Dirty Dartford, Stuck-up people, put their churchyard above the steeple’, ‘Other versions substitute ‘wicked people’ or ‘stinking people’, ‘queer people’ and ‘filthy people’ .My oldest respondent insisted on ‘stuck-up people’ as authentic, remembering in his childhood:

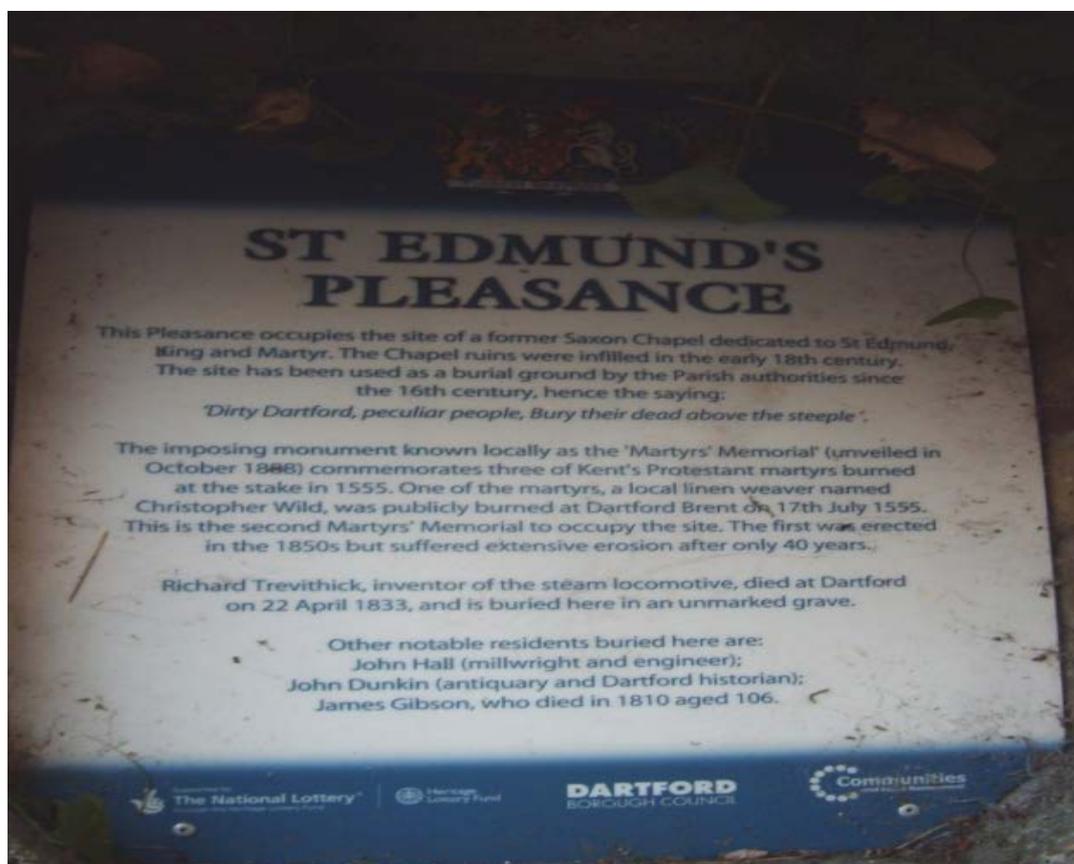


Figure 10: Plaque at the entrance to St. Edmund’s Pleasance Cemetery, reproducing the rhyme, Dirty Dartford. Photographed by the author.

The local history society knows of at least fifteen versions, though there is no written evidence of usage earlier than ‘stuck-up people’ quoted in a 1910 newspaper. A local respondent recalls ‘we always chanted the rhyme as [our family] drove up East Hill and

past the cemetery'. It was about "leaving Dartford behind". All versions make what the neo-Durkheimian sociologist, Perri 6 calls an 'inversion' whereby a 'classification'⁵⁸ is seized on (in this case dislike, disgust and dirt), transmuted and 'used in abuse for use in self-assertion instead' (6, 2011); or as Durkheim states, the 'pure made from the impure'.

That 'Dirty Dartford' is so well-known also suggests to Durkheimians, that it is 'contagious'. *Dirty Dartford* has official status: *Dartford Borough Council* has reproduced it on a plaque at the entrance to the *St. Edmunds Pleasance Burial Ground*. The *Borough* has also reproduced it as part of a post-card series depicting the town's 'heritage trail'.

⁵⁸ 'All known religious beliefs, whether simple or complex, present one common characteristic: they presuppose a classification of all things, real and ideal, of which men think, into two classes or opposed groups, generally designed by two distinct terms which are translated well enough by the words profane and sacred This division of the world into two domains, the one containing all that is sacred, the other all that is profane, is the distinctive trait of religious thought; the beliefs, myths, dogmas and legends are either representations or systems of representations which express the nature of sacred things, the virtues and powers which are attributed to them, or their relations with each other and profane things.' (Durkheim, [1912] 1915, 37)

By turning one's back on the plaque and moving a short distance there is the following view of the 'steeple' (figure 11, below).



Figure 11: Holy Trinity Church from St. Edmund's cemetery photographed by the author.

The poem establishes what locals know: the graveyard is *fractionally* higher than the steeple in the literal sense, topography which qualifies Dartfordians as 'stuck up' East Hill (in the cemetery); knowledge which divides insiders from outsiders to whom what might be *stuck-up*, *dirty* or *stinking* about Dartfordians remains obscure.

Dirty, stinking and wicked are unequivocally derogatory while 'peculiar people'⁵⁹ could mean special, distinguished, unusual, odd, eccentric and different, some of which are positive. It is interesting that the poem cannot be dated positively earlier than 1910, long after St. Edmunds Pleasance was closed to new burials, but shortly after Hesketh's

⁵⁹ *The Peculiar People* were also a strict *Wesleyan Methodist* sect active in North Kent and Essex in the 19th Century, in this case 'peculiar' meaning 'chosen people'.

‘Dirty Dartford’ speech (above). The later cemetery is further over East Hill, probably lower than Holy Trinity’s non-existent ‘steeple’.

Composite Epigram

The verses then are something specific *and* obscure, succinct *and* plastic (attached easily to other phenomena), easy to learn *and* amend, with a ‘punchy’ ending. It is designed for public use by schoolchildren and adults, exclusive of outsiders; it is both grim (at least superficially) *and* inane. It exploits the fact that ‘Dirt’ and ‘Dart’ differ by a single letter and that steeple rhymes with few words besides people⁶⁰. Perhaps never written down before 1910, it is commemorated officially.

The question might be asked as to what locals know and others do not. It may be a deliberately hollow and meaningless attempt to form a rhyme between *people* and *steeple* among severely limited rhyming possibilities; that is, it expresses *fatalistic* reasoning. However, we have seen that ‘Dirt’ is a recurring theme in Dartford’s affective and institutional history and the rhyme may transmit implicit knowledge of it to the present population. Dartford is disparaged as ‘Dirtford’ and in need of rescue by the authorities.

The verse may be enmeshed with many other local references to dirt – actual lethal filth and many kinds of ‘nuisance’ - and even to past disagreement over what to do about it. It may be a *composite*; a heuristic simplification of much that has gone before, glorious and abject; what Empson describes as ‘clotted’ and dense with allusions. Finally from a neo-Durkheimian reading, it may encapsulate rapprochement between Dartford’s ethical factions, even simultaneous admission and denial (among those who are in-the-know that the rhyme is only a topographical joke) that Dartfordians are all tainted. The joke draws the ‘sting’ of taint from this one time truly foul place.

Another rhyme ending ‘Nobody loves us and we don’t care’ has been adapted from Millwall Football Club for Dartford’s purposes.⁶¹

⁶⁰ And then a steeple.
They spoke to themselves
And such few people
As winds might rouse (Robert Frost)

⁶¹ The original verse can be heard here: at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T-4ce7bfvIk>

I propose that by providing official recognition of *dirt* (as on the *St Edmund's Pleasance* plaque) this may help to contain disaffection and 'abjection'.



Figure 12: Heritage Postcards Thematic 'heritage' treatment of historic buildings and people, photographed by the author at Dartford Borough Museum (Courtesy Dartford Borough Museum).

Dartford Borough Council, in conjunction with Dartford Museum, produced a series of 'Heritage Trail' postcards. This includes a postcard with the 'Dirty Dartford' rhyme, together with a reproduction of an engraving of St. Edmund's Pleasance⁶². The verse and topographical relationships between cemetery and steeple is represented on a 'Heritage Trail' post-card, using a 1970's photograph taken from the top of East Hill showing Holy Trinity with West Hill behind. An 1855 engraving of East Hill is also reproduced on the postcard, showing St. Edmund's Pleasance at the top of the hill. A

⁶² Less well known is: *Sutton for mutton, Kirby for beef, South Darenth for gingerbread, and Dartford for a thief*

couple are shown walking through the green sward near two graves, with Holy Trinity Church in the distance lower down. A short passage states the strategic importance of East Hill and West Hill as the main routes in and out of Dartford since the eighteenth Century. A note explains that St. Edmund's Pleasance is the site of Saint Edmund's Saxon chapel; that it was rebuilt in 1546 but became derelict under Edward VI. Overcrowding at Holy Trinity led to burials returning to St. Edmund's. The text also mentions Richard Trevithick as buried there (which is why the 'Steam' parade makes its way up East Hill).

Summary: The entrance to Central Park at Bell Corner takes visitors past a large mural 'One Town that Changed the World' depicting Dartford's industrial past, placed opposite the library with the war memorial between the two, forming Dartford's most sacred site; recently defended passionately against threatened incursion by a Tesco development. This is where the 1933 Incorporation Parade paused with veterans to pay its respects to those killed in the 1914-18 war. Dartford was a prosperous manufacturing town which can, with some justification, claimed to have 'changed the World' in several quite identifiable ways. Mick Jagger, the town's renegade son is honoured by a metal sculpture inside Central Park where a new 'Edwardian' bandstand commemorates the more conventional former hallowed presence of Burroughs Wellcome/GSK. Local policy makers are convinced that the future is still bright, once the damaging effects of de-industrialisation and of the abandoned Tesco development are repaired through new commercial and housing developments.

I have sampled the town's history paying special attention to local disputes for and against 'improvement', to the formation of local authority (especially over nuisances) and how the town – especially its élite - has represented both itself and the town to the town over a long period. Much of this was enacted through rituals the details of which were recorded meticulously, mostly by Dartford's winning 'fractions'. I concede that alternative histories could always be presented, and I have neglected Dartford's history from private, or female, or from labour perspectives. I could have but did not, undertake 'actor network analysis' of the ramified connections demonstrated among innovators, church and chapel congregations and engineering artefacts and processes. I also could have, but did not, read any diaries except for Everard Hesketh's commercial diaries.

However, I hope to have accomplished enough to question the often-supposed relationship between competing class fractions and the competing ethical principles of

‘economising’ and ‘improving’, and between Dartford’s changing ‘modes of accumulation’ and its ‘modes of regulation’ which I will return to later. There are enough heterodox cases, including the small draper Jardine’s support for the Ship Canal and the prodigious innovator Applegarth’s resistance to sewerage and piped water, to cast doubt on Smith’s hypothesis that ‘big capital’ supported improvement while ‘small capital’ resisted. While links between modes of accumulation and modes of regulation can be detected – especially between the 1880s and late 1930s – regulation theorists have failed to examine the ritual means through which ‘accumulation’ was translated into ‘regulation’ and by which big businesses owners experienced improvement as an ethical imperative. I am especially critical of Jessop who treats speculative parallels between accumulation and regulation as if they were empirical links.

One problem in establishing a link between, say, big business interests and regulation is that some of the town’s worst polluters were also its keenest Improvers. While some advantage rebounded on them, especially in terms of their prestige and social authority, it is not obvious why Hesketh, the owner of an engineering foundry, or Kidd, owner of a steam-driven brewery should be so passionately opposed to dirt, as both enterprises were significant sources of air- and water-pollution respectively. It is not obvious why these polluters should be so passionately in favour of public parks, fresh air and planting avenues of trees. Theoretically speaking they might as easily have taken that 19th Century view, expressed in the 1846 poem in which some regarded stinks as ‘not at all unpleasant’ and even ‘wholesome’. They *could* have been anti-regulationists. Again, the interests of street traders, shouting their wares, are so far removed from competing with Hesketh and Kidd’s interests in marine refrigeration and beer-making as to be irrelevant. Finally, insofar as ADI members succeeded in urging increases in local authority powers (municipalisation), they worked themselves out of a political role: successful instrumental demands resulted in a diminution of ‘élite power’ (as Smith established).

Ritual modalities have changed in Dartford, bringing them up to date and certainly less scripted, but I have been unable to pin these changes on either a ‘post-industrial economy and society’ on the one hand, or a ‘post-industrial mode of regulation’ on the other. Broadly speaking, the rituals continue, along with imaginative local authority attempts at improvement, more than seventy or eighty years after Hesketh, Kidd, Lord Dudley Gordon, Lady Limerick, Keyes and Clarke died. Privatisation and

reorganisation of public services (not discussed here) has done little to remove public responsibility for ensuring that housing, safety, health and recreational needs are met and the much vaunted ‘corporate social responsibilities’ of big corporations are minor in scope and ambition compared with the ADI and *Wide Awake Dartford’s* campaigning membership. CSR looks especially trivial when compared with the research work financed by the longstanding *Wellcome Foundation*.

The more appealing conclusion is that local policy makers’ optimism today has more to do with affects animated by the many past ritual efforts which were dedicated to a ‘Brighter and More Beautiful Dartford’ than with imperatives supposed to derive from Dartford’s new post-manufacturing ‘mode of accumulation’. While Dartford’s ritual repertoire had the strong and explicit backing of big business it also won the direct support and symbolic participation of thousands of diverse others demonstrated through Pageants, Parades and Festivals. The preliminary finding is that local actors, including Jardine, Applegarth, Hesketh, Kidd and Keyes, were possessed more immediately by ritual-affected feelings than by their interests, and that, so to speak their ghosts survive in present day sentiments. The recommendation must be that Dartford continues to stage its rituals for the sake of preserving good-temper and sustaining belief in, and enthusiasm for, innovative public policies.

However, the *sacred* around which the strongest passions form is powerful in different, sometimes dangerous ways, glimpsed in Frank Clarke’s effusive support for ‘virile’ German youth, and in dispossessed local youth gangs’ present-day willingness to place themselves in harm’s way to defend local honour. The complex self-effacing, abject and self-asserting qualities of the *Dirty Dartford/ Peculiar People* epigram – and even a certain sense of humour - may offer a degree of protection against these risks.

Increasing the Theoretical Yield: cases re-evaluated

Selected exemplars are now inspected in order to obtain more theoretical yield, enabling judgement of the relative merits of a neo-Durkheimian analysis of local emotion.

Through this inspection the elementary forms of local authority (including the local

sacred) are considered. The diachronic inspection of exemplars for both locales separately enables synchronic comparison (to follow). The majority of the historical instances reported above encapsulate *local authority*, *local emotion*, *local rites*, *ethics* and *class*, but not always straightforwardly in terms of class. In most instances each element is discernible in the historical record from which their co-constitutive nature can be inferred with caution. The number of synchronic comparisons that can be made between two diachronic cases is practically infinite.

Dartford Heath

The Heath encampment seems to have marked and modified locals' lasting 'representations' of the sacred. Mrs. Potts, John Dunkin, Keyes and even latter-day children are all affected. Though the cause of improvement is not obvious here, collectivism and authority are apparent enough. Dartford's collectivism is *outdoor* and *massed* and any agency invoking the commons is assured of strong support here.

Philip Smith's insightful neo-Durkheimian suggestion (1999, 17) associating 'human action' with spatial location through the mechanism of 'contagion' 'with a progress towards a more pure or perfect place' applies to each subsequent occasion when a 'Brighter and More Beautiful Dartford' (or an assault on 'Dirty Dartford') was attempted. His account of human action is a narrative, concerning 'themes of ascent' whereby the sacred place is created. For myself, sacredness seems to be invoked quite directly by doing ritual, and by modifying and rectifying it. Actions and space, place, affect and the sacred provide Dartford with *sensible* 'past-perpetuating', 'future-binding', 'past-correcting' and 'present orientated' rites, as articulated by Perri 6 (2007, 37-61). The sacred is something which is not spoken, but enacted, and enacted in public spaces.

Colley's account of military rites chimes to some extent with ours. Colley recounts of the delight in *Pride and Prejudice* of the young ladies when officers arrive in the area. Colley (1996) also relates the way that the number of those wearing 'dashing' uniform expanded greatly due to the Napoleonic Wars and how civilians in uniform were supposed to seem more acceptable than the regular soldiery

As alluded to, 'common lands', 'pre-capitalist modes of production,' and enclosure could, with difficulty, be moulded into an account of the Heath episodes, but notions of

heteronomy, large open spaces and public rituals all invoke Durkheim. The Durkheimian account has more to offer here.

An Act for 'lighting, watching and improving the Town of Dartford'

As shown, commitments waxed and waned in early to mid-nineteenth century Dartford. The local act of 1814 for 'lighting, watching and improving the town of Dartford' received assent yet gas lighting was not implemented until 1827. Commissioners allowed the scheme to lapse and it was only due to petitioning that it was re-introduced (Smith, 1984, 138). The Commissioners did not uphold their other improvement powers either.

Local politics in mid nineteenth century Dartford was complicated, as in other industrial towns, with clashes over public policy between self-styled improvers and economisers (Hunter, 2007, 115) compounded by flawed health science. In Dartford regulatory institutions (and local taxation systems) meant improvements were highly visible and vulnerable to immediate self-interest (rate-payers' worries about their ability to pay). Economising is characterised by Hunter (2007, 115) as 'expressing an ideology of laissez-faire and self-help' and he and others point out that 'improving' was 'encouraged by an increasingly interventionist central government'. In comparison, Dartford (whose dirty condition was mentioned in Parliament) was more troubled by filth than Uxbridge at this point.

The neo-Marxist perspective is that early to mid-nineteenth century Dartfordian urban politics are driven by 'ideologies' of improvement and economising supported by Big Capital and Small Capital respectively. Foster's (1974) more complex neo-Marxist account of the political economy of Oldham has it that 'Oldham's [working class] radicals managed to control many aspects of state power' (see also Harvey, 1975, 109-111). I recognise the argument that through conflict and eventual 'domination' by 'big capital' and 'big labour' the cause of collective heteronomy was adopted locally, but those conflicts and the ethical shift were made possible through ritual enactments.

Moreover, urban politics in Dartford was more ramified than the neo-Marxist account would allow. Some interests were cross-cutting, not competing, and both 'big' and 'small' capital are difficult to define on the ground. For example, at what point did John Hall, engineer, move from being 'Small' to 'Big'? While Colonel Kidd's Steam Brewery was clearly 'big', were William and John Tasker 'big' brewers by the

standards of their day or no bigger than others? In the early nineteenth century an unambiguously 'small' draper, Joseph Jardine, was nevertheless a director of the 'improving' gas company, whilst also satirising the self-interested motives of those involved in the 1846 local inspection into 'nuisances'. He tended to side with improvement, most prominently in the Ship Canal case, despite being 'petit bourgeois'. John Hall, who pressed for gas lighting (and for the Canal) is likely to have seen the opportunity for his firm to provide pipes, which would therefore seem to relate to self-interest. However, he was already active in public services locally. When the Commissioners allowed gas lighting and other powers to lapse this might be attributed as easily to lack of ritual as to class antagonisms within the Vestry.

In short, class is at best a very imperfect predictor of public sentiment and appropriate rites are in any case required to animate interests and authority. In this early period of authority-formation, even where self-interest and public interest are entwined 'objectively' and rituals were enacted thoroughly (rousing support), institution-forming could still be confounded as in the Canal case. The actors, individual and institutional had still not quite 'got the hang of things'. Autonomy (economising and self-help) tends to characterise small capital and collective heteronomy (improvement and collectivism) big capital. Participants' classifications (Durkheim, [1912] 1915) were being rehearsed and clarified step by step. Public opinion was a work in progress.

Where, in regulationist vocabulary, the 'mode of regulation' and 'mode of accumulation' had got out of synchrony, it was ritual efforts that brought them back including local rows seen in Dartford around filth and in Uxbridge about market tolls. But what does Dartford's mode of accumulation consist in at this stage, given diversity among and between *both* small and big producers? Peck and Tickell (1992, 350) propose that 'within each MSR [mode of social regulation], a certain set of *regulatory functions*' [emphasis original] must be in place for the 'accumulation system' to be stabilized and 'reproduced' (for example, the regulation of business relations and the formation of consumption norms). But it is difficult to determine whether Dartford's accumulation system was truly compromised by the failure of the Ship Canal, the switching on (or, indeed, off) of Gas Lighting, or even by the eventual success of interventions on sewage and drinking water. Applegarth thought definitely *not* in the latter case. In short, the intelligibility of regulation theory suffers from a lack of detailed attempts to apply it to practice development on the ground.

Rites are more than an overlay above conflicting interests, or upon underlying modes of accumulation and regulation. Local authorities begin as creations of successful ritual arousal and develop into masters of ceremony creating rites which animate popular belief in their powers of governance. This can work both ways. In the Gas case it is likely that lapsed rites contributed to subsequent institutional failure. In the case of gas lighting it took years from the passing of the 1814 Act to instigate a gas lighting scheme. This slipped away, provoking parishioners to petition the Commissioners for reinstatement (Smith, 1985, 138).

There are a number of anomalous instances here which do not conform to the notion of big capital – improver and small capital – economiser. The regulationist model of necessary convergence between modes of regulation and régimes of accumulation does not seem discriminating enough with regards to the Ship Canal. On the other hand, the episodes described are replete with ritual. It is through these rituals that participants have the opportunity to clarify their ethical dispositions and therefore to clarify their sacred.

‘Inclosures’ and Defence of the sacred: The Brent and the Tesco Central Park Incursion Threat

These two exemplars are grouped together since the fused notions of common land under threat *and* the sacred are common to both.

To recapitulate; in 1876 part of the Brent was enclosed by Mr. Pigou, a gunpowder manufacturer, provoking public protests but to no avail. Eventually, Everard Hesketh bought part of the land, gifting it to the town. Dartford ended up with less land than if it had it accepted Mr. Pigou’s ‘olive-branch’, due to the fact of the commoners being enraged.

A class explanation is weak in this case. Pigou might be described as a ‘big’ capitalist but his opponents speak as residents, probably diverse; not representing any class in any clear sense. The Durkheimian account is richer, more complex and more applicable empirically.

Enclosures are the antithesis of those ‘positive rites’ which Durkheim saw as joyfully creating ‘a communion of minds’ (1915 [1912], 399). Enclosure rites are often performed in anger, with expiation and retribution uppermost. For Durkheim the

'ambiguity' of the sacred resides in its capacity to transform from pure to impure and impure to pure with 'piacular rites' an exemplification of ambiguity (1915 [1912], 401-414). Durkheim's account *may* be ambiguous not only because of inherent qualities of the sacred but because of his own possible moral ambivalence as to the status of the sacred empirically. Riley takes up this point (2005, 275) suggesting also that Durkheim wants to separate the pure and impure '...empirically, whilst acknowledging the potential of the one to become the other...'

Although the sacred(s) is indeed problematic theoretically, in the face of the empirical evidence the concepts can be employed fruitfully. In this case, the Durkheimian account works by treating the enclosure events as a threat to the sacred from the profane - two phenomena which *must not* come into contact and which goes some way to explaining the strength of passions aroused. As well as being dangerous on contact with the profane, the sacred is highly 'contagious'. If the boundaries of the sacred are violated its contagious character conquers the profane rapidly and invokes the 'impure sacred'. (Durkheim, ([1912] 1915, 413). Durkheim implies that the profane, too, may escape its boundaries and that this also has violent outcomes on contact with the sacred.

Durkheim's model captures locals' reaction the Brent enclosure and to a proposal to drive a road through even a small area of Central Park (part of the Tesco-led redevelopment of the Lowfield Street area, since abandoned). Sacred/ profane trespasses need not be spatial but are plainest when they are. Actions and spatial location are linked through contagion (Smith, P., 1999, 17).

Contestation over 'the commons' is disproportionate to the 'interests' involved. If the sacred is touched by the profane then mayhem may be unleashed through enactment of 'piacular rites'... 'celebrated by those in a state of uneasiness or sadness' (Durkheim, 1915 [1912], 389). Public displays on Dartford Heath, and festivals in Central Park are happy celebrations, 'positive rites' of the sacred; but 'inclosures' invoke piacular rites, which some Durkheimians also classify as 'positive' (cf. Richards 2007).

'Quotidian' rites may not suffice; in order to maintain the commons 'rites of assertion' and of contestation, are required in the struggle for authority. Dartford's commons

probably epitomise the local sacred more than any other institution. It is a powerful exemplar⁶³.

The proposed road through Central Park was a threat which did not materialise due to Tesco's heavy global business losses but its defeat was likely in all circumstances since there was abundant local energy to mount sustained opposition to 'profanation'. The road would have only required a quarter of an acre but opposition was both passionate and sustained (<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england//380117kent3.stm>), including a 'Rally staged against road plans' involving vintage military vehicles led by the Glentworth Ex-Servicemen's Club whose clubhouse was also threatened (<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/kent/3676441.stm>).

These episodes have merited this additional investigation. Through them, Durkheim's notions around the sacred in both its forms have been drawn upon. The concepts of purity *and* impurity resonate with the Dartford account. The way that Dartford's authority handles its impurity (in all its various *forms*) is a recurring theme. Another important point is that these episodes are concerned with subverted authority. The authority of the local authority and the townspeople was undermined, and, indeed, only partially reclaimed.

Dirty and Brighter Dartford: Applegarth, Evans, Swaisland, Strike- Breaking and Chartism

As stated, my starting-point is that feelings are derived socially, and that ethics and emotions are co-constitutive. Augustus Applegarth's irritable views on Croydon's pipes needed rehearsing and one sees his anger taking shape in his dialogues and correspondence with others and page by page in his treatise. Correspondence - an 'epistolary' rite - derives from all kinds of precedents such as unsatisfactory exchanges at local meetings and meeting of minds. In addition, even when the causes of specific diseases were known, ethical dispositions towards infrastructure spending still differed.

⁶³ Smith (1984) describes an important test case when Dartford UDC rejected a planning application for quarry expansion, even though the outcome was likely to be job-losses in what had been 'Europe's largest cement works' at Northfleet (Blue Circle Industries). The UDC's position had strong residential support which was expressed through a public march. The 'Dartford Liaison Group' consisting of planning officers and Blue Circle managers met regularly and the planners suggested that Blue Circle should explore the possibility of using the abandoned quarry for a large retail development which became the Bluewater Shopping Centre. Smith saw this as a decisive demonstration of the 'relative autonomy' of the state in the face of express 'instrumental' demands from a major manufacturer with the additional backing of Kent County Council. I suspect however that Dartford's rejection of the planning application was animated by the town's local sacred. It prevailed.

Doctor Snow's identification of the water-pump in Soho as the source of a cholera outbreak took place in 1854 but there was a time-lag between that discovery and rejection of miasma theory; Applegarth's arguments of 1853 still draw on 'the good sense of the public' and *gradual* 'labours of scientific and practical men'.

Strike-Breaking and Chartism

Chartism challenged the authority of local employers, as we have seen with the Crayford strike-breaking episodes I have detailed. In this case 'accumulation regimes', 'class-struggle', and 'regulation' are of some relevance, but, again, not straightforwardly. It was not until the early twentieth century that big firms, the local authority and Dartford citizens became aligned in the common cause of a Brighter and More Beautiful Dartford. Lord Tredegar gave up his manorial rights and past, present and future were fused symbolically in spectacular large-scale visionary gatherings.

I suggest that there can never be a definitive correlation between class and ethical disposition since there can never be a definitive classification of things; classes/categories will always be open to revision (cf. Durkheim, [1912] 1915). Categories can be a long time in the making and public health is no exception⁶⁴. Presumably this applies to capitalists' determination of their interests too. Insofar as the categories are not clear cut it becomes harder to base forecasts on them.

Weaknesses in the Neo-Marxian Account

Smith's review of urban politics (1985) finds that owners of capital-intensive firms in towns were typically disposed towards improvement yet he concedes that locations varied as to the stages they had reached. For example, Birmingham was slow to reach its 'monopoly' phase at which point is seized on improvement with exceptional enthusiasm (under Chamberlain). Change over periods between one 'capital formation' (and its dispositions and regulation) requires close study. Even Dartford's case demonstrates complexity and ambivalence with individuals standing for improvement in one context and economy in another. Again, this is another instance of anomaly being thrown up in the light of the Marxian account.

⁶⁴ Attempts to claim the 'obesity epidemic' as a matter for individual responsibility is another case in point. Quite why this epidemic exists is subject to hot disagreements. Similarly, should nursing be a matter of 'care', 'disease fighting' or 'health promotion'? Nurses disagree categorically.

Although ‘class struggle’, ‘capital formation’ and ‘periodisation’ resonate somewhat with these cases close examination reveals flaws in the neo-Marxian account. There are anomalies. This raises the question as to how many anomalies can be tolerated in a theory before it is no longer useful (or valid).

Suppression of Guy Fawkes Night (1863); Policeman’s Funeral (1906)

The suppression of Guy Fawkes Night (1863) has already been discussed but the main point about this case is that it is concerned with the legitimising and de-legitimising of ritual. It seems that in the past the rowdy crowds had been legitimised by the local *élite* but in this instance, for due to feelings of intimidation, of which I do not know the cause, that legitimisation was withdrawn. The event was transformed by legitimate authority into an illegitimate event. This is another example of inadequate institutionalisation of local authority, which had not been maintained due to lack of ritualisation. This episode is better explained by the neo-Durkheimian account.

The Policeman’s Funeral has already been discussed in some detail in the Findings chapter, but I reiterate its affinity with neo-Durkheimian theory. The local sacred, local emotion and ritual and intensity of collectivist sentiment all coalesce through this exemplar. Rather than ‘class interest’ this exemplar draws attention to the strength of sentiments between local workers, including police, the local authority *and* citizens. Neo-Marxian theory does not easily accommodate this case.

The UDC Minute Book (1897-1898) and the Dartford Improvement Act (1902)

What is interesting about these exemplars is again the anomalies, from the perspective of neo-Marxian theory. Smith characterises this as the ‘monopoly’ period but points out that Dartford did not conform to the period in the sense that the local *élite* in the shape of the UDC *shaped* policy. *Shaping* policy implies the entraining of the affective capacities of the local political leaders. These local political leaders (Hesketh and Kidd, for example) were not only members of the local *élite* they were members of the local council too. This is another blow against neo-Marxian periodisation – the local manufacturing *élite* is incorporated into local political formations already. This shows features therefore of what should be created much later – the relatively autonomous state. Without the affective capacities of local leaders in public meetings the adoption of the local Improvement Act, for instance, would not have happened. Once again, one sees anomalies in the neo-Marxian account: periodisation does not easily contain the

imagination of the local political and social élite. Premonitions of relative autonomy were occurring during the ‘monopoly’ period.

The Association of Dartford Industries

The Association sought ‘improvement’, enlightened community’, ‘the full benefits of local government’ and supported ‘social movements; and a ‘wide awake’ and ‘Brighter and More Beautiful’ Dartford. This is about maintaining an upwards trajectory, not realisation of interests. This is particularly so since one could say that the local élite were acting *away* from their interests in supporting ‘social movements’ and the needs of the workforce. ‘Instrumental Demands’ does not describe the relationship between the ADI and the UDC.

The 1932 Pageant and Industrial Exhibition and 1933 Charter Day Parade

I have chosen to elaborate upon these exemplars because through them the apogee of authority of the local élite is clearly identifiable. Which theory points to this in the most appropriate way?

The early and willing transfer of powers by the local ‘big business’ élite to the local authority, in which transfer they participated actively, does not conform to the Marxian periodisation model particularly well. What better explains the Pageant and Parade is neo-Durkheimian theory (I have already alluded to ‘commemorative rites’ which were drawn upon). The relationship between the sometimes ill-natured exchanges and enormous amount of work which went on prior to the Pageant (and into other events) and the actual Pageants is worth exploring. One question is whether the Pageant is containable within the idea of mechanical solidarity or organic solidarity, or whether a more satisfactory sociological distinction should be made between rites ‘backstage’ and rites ‘frontstage’ (Collins, 2005); or whether – as I believe – neither will do.

I suggest that the notions of mechanical and organic solidarity are not particularly helpful. I have no problem with envisaging mechanical and organic solidarity as existing at the same time (despite Durkheim’s evolutionary account) but find the concepts difficult to operationalise in terms of the Pageant. Evidently, there are peaks of collective effervescence within Pageants which could be described as ‘mechanical solidarity’ *at that juncture* while the meticulous and complex committee work undertaken behind the scenes could be described as ‘organic solidarity’ binding many

parts of the Dartford 'division of labour'. However, the local élite, besides playing royalty and so forth on horseback in the Pageant, were also 'instrumental' in organising the Pageant. 'Backstage' and 'frontstage' does not work particularly well as a distinction either. The élite represent themselves to themselves in the rites of the Pageant. The Pageant, I suggest, is best considered as a ritual which begins long before the event itself and continues long after. This has some resonance with Durkheim's 'representative' and 'commemorative' rites, which are much more than a play-spectacle.

Silver Jubilee of Dartford's Charter (1958), the Dartford Festival and 'Dirty Dartford'

The float depicting the 1958 'Silver Jubilee' is not wholly reverential. Notwithstanding its fine messages of purity, improvement and upwards trajectory it is also ordinary, containing cement mixer and bricks. It is a clever joke, but is it knowing or unknowing (abject)? The float also reminds one of Durkheim's 'sacred' as having double-edged 'potentiality' through which purity or impurity may be generated. Similarly, Perri 6 (2007, 51) sees 'ritual inversion' and satire as having an 'orthogonal relationship with political and social time'. The satirist assumes an 'isolate' position, yet is also a collective product and cannot be distinguished from the collective product as the work of the satirist is a negotiation with local society whose self-recognition in the joke is sought without risking so much offence that nobody laughs in the mirror held up to them. Joseph Jardine is another case in point. Through his humour impurity is processed, digested and made safe. He 'tells it like it is' and his contributions have been preserved.

The Dartford Festival originated in Pageantry which affirmed improvement and hope, but it has been modified with tinges of abjection and parody (for example in performances by Stavros Flatley (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UJPPy-_32n0) and other television talent show acts. With the collapse of manufacturing it is difficult to envisage a glittering local career from shop-floor to senior management. Perhaps in recognition of this, the Festival presents its audience with examples of unexpected fame and success sealed in a few moments during a television appearance.

In concluding the Dartford section, one wonders what *forms* Durkheim's understandings would have taken of these events. Some development of his concepts is needed to connect them with Dartford's local sacred(s). Riley does not think that Durkheim

devotes enough attention to the impure sacred, focussing on the pure sacred instead (2005, 277), although I think *Forms* addresses the impure sacred implicitly. Riley is sympathetic to Hertz, a disciple of Durkheim⁶⁵, who, like Hubert and Mauss, examines the relationship between ‘pure-’ and ‘impure-’ sacreds. Riley explains (2005, 286) how Bataille and his group, Le Collège de Sociologie, whilst recognising the duality of the sacred, chose to explore ‘the moments that produce effervescence and power through a total and excessive expenditure of energy, even to the point of death’. I agree that the need for more understanding of the impure sacred is suggested by Dartford’s ‘peculiar’ satirical celebrations and verses, on which more later.

Some of the Dartford instances described are on the cusp between Durkheimian and Marxian explanations, but typically they suit Durkheim more easily than Marx. There are significant class anomalies in terms of who supported and who opposed improvement. Dartfordians have also been exercised by concerns that are tangential to class such as the rioting over suppression of the Guy Fawkes celebration; venerating a policeman who died from appendicitis, turning out in massive numbers to celebrate ‘Incorporation’ and reciting ‘Dirty Dartford’ again and again. This is *not* all about class. And even where class is identifiable outturns differ in interesting ways from Uxbridge: in Dartford the handover of manorial authority to the UDC was amicable. In Uxbridge handover of manorial authority to the Lords in Trust was the outcome of lengthy vexatious dispute. Finally, Hesketh’s, Kidd’s and Keyes’ enthusiastic pursuit of civic goals and their ‘boundless energy’ seems out of proportion to their class positions as owners of an engineering works, a brewery and a flour mill.

The ‘competitive period’ in Dartford was matched approximately by a ‘mode of regulation’ consisting in a Vestry, Board of Health, Board of Guardians, and different types of Commissioners, it is true. However, the ‘monopoly period’ only approximately conformed to the ‘model’ of periodization, Dartford being ‘regulated’ by a UDC which extended its reach. But in the ‘advanced period’ the Borough exercised its authority with imagination that was ‘relatively autonomous’ of big business ‘demands’ such as by Blue Circle Cement through the Dartford Liaison Group.

As for regulation theory, I suggest that those who claim the neat interlinking suggested by figure 13 below need to conduct at least the amount of empirical research that I have

⁶⁵ Hertz often refers to the ‘profane’ when he means the ‘impure sacred’, according to Riley

undertaken. This is necessary in order to ascertain how the imagined fit was made, how that fit is demonstrated in the regular practices of local administrations and civil society, how that fit has *changed* over time as capitalism has changed, how, exactly, the successive ‘re-fits’ between the accumulation and regulation system were accomplished and what harm to accumulation was caused by inappropriate regulation systems or systems that fitted poorly. I am unaware of such work.

Figure 13, below, shows Peck and Tickell’s conceptualisation of the two elements of a ‘regime of accumulation’. These elements are ‘an accumulation system’ and ‘a mode of social regulation’.

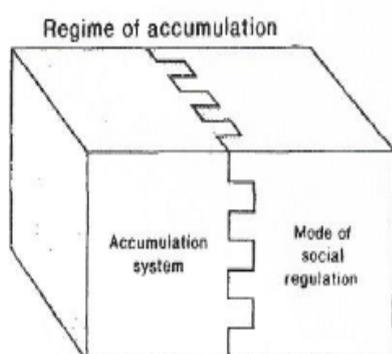


Figure 13: ‘Regime of Accumulation’ (Peck and Tickell 1992, 349). (With permission from Elsevier).

I think this depiction of the ‘regime of accumulation’ illustrates the difficulties of translating regulation theory to the local level and of dealing with local specificities.

Having teased out further selected Dartford exemplars, I now discuss Uxbridge/LBH, a locale with a very different affective history. To begin, I reach back to the Uxbridge Toll Riots, a striking exemplification of local contestations over the local sacred.

Chapter Six

Divining the Local Sacred (2)

The 'Okay' London Borough of Hillingdon

Authority; Rites; Emotion; Ethics; Action and Class c.1630-2016

Introduction

I turn now to a place with a significantly more settled and quieter affective history than Dartford: Uxbridge and neighbouring townships in the London Borough of Hillingdon.

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse and discuss exemplars reaching back to c. 1630 and forward to the present day. The main focus is Uxbridge, the seat of authority and administration for a much larger London Borough. The same process is followed as with the Dartford Borough Council (DBC) exemplars. To recall, certain 'elements' and their proposed interrelationship were derived from iterations between the theoretical, the empirical and the evolving research questions. These relationships are represented visually in Chapter Five (*local authority, local rites, local emotion, local ethics and local action (inaction) over time* through which the *local sacred* is clarified).

The research questions, central to the analysis and discussions, are also recalled:

1. How can local authority formation over time be explained with reference to authority, rites, emotions, ethics, action, class, and the sacred? What are the attributes and deficits of Durkheimian and Marxian theory when applied empirically?
2. How can the sacred be conceptualised in the contexts of Uxbridge and Dartford? What forms do rituals, emotions and the sacred take in these settings and how do Uxbridge and Dartford compare?
3. What insights can be achieved through comparison?

This chapter is structured as follows: as a preliminary, for convenience, the exemplars to be analysed and discussed are shown, together with a timeline (below). Some general context is then given through a short description of LBH and through its self-description

on the LBH website. Next, more specific context is given through an introduction to the local historians and observers featuring heavily in the Findings. This accomplished, the exemplars are then analysed and discussed. As with the Dartford Findings, comments are made in passing during the analysis and discussion, with short summaries where relevant. A longer summary concludes.

The Uxbridge exemplars, as with Dartford, have been clustered. The clusters of exemplars are presented chronologically, in the main, but this chronology is breached where necessary for sense-making. The exemplars organised in this way are set out in below.

The Uxbridge Exemplars (c.1630-Present Day)

Uxbridge Exemplars (c1630-Present Day)
<p>Section 1: The Trajectory of the Market Tolls, c. 1630 – Present Day 1.1. Riotous Proceedings, Litigation and Rapprochement (1630-1633) 1.2. From the Authority of Semi-Feudal/Early Modern Aristocracy to the Authority of the conservative Urban Institution (1637-present day)</p>
<p>Section 2: Conflicting Sources of Authority – 2.1. Dirt: The Local Board and Economiser Opposition (1849) 2.2. Chartists in Uxbridge and ‘<i>The Working Man’s Window Breaker</i>’ (1849) 2.3. The Trajectory of the Co-operative Land Society -<i>through</i> Uxbridge (1846) 2.4. The Uxbridge Freehold Land Society Festival (1850) 2.5. The Price of Bread; Accusations of Dissenter Bread Cartels by Anglican Bakers (1854) 2.6. The Joy of Shopping – Emily Goldar Fearn’s Diaries (1853) 2.7. Private or Public Solution? The Burial Grounds Uxbridge (1853-1854)</p>
<p>Section 3: The Authority of Collective ‘Autonomy’ Enacted 3.1. Queen Victoria’s Jubilee (1887) recalled (1932) 3.2. The Uxbridge/Hillingdon Show (1909-)</p>
<p>Section 4: The Relatively Autonomous State? 4.1. Charter Day – marking Borough status (1951) 4.2. The Creation of the London Borough of Hillingdon (1965) 4.3. ‘An Historical Pageant for the London Borough of Hillingdon (1966) 4.4. Horticultural Hillingdon 4.5. Town Centre Management (unofficial) in ‘Metroville’ 4.6. ‘Rival Radios’ – The discourses of North and South of the Borough</p>

Context: The London Borough of Hillingdon

The London Borough of Hillingdon (LBH) is a unitary authority⁶⁶ situated on the edge of West London covering approximately 44.6 square miles with a population of approximately 309,300 (LBH, 'Demographics', 2017). LBH borders the London Boroughs of Hounslow, Ealing, and Harrow, as well as the counties of Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire. It is the second-largest London Borough (LBH, 2018). These facts are easily accessible and set out clearly on the LBH website. Generally, the 'north' of the borough and the 'south' are differentiated in local discourse. The north refers to the generally wealthier part of the borough and the south refers to the generally less well-off post-industrial part of the borough.

The local authority has a Conservative majority (2018) and the three constituencies which map over the authority are represented by two Conservative and one Labour MP. These constituencies are Hayes and Harlington; Uxbridge and South Ruislip and Ruislip, Northwood and Pinner. One peculiarity is that the wards of Hatch End, Pinner and Pinner South (formerly Harrow West constituency) are located within the Ruislip Northwood and Pinner parliamentary constituency despite their location within the London Borough of Harrow due to 2010 boundary changes⁶⁷. This is due to 2010 boundary commission changes when the Ruislip Northwood was replaced by Ruislip Northwood and Pinner.

For planning purposes LBH distinguishes between 'North' and 'Central and South'. For example, Ruislip, Northwood, Northwood Hills, Ickenham and Ruislip Manor are characterised as 'north', Uxbridge as 'central' or 'central and south' and West Drayton, Hayes, Yiewsley and Heathrow as 'south'.

The present-day Borough was created in 1965, an outcome of reorganisations under the Local Government Act (1963). LBH is an amalgamation of district councils unconvinced that they had anything in common and these differences were underlined by distinctions between a residential so-called 'North' and a (former) manufacturing so-called 'South'. From participant observation of perhaps hundreds of hours of work by public and semi-public forums, I conclude that the North/South distinction, which has little formal institutional basis continue to affect public feelings – especially among

⁶⁶ As a unitary authority LBH performs all local services.

⁶⁷ Ruislip Northwood constituency expanded to become Ruislip Northwood and Pinner in 2010 taking in parts of the London Borough of Harrow.

notables – and provide an emotional discourse through which policies are evaluated. Thus the ‘good tempered’ Uxbridge introduced above, is read as inattentive and indifference by more urgent (‘hotter’) Hayes actors.

Boundaries are imbricated with authority and boundary changes have left complex residues of satisfaction, resentment, nostalgia and indifference towards the Borough.

Uxbridge

Uxbridge is the seat of administration for present-day local authority and the main focus of this chapter. Uxbridge developed (like Dartford) as a market town, especially for grain and flour, on a busy main road. It accumulated local authority and trade over time at the expense of the neighbouring parish of Hillingdon and, especially, through the creation of the Uxbridge Poor Law Union in 1836 which probably assured Uxbridge’s eventual administrative dominance (Cotton, 1984, 44; Robbins, 2003, 353-356).

Uxbridge was characterised by horticulture, agriculture and markets (especially of corn but now of almost every imaginable commodity, then housing (first as a means of emancipation then of household financial gain). All of these are apparent in recurring rituals, and especially The Uxbridge Show and its successors. The town has played a significant military role being Parliamentarian in the Civil War and through command and control of the RAF in World War Two, greatly magnifying the effective combative strength of Britain’s fighter squadrons⁶⁸. Industries such as brick-making, milling and brewing established themselves but it would be inappropriate to call Uxbridge an industrial town as towards the end of the nineteenth century there were only four mills left out fourteen that had existed. Market gardening was well-established. Uxbridge has been described as a thriving market town which went into decline when bypassed by the Great Western Railway’s London-Bristol main line. But the ‘okay’ Uxbridge of today has been the site of confrontation, especially over authority.

The market and shopping define Uxbridge in many ways nowadays, and, in addition a number of multi-national companies have their head offices in Uxbridge.

As will be seen, bad-tempered disputes over tax-collecting, land and voting rights were settled early, with, I propose, lasting effects on public feeling. The grounds of Charles

⁶⁸ This role is of course recognised locally, but in a quite low-key way.

Newdigate Newdegate's⁶⁹ estate 'abut' fields earmarked in 1850 for development by a combative Freehold Land Society. The development fizzled out and it is likely that the aims of the local branch of the Freehold Land Society were realised more successfully through more capable institutions. By these means the freedom of working men was sought through home ownership in Uxbridge; and nearby, at O'Connorville⁷⁰, the Chartist Co-operative Land Society (temporarily) satisfied demands for small plots of land, house building and privet hedges.

A violent late-medieval dispute over market tolls culminated in a charity which still operates today in a low-key manner. Uxbridge was the site of long-standing grievance over its lack of independence from Hillingdon which lasted until 1827 when Uxbridge became a separate parish (Hearmon, 1984, 55).

LBH's Self -Description

Much can be learned from how Local Authorities 'represent' themselves (Durkheim,, [1912] 1915) on their websites.

The Borough's strap-line 'Putting our residents first' grants uncontroversial pre-eminence to individuals' domestic status. Hillingdon's precise online guidelines for organizing street parties for the Queen's 90th birthday in 2016 is an exemplar which indicates solicitude over safety, care for the fabric of the built environment and celebration of a grand event scaled down to street level. The rules were set out clearly accompanied by a downloadable application form.

The LBH website lists local events including the 'Hillingdon in Bloom' competition and the autumn 'fruit and vegetable show'. LBH won the gold award both for the large city category of 'Britain in Bloom' in 2017 and for the 2018 'London in Bloom' category. The Hayes Carnival, by contrast, has suggested more energy in the past with Bollywood dancing, displays by community groups, children's groups, stilt-walkers and 'floral fashion'. The 'Hayes Carnival Family Fun Day 2018', however, has a more domesticated feel about it. Carnival can involve subversive inversions (Bakhtin, 1984)

⁶⁹ Charles Newdigate Newdegate, heir to the Harefield Estate, Conservative M.P. for North Warwickshire and opponent of Free Trade.

⁷⁰ O'Connorville was named after Feargus O'Connor, architect of the Chartist Co-operative Land Society founded in 1845. O'Connorville was situated near Rickmansworth.

but the 'Hayes Carnival Family Fun Day' encompasses this subversion⁷¹ neutralised and rendered safe by the authority of the local authority.

Survey of Uxbridge

From a survey I conducted, prior to this dissertation, of one hundred and seven town centre business owners or managers and around six hundred residents, I was struck by the recurring comment that Uxbridge was 'okay'. 'Attitudes' were moderate across a wide range of questions. Uxbridge was assessed as neither bad, nor excellent but instead, as satisfactory; respondents were contented with facilities and services and there was little dispersion in the results⁷². Uxbridgians⁷³ were satisfied with 'okay'.

My realisation now is that what this survey captured, without realising at the time, may not have been Uxbridge's good shopping provision or, say, its good cleansing department, but its well-contained and mannered 'Local sacred'. During its meetings, members of the Town Centre Committee on whose behalf I conducted the survey, listened to each other politely without interruption (despite some being in commercial competition). The Chair was a model of diplomacy. Discussions were neither animated and rushed nor dull and dragging but conducted at a happy medium pace. Participants talked informally in twos and threes in a comfortable atmosphere after the official business of the Committee was complete. Treating my own feelings as data, these meetings created a mildly formalised form of contentment.

The choice of a second locale was then straightforward: it needed to have energetic qualities, to be expressively animated. I considered the Medway towns Smith had characterised as featuring a lot of vexatious disputation or Dartford which had gone through pronounced conflicts between small business economisers and big business improvers. He explained the legacy of this conflict: a perpetual local determination in Dartford to be rid of a 'Dirty Old Dartford' by pursuing a 'Brighter and More Beautiful Dartford'. That Dartford had a different civic quality was clear from a preliminary meeting with two senior Dartford officers. As we will see there was considerably more

⁷¹ This notion of subversion equates with Hayes' mildly oppositional status. Similarly, DBC's blue plaques capture 'Dirty Dartford', rendering it safe.

⁷² This survey was conducted on behalf of the Uxbridge Town Centre Committee.

⁷³ 'Uxbridgians' was a term used frequently to denote the local inhabitants in nineteenth century Uxbridge.

depth to both cases than was apparent and I was to come to different conclusions about the place of class in the analysis.

Local Historians

I have alluded to the way that expertise confers ‘hierarchical’ authority (after Thompson, Ellis, and Wildavsky, 1990; Thompson & Verweij, 2004) and how ‘enclave’ membership confers a different kind of ‘egalitarian’ authority, for instance. The ‘hierarchical’ voice is heard in the accounts whose authors claim to be giving the official version. They establish their credentials by criticizing earlier accounts for inaccuracies and members of an oligarchy may interpret past events in a way that consolidates their present position.

Redford and Riches, and Giles Hutson offer very different accounts of Uxbridge. Redford and Riches⁷⁴ provide an eclectic study up to the publication date of their *History of the Ancient Town and Borough of Uxbridge* (1818). Their social position facilitated ready access to persons and documents, which they acknowledge. Giles Hutson’s *Recollections of Uxbridge 1830-1840* is concerned with his boyhood in the 1830’s, but was written with hindsight in the 1880’s. Hutson did not mean to write a history of Uxbridge. Pearce relates in the Foreword (1985, 5) that Hutson had been invited to present boyhood recollections to the Providence Congregational Chapel, and that Hutson’s father probably assisted. These recollections were printed in a local newspaper in 1885 such was the interest they generated. Hutson’s ability to summon up past public affect is striking.

Redford and Riches

Redford and Riches declare in their Preface to their 1818 history of Uxbridge that all previous accounts of Uxbridge are ‘extremely incorrect and deficient’. They present their credentials: a member of the nobility had permitted access to documents. Their liking for social distinctions is suggested by their appreciation of the ‘obliging and condescending attention of the Marquess of Anglesey’ (xi). Although attuned to hierarchy, Redford and Riches were affiliated to different religious establishments.

⁷⁴ Although we refer to Redford and Riches as ‘local historians’, like Dunkin twenty years later their emphasis is on local ‘antiquaries’ and ‘topography’ - ‘physical remains in the shape of buildings, walls, streets, roads and so on’ (Stephens, 1981, p.29).

George Redford was the Minister between 1812 and 1827 at what was to become known as the Providence Congregational Church, and was prominent nationally as a Congregationalist (Lee, 1896). Many Uxbridge Congregationalists members had been Anglicans drawn from St. Margaret's Chapel (Bolton et al, 1971, 91-95).

Riches was a Presbyterian member of the Old Meeting House, later appointed Deacon (Bolton et al, 1971, 91-95). By profession a solicitor and banker, he was a commander of the Uxbridge Volunteer Infantry (Hearmon, 1984, 64). Redford and Riches' non-conformism was in keeping with a strong local history of Protestantism, Uxbridge having backed the Parliamentarians in the Civil War. A riot by townspeople in 1631 led by Edmund Baker protesting against collection of market-tolls by the servant of the Countess of Derby is reported in a tone of amused condescension, critical, slightly ironic with an element of hauteur: 'To many of our readers it will afford an interesting picture of the manners of the day, and an amusing specimen of a miniature insurrection, headed by a second Wat Tyler' (1818, 22). The authors grumble over the Treaty House 'negotiations',⁷⁵ during the latter part of the Civil War, writing 'Lord Clarendon was notoriously prejudiced against everything but monarchy and strict episcopacy' (61, footnote). They question Lord Clarendon's denigration of the preacher, Christopher Love, who spoke in Uxbridge (60-61). Clarendon considered Love had incited violence towards the Commissioners (Clarendon himself was a Commissioner). Redford and Riches describe Love instead as a defender of liberty, wanting a 'mild and limited monarchy' (61, footnote).

Thus, Redford and Riches combine two 'thought-styles'. The hierarchical thought-style is detectable in their description of contemporary social relations, and in their account of the class conflict between the townspeople (or petite bourgeoisie) and the landed aristocracy in the seventeenth century. However, their tone is egalitarian in religious matters. This may tell us something about public affect here: sentiment favouring Parliament and opposed to Mary Tudor's Catholicism. Redford and Riches seem to have attested to local feelings, probably reinforcing them.

Giles Hutson - *Recollections of Uxbridge*

Hutson wrote his *Recollections of Uxbridge 1830-1840* circa 1884, which were then published in a local newspaper in 1885, therefore he was writing about his youth from

⁷⁵ Abortive peace negotiations took place in the 'Crown and Treaty House' in Uxbridge between the King and his Commissioners and Parliament in early 1645.(Cotton, 1984:25)

the stand-point of later life. Hutson combines two ‘thought-styles’ (after Douglas), hierarchical and egalitarian, as will be shown.

Giles Hutson’s occupation and concerns were very different. His father was a saddler and harness-maker, a business he took over and moved to larger premises ‘towards the western end of Uxbridge High Street’ (Foreword,,5). Doubtless, Hutson’s status then, is that of the small employer. Writing around 1884, Hutson reminisces about the Uxbridge he knew as a boy and young man in the 1830s, twenty or thirty years later than Redford and Riches’. The Uxbridge of the 1830s had been rumbustious, characterised by periodic drunkenness associated with various fairs, and by navvies constructing the Great Western Railway, an ‘army of men’ and a ‘large agglomeration of the roughest labourers to be found in the world’ engaged in brick-making for the railroad’ (39).

The 1830 Swing riots impacted on Uxbridge and Hutson writes with more sympathy for the plight of the rioters, given post-Waterloo inflation and taxation: ‘bodies of starving and disorderly men throughout the whole country gathered in a riotous manner’ (51), moving from place to place ‘doing very great damage and putting the inhabitants into a state of the greatest terror and alarm’ (51). However, his ultimate concern is for order: ‘Of course this state of things imperatively demanded a check’ and inhabitants ‘in many parts enrolled themselves in volunteer infantry and yeomanry corps’ .51). Uxbridge ‘speedily took active steps in establishing a troop of Yeomanry and a Volunteer Infantry Corps’ (52). He assessed that the 1832 Reform Bill and the repeal of the Corn Laws mitigated the condition of agricultural labourers, ‘remedial legislative measures’ which were ‘chiefly instrumental’ in ‘bringing about’ the improvement for the ‘poorer classes of the Empire’ (51-52).

Unlike Dunkin in Dartford, (who has mixed views) Hutson approves the New Poor Law:

Then was passed the New Poor Law, and although every opposition that could possibly be devised was brought against it and every endeavour made to impede its operation, yet its introduction very soon effected a most salutary change...It may now be hoped that a feeling will obtain amongst the poorest of our neighbours that it is quite as easy by thrift and care, and infinitely more honourable, to live by one’s own exertions as to be kept by the public (56-57).

This little homily is evidence of ‘economist’ support for self-help and prudence in the public realm. He criticises the Chartists severely, describing how ‘a monster petition’ was to be taken to the House of Commons on the 10th April 1848 and that the Uxbridge troop was ready ‘and put in position to march at five minutes’ notice’ if required. However, this proved unnecessary since the swearing-in of special constables was enough ‘to disperse or *overawe* those whom it was *feared* aimed at a violent political change’ (53, emphases added). Mr. Hutson writes that that day ‘saw the break-up of the Chartist Party, for the petition, said to be signed by countless thousands from all classes of the population, was found to be in great measure a huge forgery’ (53).

Tramps are dealt with harshly; he condemns (44) the turpitude of the tramp-class, blaming a tramp for the 1831 cholera outbreak:

This fear [of cholera] was not groundless for in a few days it reached Uxbridge by means of a tramp, that frequent disseminator of much that is fatal both in bodily and moral ailments. The tramp was a pest which existed in much greater virulence and numbers in 1831 than now.

The causes of cholera were not known at that time but miasma theory prevailing. To the author tramps were a repository of moral and bodily corruption. Nevertheless, he also believes in the civilising effect of institutions, acknowledging major improvements between the 1830’s and the 1880’s credited to law enforcement resulting in less rowdiness and drunkenness. The Marriage Bill had weighed against Non-Conformists and non-believers and the Test and Corporation Act⁷⁶ had excluded all Dissenters from public life and drew a line of fitness and unfitness of the most outrageous and galling character’ until it was repealed (58). In summary, Mr. Hutson’s writing has two tones: one expressing hierarchical authority, the other expressing himself as a disgruntled member of a dissenting enclave.

Comment: Local feelings are ‘socially constructed’ and the local historian is able to sediment feelings in text mediated by their thought-style(s). An attempt should be made to discern contested and prevailing feelings and the thought-styles through which historians have assessed contemporary and earlier risks.

I have emphasised that it is through sociality that LBH and Uxbridge are to be analysed and discussed. As in Dartford, I have used Cultural Theory to show that local observers and historians’ stances are socially derived. It is not as accurate ‘independent’ recorders

⁷⁶ Repealed in 1828.

that they are being assessed, but principally through a Durkheimian reading, with some recognition of class also.

An analysis and discussion of the exemplars follows.

Section One:

The Trajectory of the Market Tolls c. 1630 – Present Day

The first cluster of seventeenth century exemplars was chosen in line with my methodology. To recall, the methodology used entailed both researching deeply and over long time-lines in order to trace out striking instances embodying authority, emotion, ethical disposition, class and action (or inaction). An incident might be striking in its *lack* of intensity or it might be striking in its degree of ‘collective effervescence’ (Durkheim, [1912] 1915). I was struck by a series of heated contestations in mid-seventeenth century Uxbridge. We began here because these were disputes around the market and it is with the market that Uxbridge is still most strongly and symbolically associated today.

Uxbridgians at that time were truculent. Hearmon proposes (1984, 24) that ‘the action of the burgesses of Uxbridge, rebelling against traditional authority, was not untypical of events in England at this time. The rumblings of discontent finally erupted into civil war in 1642’. I argue that although, naturally, the national impacts on the local, local enactments have their own specificities which are nurtured through repeated enactments. It is through these enactments that specific ethical dispositions have been instantiated, again and again. This is one of the reasons why I have selected the striking rituals of contestation and rapprochement in which the main protagonists were Uxbridgians and the Countess of Derby.

To begin with I trace out earlier local authority contestations over centuries which demonstrate Uxbridge’s growing resentment towards what it saw as external forms of authority. This contextualises the episodes between the Countess of Derby and the townspeople. I also trace the lineage of the market, especially the awarding of its Charter and examine the concept of ‘the market’. This leads into an analysis and

discussion of the contestations over the tolls with the Countess of Derby, who resided in Hillingdon.

Authority Formation: *Honorial, Manorial and Parochial*

Growing desire for independence, and ultimately, local supremacy bears some relationship with economic success: as a market placed advantageously on the London-Oxford road and through mills on the river Colne. This importance was recognised and grew with the granting of a market charter to the town in the late twelfth century by Gilbert Basset, Keeper of the Honour, to which I will return. However, disputes arose as to where authority lay, and Uxbridge was ‘troublesome’ on a regular basis:

Two manors were concerned with the Uxbridge area: Colham and Hillingdon, which on merger in the fifteenth century meant that Uxbridge become an adjunct of Colham Manor (Hearmon, 1984, 12) and thereby came under the jurisdiction⁷⁷ of the Honour of Wallingford. The Lord or Lady of the Manor embodied this authority locally over Uxbridge. According to Bolton et al (1971, 82-87) from 1293 (or earlier), the ‘frankpledge court’ of the Middlesex ‘bailiwick’ of the Honour met at Uxbridge, adding that it is not clear how far the jurisdiction of the Honour Court overlapped with that of the local Manorial Courts⁷⁸. They relate that the Lord of Colham claimed the right to hold a court to which his tenants owed suit in 1245 from which I infer that administrative infrastructures appear to be coalescing in Uxbridge but that there were overlapping layers of authority that were not clear-cut:

A striking example of conflict between manor and town occurred in the reign of Henry VIII. Hearmon writes (1984,18) that Uxbridge had its own constables who enforced Manor Court rulings. Hearmon (1984,18-19) and Bolton (1971,82-87) both state that an Uxbridge constable was attacked and killed by the Bailiff of Colham in the early sixteenth century. Uxbridge’s resentment at manorial control, symbolized by the killing

⁷⁷ Tilley (2011) depicts the Honour of Wallingford’s relationship with the ‘vill’ of Uxbridge: the ‘honour’ covered scattered lands under the jurisdiction of *Wallingford Castle*. Most manors by the mid-twelfth century were tenant-held (Tilley, 2011, 8-9). These tenants owed quotas of knight service. The *Bassets of Bicester* were the leading tenant family. Gilbert Basset succeeded his father as *Keeper of the Honour* around 1179. He granted the vill of Uxbridge the important right to hold a market on Thursdays (1182x1188).

⁷⁸ The honour court apparently existed in Uxbridge until 1813 (Hearmon, 1984)

of its constable, 'festered' until the seventeenth century when it erupted in the form of market-toll disputes with the Countess of Derby (Hearmon, 1984, 18-19).

Uxbridge chafed at its subjection to Hillingdon. For example, as Hearmon relates, (1984, 19) Uxbridge was subject to the parochial authority of Hillingdon Parish, even though Uxbridge was already more important economically. Uxbridge did not become a separate parish until 1827 and was a 'chapelry' of Hillingdon, with no burial ground of its own, its dead being buried at Hillingdon. In recognition, the Earl of Derby (Lord of the Manor) gave Uxbridge land for burials but Uxbridge had to pay the church at Hillingdon two pence per burial as financial compensation. In summary, the Parish of Hillingdon showed some loss of authority, that the Manor recognised Uxbridge's growing (economic) importance and special requirements, but also that a compromise was struck.

Similarly, unspecified townspeople in Uxbridge asserted an (unsubstantiated) claim in the 1650's and again in the nineteenth century that they had always elected their own officers and maintained their own poor (Bolton et al, 1971, 82-87).

Contested Local Authority in Seventeenth Century Uxbridge: Market Toll Disputes

Today, Uxbridge's focus is still 'the market': its busy shopping centres, banks and multi-national company European headquarters although it lost its wholesale food market to Hayes' 'Western Market'. The granting of a market charter in the twelfth century has continuing significance for the town's prosperity and standing in relation to neighbouring places. However, rights over the collection of market-tolls (and over their distribution) were the focus of bitter dispute, as will be seen.

'The Market' has become a rather abstract term for what were readily identifiable places subject to rules and regulations also applied locally. Market places are sites of hierarchical authority as much as they are places for mutual bargaining. 'Markets' are heuristic insofar as they summarise local settlements – sometimes temporary - among different interested parties as to where authority lies between town or manor and the form authority should take. Intriguingly, the eventual outcome of recurring market-toll disputes led to a long-lived and continuing, but little-known Uxbridge institution as will be shown.

The Basset ‘Grant’

Uxbridge was granted the right to hold a market in the late twelfth century. Gilbert Bassett, Keeper of the Honour of Wallingford, granted Uxbridge the right to hold a Thursday market between 1182 and 1188 (Tilley, 2011). The Grant reads:

... and I appoint a Market to be kept on Thursday, and my Burgesses shall have Toll of the Merchandises, that shall be sold with their Houses; Of the Forfeitures also, which shall be made within their Houses, they shall be themselves Justices, and they shall have the amends thereof. These Customs and Quittances and Liberties, and all other Things whatsoever, which may be found better or more free in any other Borough, to them I grant and confirm, and will they shall and hold firmly. The Forfeitures made on the Market-day are mine, wheresoever they shall be in my Borough. [Forefactura facta die Mercati, mea sunt, ubicunque facta fuerint in burgo meo].⁷⁹

Bolton et al write (1971) that the right was granted to the ‘burgesses’ of the town and that:

Basset’s grant also provided that holders of one acre in the town should be free from all tolls and customs on payment of 2s. a year, that ½-acre holders should have the same privileges in consideration of 1s. a year, and that both classes of tenant should have the right to alienate [sell] their holdings at will (75-82).

Townspople interpreted the ‘grant’ as being in their favour over both collection and distribution of market tolls. In a sense, the ‘mode of regulation’ and the ‘mode of accumulation’ seem ‘aligned’ through a mechanism that is known, which is the ‘Grant’, by a personage with the authority to issue it.

‘Riotous proceedings, litigations and rapprochement’

The claims by the Manor of Colham to market tolls appear not to have been challenged until the time of Alice, Countess of Derby, who became Lady of the Manor in 1594, a considerable time prior to crystallising of ill-temper into toll riots in 1630. Unrest was quite common up to the Civil War and in Uxbridge ‘local’ authority was tested and clarified in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as feudal forms of regulation began to break down, replaced by new local structures.

⁷⁹ Extract from the translation by Redford and Riches of Gilbert Basset of Bicester’s Charter granting Uxbridge the right to hold a market on Thursdays (1182x1188). Redford and Riches (1818) include the charter in Latin which they have modified. Corroboration of the Latin version and their translation is required against the original document.

According to Redford and Riches (1818, 16) the Borough of Uxbridge had been ‘held’ by the Lord of the Manor of Colham ‘from the early period of Edward the Confessor’ and ... ‘the possessors of that manor have always since claimed the rights of the manor and borough of Uxbridge as exclusively their own, and part of their inheritance’ (16); that is feudal ‘accumulation’ with feudal ‘regulation’. Redford and Riches (18) suggest that custom became established, and continued under Alice, County of Derby,⁸⁰ whereby the Lord or Lady of the Manor of Colham would appoint two burgesses of the town to act as bailiffs to collect the tolls and profits ‘of the manor and the borough’ and that they were empowered to do this under the authority of the steward (who was in the service of the Countess). A ceremony was held at the Court Leet or Court Baron at which the Steward sat as judge, where the burgesses acknowledged the rights of the Countess to the profits. She left these in the hands of the bailiffs for them to distribute to ‘charitable causes’. Through their exercise of this privilege, they considered that the profit was theirs; indeed believing that it had been that of their ancestors.

Redford and Riches attribute the rapid deterioration in relations between the Manor and the town in the early seventeenth century to the townspeople and their ‘mistaken construction of the old document, called Basset’s Grant, the whole of which it is clear none of them could read’ and that on this basis they challenged Lady Derby’s claim to the profits from the market and fair (Redford and Riches, 1818, 17-18).

I have attempted a time-line for the ensuing events, below. The first cluster of stand-offs and rapprochements between the authority of the townspeople and that of outside authority (in the person of Lady Derby) were enacted between Easter 1630 and 1633. The timeline is set out and outlines the contestations.

In the early 1630 the Bailiffs and Burgesses of Uxbridge refused to acknowledge the right of the Countess to the market tolls. Matters deteriorated over the next few months with a court adjournment followed by locking the Countess’s steward out of the Court room. Her claims continued to be resisted and this resulted the following year in the Countess withdrawing the burgesses’ rights to the tolls, after which the steward managed to collect the tolls for a few months, at least. However, at the Fair of St. Margaret on 2th July, probably in 1631, the servant of Edmund Baker (a tanner) spread the word that the steward was collecting a penny from both buyer and seller.

⁸⁰ Uxbridge was under the jurisdiction of Alice, *County of Derby* until 1637

Redford and Riches (22) invoked the idea of ‘a second Wat Tyler’ leading ‘a miniature insurrection’. ‘The vulgar people’ arrived, armed. Even the Justice of the Peace could not calm the townspeople down with Baker stating he would keep the tolls himself. The Constable had no effect on the rioters. On 28th July, 1631 Baker prevented entry to the toll-corn store by positioning his armed servant at the door. Hundreds of rioters then dragged the Countess’s elderly servant off his cart, and they then appropriated the corn. The Countess issued legal proceedings. The burgesses pleaded their ancient claim to the toll-corn under ‘Basset’s Grant’. Unfortunately, this was written in Latin which nobody except the Countess’s counsel could apparently read and which he claimed proved the rights of the Countess.

When the court found in her favour further rioting ensued. This led to Countess to apply to the much-feared Star Chamber. This alarmed the townspeople who petitioned her not to proceed. It was too late and Edmund Baker, Matthew Baker and others were fined heavily upon which the burgesses petitioned the Countess again begging her to mitigate the fine.

On 16th October, 1633 Lady Derby held a Court Leet with her steward and seventeen ‘jurymen of the burgesses’. A feast was held at which Lady Derby made a gift of venison to the burgesses. There seemed to be rapprochement.

Barbara Jones captured the dispute in her 1956 mural ‘The town of Uxbridge and the Countess of Derby’ which is in storage at the Civic Centre in Uxbridge (LBH, 2018).

Comment: The rituals of stand-off and cooling-down have some connection with local economic prosperity and the ‘realisation’ of ‘surplus value’ at the point of sale. But equally they are about the distribution of authority over that value, besides the farmers. Although the Countess seems to have handed over the tolls to the local ‘bailiffs’ for disbursement to charities she retained the authority to do or not to do this. Her authority had non-local sources with feudal origins. On the formal level the reasons contributing to the riots might be 1) that the ‘Grant’ document was indeed ambiguous 2) that the document was not ambiguous and that one party or the other is mistaken 3) that one of the parties asserts their claim irrespective of what was laid down 4) that Redford and Riches have or have not translated the Latin faithfully or 5) some unknown combination of the four possibilities.

Although rapprochement seemed to have taken place, through the device of the venison gift, the disputes re-ignited a few years later, after the Countess of Derby's death. The trajectory of these disputes will be analysed. However, I return to the Countess of Derby first. The means by which the Countess gained authority over the burgesses were not specific to those episodes. The next exemplar coalesces around ritualised authority too, and serves to illuminate the toll-riot episodes; contestations over the local sacred. I draw on Wilkie (2009):

'Representations' of legal victories

Wilkie proposes (2009, 191) that the Countess used performance (such as masques) coupled with a 'family gathering' to mark legal victory and that this was what the early 1630's performance of 'Arcades' achieved. The legal victory which this performance

Legitimate Authority over the Market: Contestations, Litigation and Rapprochement	
Easter 1630	'At the Court Leet held...over the Market House, the Bailiffs and Burgesses of Uxbridge refused to acknowledge the right of the Countess to...the [market] tolls' (Hearmon, 1984). The Court adjourned to Saturday Whitsun week
Saturday Whit week 1630	The Steward was locked out of the Court Room. He attempted to hold the meeting in 'a burgess tenement' but 'the claims of her Ladyship were resisted and a verdict could not be obtained in her favour' (Redford and Riches, 19-20).
18th April, 1631	The Countess issued an order withdrawing the burgesses' right to collect the tolls and the steward collected the toll without resistance until July.
20th July, 1631? Fair of St. Margaret	The Steward arrived to collect the 'toll-corn'. The tanner Edmund Baker's servant told townspeople that the Steward was collecting a penny each from both buyers and sellers
21 st July 1631	'An amusing spectacle of a miniature insurrection, headed by a second Wat Tyler' was enacted (Redford and Riches, 22). Edmond Baker arrived at the market place 'upon a sudden there was a greate many of the vulgar people gathered together'. Twenty or more carried halberds and other vicious weapons. Edward Carr, Justice of the Peace, arrived. He tried to persuade the 'Burgagers' to collect the toll peacefully. However, Baker rejected this, declaring he would keep the tolls himself. William Jarman, Constable, forbade entry to the market-place but to no effect (Hearmon, 1984, 24) reports that Baker '[positioned]one of his servants blocking the stairs to the toll-corn store, heavily 'armed with a drawn sword, a gun and a pistol loaded with hailshot'.

28 th July, 1631	Baker charged others (with halberd), preventing the <i>Countess's</i> servant from collecting the corn ⁸¹ . Several hundred inhabitants rioted, dragging the elderly servant off his cart, bruising him. The rioters appropriated the toll-corn
Legitimate Authority over the Market: Contestations, Litigation and Rapprochement (continued)	
	Lady Derby issued legal proceedings. A quo-warrantis was issued by the Court of the Exchequer against both parties. The 'burgagers' pleaded that Uxbridge was 'an ancient borough consisting of 73 burgages [plots inhabited by] the Burgesses of the Village of Uxbridge, entitled to the keeping of the fairs and market'. According to Redford and Riches (1818) in court the Uxbridgians claimed rights under 'Basset's Grant', written in Latin they couldn't read. Nor could the Judge. However the Countess' counsel 'read it fluently' and said that it proved the rights of Lady Derby (Redford and Riches, 27).
	The Court found in her favour. Rioting resumed. Lady Derby applied to the Star Chamber, striking fear into the townspeople who petitioned her against this step. The case had begun so could not be stopped but Lady Derby told the Court that the townspeople had petitioned her humbly (petition dated 12th May, 1633). Edmond and Mathew Baker and others were fined £200 to Lady Derby and £20 to the King. The burgesses petitioned the Countess praying that she mitigate the fine (Redford and Riches 1818)
1st October, 1633	Lady Derby held a Court Leet with her Steward and seventeen 'jurymen of the burgesses present'. A feast was held, with a gift of venison from Lady Derby. Rapprochement seems to have taken place

marks, according to Wilkie (2009, 190), was the 1631 Castlehaven trial whereby the husband of the Countess's daughter, Anne, together with two of his servants, were tried and executed for Anne's rape and sodomy⁸². The performance of 'Arcades' denoted 'significant moments in the lives of the Stanley women' (Wilkie, 191).

A previous masque was performed in 1607 (Wilkie, 190) which celebrated a legal victory. This victory was the outcome of a legal battle over inheritance between the Countess and William Stanley, sixth Earl of Derby. . The masque was John Marston's 'Entertainment at Ashby'.

⁸¹ A toll could be extracted from corn merchants by dipping a pitcher of known volume into the supply and taking this for separate storage. In this way the toll was proportionate to the volume of corn traded.

⁸² Anne accused her husband, the Earl of Castlehaven of assisting his footman in raping her.

Wilkie's proposition is consistent with these findings. Like the feast the Countess held following her victory in the Star Chamber, so too did the gift of venison symbolise her high social standing, namely, her authority over the 'burgagers' and her authority to seek rapprochement. In my terms venison was a heuristic for authority in other ways too: Wilkie relates how, following boundary disputes begun in 1616, deer incursions from Sir Edward Kynaston's lands abutting hers in Shropshire, resulted in her telling her tenants to kill any Kynaston deer found on her property. Further accusations - and temporary truces - were enacted (2009, 224-228).

'Arcades'

The Countess of Derby's refinement and association with élite society through her first marriage suggests a wider social circle in stark contrast to the comportment and attitudes of the rumbustious townspeople of Uxbridge. Wilkie (2009, 307-8) notes one demonstration of what I call the Countess's 'local authority': Wilkie describes how in the early 1630's John Milton's 'Arcades' was 'commissioned as an entertainment for the countess...' and that her grandchildren took part in the piece at Harefield.

I suggest that The Countess's standing as a sublime 'Queen' stands in stark contrast to contestation by the 'burgagers' and their rough handling of her Steward. Simple terror of the Star Chamber bolstered her power position but probably not her local legitimacy.

Wilkie (2009, 307) quotes several lines from different parts of Arcades:

Mark what radiant state she spreads
In circle round her shining throne,
Shooting her beams like silver threads.
This this is she alone,
Sitting like a Goddess bright
In the centre of her light
(lines 14-19)

I will bring you where she sits,
Clad in splendour as befits
Her deity.
Such a rural Queen
All Arcadia hath not seen.
(lines 91-95)

Wilkie writes perceptively:

The lyrics of the poem and its performance in Harefield position the Countess of Derby as a figurative local monarch of the community. Milton's poem

exemplifies the significant connection between the countess of Derby and the village of Harefield. If she was the “rural Queen”⁸³, then Harefield was her rural kingdom. (307-308)

Comment on Ritual and Regulation: The Uxbridge ‘burgagers’ sought control of market tolls and revenue distribution and they clashed with the aristocracy for the authority to do both. The toll-riots were part of an extended conflict over legitimate power (authority) between townspeople and landed interests from the mid-sixteen thirties. The tolls were lucrative and for burgagers to have control would enhance the prestige of the town compared with the manor. Ritual animation is central to this case: rites of contestation in which two distinct ‘voices’ are audible; the hierarchical voice (of the manor and other feudal institutions) and the enclaved voice (of the indignant ‘burgagers’). In only a few instances were the encounters direct and violent. But more typically, the Countess transposed the battleground to the courtrooms including the frightening Star Chamber.

The rites, their appropriateness and timing are vital to the case. The Countess *designs* victory and peace rites, here through the medium of venison and as an arts patron. The rites are succinct, symbolic; almost intellectual in their design and execution. I ask what is it that venison ‘represented’, if ‘represent’ it did, and for whom? The venison represents something sacred but perhaps not venerated by burgagers who had the Countess’s version of the sacred forced upon them. The rites, their appropriateness and timing are vital to the case. She deploys symbols of power and wealth, specifically presentation of venison, to signal her authority over the burgagers. She seems to have detached the venison symbol from other uses (feasts for distinguished visitors) and used it for the purpose of impressing her authority on non-titled visitors. Sharing venison with the burgagers is *her* modification. Venison has been *imposed* on them and it is this imposition which bears her authorial imprint. The rapprochement which the venison signified was one that was arrived at on her terms.

The affects were created in different spaces: open anger and drawn weapons at the Market Hall; judicious expression of contending positions within the court system, and

⁸³ Queen Elizabeth visited ‘the rural Queen’ at Harefield for several days in 1602 during which the Countess ‘[choreographed] the entire visit around theatrical entertainments’ (Wilkie, 2009, 164).

more intimately at the Countess's residence up the Hill. These enactments are visible and dramatically so (unlike Marx's descriptions of class relations, for example).

The market is a crowded space but not straightforwardly public, as Edmund Baker who proposed keeping the tolls for himself. The Countess's disposition is different. Although she exerts her rights to the tolls, she disperses them ritualistically, for charitable purposes. On the other hand, the burgesses enact notions of self-help and autonomy, as Baker demonstrated. Their emotions run very high over the tolls.

It may be possible to apply regulation theory to the eventual outcome as changes to ownership titles and in authority seem to coincide, at least very roughly, and delayed by long periods of time.

Authority Formation

Next, I trace the trajectory of authority formation following the death of the Countess of Derby in 1637. What happened to the tolls is shown below and shows how the authority of the Countess was transferred to The Lords in Trust (who were townspeople), at least over the tolls. This process was long drawn-out. The Lords in Trust remain responsible for charitable works in Uxbridge.

The Dispute Re-ignites

Lord Chandos succeeded Lady Derby after her death in 1637, but as a Royalist he left England in 1652. This gave the townspeople the opportunity to seize control of the corn-toll and enjoy the profits, according to Redford and Riches. Redford and Riches also suggest (1818, 35) that George Pitt, successor to Lord Chandos, attempted to regain control of the tolls in 1662. The outcome is not known but Redford and Riches 'presume' that the plaintiff was successful in filing a Bill in the Exchequer (1672).

The Trajectory of the Market Tolls, 1637 – Present Day	
1637	Lady Derby dies. Lord Chandos succeeds her
1652	As a Royalist, Chandos left England (Hearmon, 1984).
	The dispute re-ignites as townspeople seize the corn-toll and 'enjoyed the profits of the fairs and market' for several years (Redford and Riches 1818)

1662	George Pitt, Esq. who had married Lord Chandos' widow, filed a Bill in the Exchequer against inhabitants who claimed the toll 'in the name of a corporate body'. The outcome is unknown
1669	The Manor of Colham was 'aliened' from the Manor of Uxbridge, followed by further local reorganisations
1672	Another Bill was filed in the Exchequer which Redford and Riches assume favoured the plaintiff
1695	The Manor and Borough of Uxbridge is sold to seven 'inhabitants of the town' for £550. One of the Manor buyers, Edmund Baker, was a descendant of the Edmund Baker who had challenged the Countess's right to the corn-toll
1727	The Manor Court Leet is abolished. The final meeting sanctioned a survey establishing the boundaries of Uxbridge for the first time (Hearmon, 1984)
1729	The property was 'vested' in two of the seven men, Edmund Baker and Edmund Blount 'through purchase and survivorship'. They conveyed it to trustees, 'The Lords in Trust', for charitable purposes. The number of trustees was increased to seven with the power to appoint successors from 'inhabitants and housekeepers' in the town. This custom is still practiced today (www.uwt.org)

From Semi-Feudal/Early Modern Aristocracy to conservative Urban Institution

In 1669 George Pitt and William, Lord Chandos, 'aliened' the Manor of Colham to Sir Robert Vyner Bart (Redford and Riches, 1818, 36). This is significant because from that date Uxbridge was a 'distinct property'. A later significant act, in 1727, was when the boundaries of Uxbridge were defined for the first time (Hearmon, 1984).

George Pitt's son, George Pitt jnr., sold the property of Uxbridge to seven inhabitants of the town in 1695 for five hundred and fifty pounds, a very considerable exchange of wealth amassed through Uxbridge's prosperous trading position. Again relying on Redford and Riches, one learns that the property 'became vested in Edmund Baker and Edmund Blount' in 1729 'by purchase and survivorship'. They conveyed it to trustees; 'the Lords in Trust', for charitable purposes. The trustees were increased to seven who were to pay to the poor amounts specified by the Overseers of the Poor from market profits. Residual 'produce' could be allocated as the Trustees saw fit 'for the benefit and advantage of the town only' (Redford and Riches, 1818, 256). These Trustees were known as the Lords in Trust of the Manor and Borough of Uxbridge. The 'Manor and Borough' included land, tenements, commons, market tolls and fairs.

Comment: The developing local authority of the town over its market was punctuated by threats of violence and episodes of rapprochement. There seems to have been

tension between the furtherance of individual advantage and recognition of at least of an obligation to use market tolls to mitigate the needs of the poor. In other words a tension existed between private advantage-seeking and collective responsibility.

I draw on Colehan's account of The Lords in Trust (n.d.)⁸⁴ detailing the evolution of The Lords in Trust in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and challenges to their authority. Trustees could appoint successors who 'shall be inhabitants and housekeepers in the said town', a practice which continues 'to the present day'. Their income was less than £100 in 1729 and after appointing a town crier and a couple of other appointments the residue was used for charitable purpose. By 1800 toll-income averaged £1,000 a year and Uxbridge was 'the largest pitched corn market in the country'. Colehan explains that the toll-corn (one pint per sack of corn) was sold and that the money raised was to be used for charitable purposes. However, the corn market then declined and the *Trustees* relied more on increasing income from property and land-rents.

Legitimacy Challenged

Colehan refers to correspondence by an anonymous contributor to an unnamed 'local newspaper' in 1830 in which the legitimacy of the Lords in Trust itself was questioned. The contributor complained about 'a grand tuck-in at the appointment of fresh trustees'. The elected included W.C. Brown, (the son of the 'old Brown', Chairman), R. Anie (son-in-law of 'old Brown'). Anie is described as a 'liar extraordinary and not a parishioner of Uxbridge'. The anonymous contributor continues 'Now, Mr. Editor, there must surely have been some good pickings since the party did not break up until two o'clock and most of them very lushly'. Colehan surmises that the contributor belonged to was 'one of a group of radical writers for which Uxbridge was well-known at the time'. He continues that 'records show that throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century the trustees paid meticulous attention to detailing the income and expenditure of the charity'. It is uncertain whether this means to suggest that the Trustees changed their ways became more 'rational-bureaucratic' due to criticism or whether criticisms by radicals could be dismissed.

⁸⁴ Colehan's article 'Our history: the old charities of Uxbridge' on the Uxbridge United Welfare Trust's⁸⁴ website.

More Attacks on Legitimacy

A contributor to the press, self-styled 'One of themselves', was still complaining about institutional failures in 1853:

The Uxbridgians are obliged to have certain officers forced upon them by Acts of Parliament; some are called Guardians, some Directors, some Lords in Trust, each of them have considerable power in dipping into the pockets of their fellow townsmen...the envelope of secrecy is placed around all their transactions, thus freeing themselves from any annoyance the vulgar might arise by their knowing too much.
(*Buckinghamshire and Adjacent Counties Advertiser*, 22nd November, 1853)

The writer puts the Lords in Trust in the same category as the 'Guardians' and Board of Health. He or she claims that when the Board of Health was elected, one friend proposed another and this continued until the Board was complete and that the townspeople were quiescent in this. Other complaints include the quiescence of the townspeople, the Board's authority to appoint and fix salaries which their neighbours had to pay, and refusing a friend to view the proceedings of the Board of Health. This followed the precedent of the 'Guardians' and 'Lords in Trust', the writer stated.

Another complaint against indifference and inaction was made by the 'Uxbridgian' in *The Uxbridge Journal*, 2nd February, 1856, who wrote complaining that the market-house floor had collapsed and with it 'one of the finest structures in the kingdom'. Local youths collected there but the police could not intervene because the marketplace was owned by the 'Lords in Trust' (quotation marks in original). 'Where Uxbridge was at the time of the Reform Bill nobody knows. The besom of destruction did not overtake this self-elected and irresponsible body.'

However, an outcome of this tangled history is that the Lords in Trust continue their charitable work, quietly, without any of the fierce rancour which characterised its origins. The London Borough of Hillingdon (2017) states on its website that 'the charity today remains fiscally independent, receiving no income from government grants or public appeals'. The eleven trustees are all volunteers. Prudence guides the trustees who 'take all steps to ensure the properties they have inherited, or purchased from legacies, are maintained resourcefully, managed efficiently and the income from them invested wisely' (LBH, 2017). The ultimate guideline in allocating funds are the

. 'wills of their founders who gave express instructions that their gifts be used to help the poor, needy, and established, residents of the Uxbridge Urban area' (LBH, 2017)⁸⁵.

Comment: Uxbridgians clarify their feelings about space, public and private, and about public policy through toll riots, later through correspondence with the local press, 'epistolary rites'. Although the town seized control of the tolls in the mid seventeenth century eventually through various transmutations in the early eighteenth century the property was vested in the Lords in Trust, a conservative urban institution for charitable purposes.

Uxbridge Accrues Authority

The town's political and economic authority coalesced by the mid eighteen-thirties. Uxbridge became a separate parish in 1827 after long periods of truculence. By 1830 Uxbridge eclipsed Hillingdon parish and was more or less autonomous (Bolton et al., 1971, 82-87). In 1836 the Uxbridge Poor Law Union was formed, greatly increasing Uxbridge's authority. The Union covered a large area similar in extent to Hillingdon Borough today (Hearmon, 1984), encompassing the parishes of Harefield; Ickenham; Ruislip; Northolt; Hillingdon; Cowley, Hayes; Norwood; and West Drayton. Hillingdon Parish workhouse was enlarged and run by a Board of Guardians. Wingfield (2003, 24) gives the total population of these parishes in 1831 as 12,663, with 3,482 belonging to Uxbridge and that Uxbridge was very likely chosen because it had a market house and 'held a commanding position as regards to the other parishes'. Bolton et al (1971, 82-87) also suggest that there may have been an 'unofficial local board...for Uxbridge as early as 1832'.

Section Two

Conflicting Sources of Authority

In this section I analyse and discuss local dirtiness and the Local Board of Health; Chartism in Uxbridge, the Chartist Co-operative Land Society, and the Uxbridge Freehold Land Society. These are selected as they entail contesting sources of authority. Through these contestations, Uxbridgians clarified their ethical attachment to

⁸⁵ The UUWT website indicates the move towards managing property and rents in the latter half of the nineteenth century as tolls declined. In 1906 The Lords in Trust and other charities came together under one 'umbrella' as Uxbridge United Charities. The title 'The Lords in Trust of the Manor and Borough of Uxbridge' is still used by the Trustees.

economising. In the exemplars there is animation about *not* spending money on improving. Strong counterclaims in favour of improvements are not heard.

Dirt: The Local Board and Economist Opposition (1849)

Hutson (1985, 40-41) describes the disjuncture between the *appearance* of cleanliness and the *reality* of dirt in 1830's Uxbridge:

The main streets of the town were kept well swept and watered, there being always available for this work a number of inmates of the Poor-house...The watering and constant sweeping of the main streets was very much as it should be, and led many strangers passing to describe Uxbridge as a nice clean town. The inhabitants prided themselves upon this character and were very fond of comparing it with Dirty Brentford...⁸⁶

Yet, with all this presumed cleanliness, abomination existed not now to be dreamed of. There was one set of brick drains only Into these entered all of what now passes through the elaborate system of glazed pipes which lie low in the earth. Much that was most offensive came from sinks, from overflowing cesspools and other objectionable places into open drains on the sides of the street...None of the grating of these drains were trapped and it may be easily imagined what a chronic state of stench existed. (Hutson, 1985, 40-41)

Improvements in sanitation and drainage were not the corollaries of the growing authority and standing of Uxbridge. Besides, there was resistance to increased taxation, as will be seen.

Uxbridge Petitions for an Enquiry

The 1831 and 1849 cholera epidemics persuaded local notables to petition for an enquiry (April, 1849) under the 1848 Public Health Act (Hearmon, 1984, 54). Hearmon suggests that Uxbridge was the first town in England to petition under the act⁸⁷. William Ranger – who had inspected Dartford (above) – visited, and, among other recommendations, urged construction of reservoirs on Uxbridge Common.

⁸⁶ It is interesting that Uxbridgians compare the cleanness of their town to Brentford's dirtiness, whereas Dartford embraces its dirty side through officially authorised plaques inscribed with the 'Dirty Dartford' verses (detailed in the Dartford Findings).

⁸⁷ Please refer to the Dartford chapter also on the dates relating to petitioning, inspection and establishing of a Local Board of Health.

A provisional Local Board of Health was formed in 1849, although permanent status was confirmed four years later (Bolton et al, 1971, 82-87) once the boundary was settled. There were rows about costs, and drainage systems were delayed when owners refused to sell land. There were also problems over the reach of the Board's jurisdiction and expense (Hearmon, 1984, 54-55). It met for the first time in September 1849, taking over responsibility for the town's amenities which, according to Bolton et al, (1971, 82-87) had been exercised by the Trustees since 1785⁸⁸. The Board's duties included effective sewerage and committees were set up to 'suppress nuisances', attend to lighting, paving and levy rates (Bolton et al, 1971, 82-87).

A sarcastic poster appeared ('History of local government in Hillingdon', 2018) headed 'Wanted Immediately by the Ratepayers of Uxbridge'. The poster explains that a 'clever fellow' is required to 'report the doings of the Uxbridge "Board of Health"'. He would need 'integrity' and 'a nose "cute enough to smell a rat"'. The appointee would be required to prepare a report for the ratepayers in order to determine 'who...is responsible for that series of insane blunders, which has brought down upon the Ratepayers of Uxbridge like a blasting blight, such oppressive and unbearable taxation'.

The reader is told to apply to 'Mr. G. Case, Central Vigilance [sic] Committee Room, Uxbridge'.

*The Uxbridge Pioneer*⁸⁹ censured the *Local Board of Health* over non-compliant property owners in March, 1849 (21).

...highways not properly sewered must be put in a proper state on notice being served on owners or occupiers of premises fronting or abutting the defective parts of the streets and if the notice be not complied with, the local Board may execute the works and charge the cost upon the owners. To this clause we beg to call the attention of the proprietors (whoever they may be) of New Windsor Street and Buckingham Street.

The Uxbridge Pioneer here makes a sarcastic appeal to the authority of the Local Board.

Comment: Like Dartford, feelings and 'interests' were being clarified, although our sense is that in Uxbridge there was less of an 'improving' ethic for 'economisers' to

⁸⁸ According to Bolton et al (1971,82-87) in 1785 an Act was passed which 'authorised specially appointed trustees to widen the main street by demolishing the market-house and other buildings'.

⁸⁹ A Chartist journal established by John Bedford Leno, Gerald Massey and others in 1849 (see below).

confront. In comparison to William Ranger's finding in Dartford there may have been less dirt to contend with here also. I find nothing like the amount of detailed and angry criticism that Applegarth had expressed in Dartford.

Radical Passions in Mid-Century Uxbridge

The next three exemplars coalesce around radical passions. By analysing and comparing three 'movements' one can readily discern which of these managed to arouse Uxbridgians.

I begin by discussing Chartism *in* Uxbridge, followed by the Chartist Co-operative Land Society which processed *through* Uxbridge, and, finally, the Uxbridge Freehold Land Society. The latter is of particular interest since radical passions in Uxbridge were articulated most strongly when focussing, as in this case, on voting rights in tandem with the property qualification. The basis of local passions was house construction, home ownership and the franchise (not defence of public access to common land as was the case in Dartford). The Uxbridge Freehold Land Society generated much excitement for a short period of time, then petered out amidst all kinds of accusations having achieved little on the ground.

Chartism in Uxbridge

Chartism is selected as it tells us something about contested authority. In Uxbridge local Chartists countered the local Tories, the pulpit and small shopkeepers, though their demands were universalistic. The beginnings were marked by a publicity stunt orchestrated by Chartists, John Bedford Leno and Gerald Massey, in the centre of Uxbridge, and the sentiments it aroused. A second exemplar focusses on a Jubilee organised by the Chartist Co-operative Land Society which processed through Uxbridge to 'O'Connorville', as it came to be known.

Context

The 1832 Reform Act was intended to enfranchise the new middle classes. However, the majority of the population was *not* enfranchised and discontent grew amongst the working classes, especially with the enactment of The New Poor Law (The Poor Law

Amendment Act of 1834). This discontent led to direct support for the Chartist movement⁹⁰. Its petition had six aims:

- universal male suffrage
- secret ballots
- abolition of the property qualification to become an MP
- payment for MPs
- electoral districts of the same size
- annual elections for Parliament

Weighty petitions were presented to Parliament in 1839, 1842 and 1848. As has been alluded to in the Dartford Findings, the last great gathering was at Kennington Common, in conjunction with the last petition, and was considered a failure. Chartism petered out after this. The People's Charter was a national movement with universal application, but I focus on how Chartism was enacted in Uxbridge, relying on Shaw's 1995 account of local Chartist leaders, Gerald Massey and John Bedford Leno:

Gerald Massey, Chartist poet and writer, and John Bedford Leno, printer, Chartist, poet, writer, and, later, member of the Council of the Reform League were both active in Uxbridge in the 1840s⁹¹. Leno was born in Uxbridge and Massey came from Tring. Leno set up the Uxbridge Young Men's Improvement Society (a radical journal) in 1845 (1995, 2006) and Massey moved to Uxbridge in the late 1840s. Shaw suggests that Massey had probably come into contact with radical groups through public lectures and that Massey was present at the 'great meeting' on Kennington Common in 1848. Leno was joint editor of *The Attempt*, a hand-written newspaper which Massey supported. The Young Men's Improvement Society established a printed journal in 1849, *The Uxbridge Pioneer*, with Massey, Leno and others as editors (Shaw, 1995, 27). However, Massey and Leno were more radical than their fellow editors, and, within months, had decided to set up another more radical paper with two colleagues, *The Uxbridge Spirit of Freedom and Working Man's Vindicator conducted by Working Men*. The first edition was dated April, 1849. They raised fifteen shillings from

⁹⁰ Feargus O'Connor was a leading figure in the Chartist movement, who focussed on the Chartist Land Plan from the mid eighteen-forties.

⁹¹ Apparently John Bedford Leno was an admirer of Feargus O'Connor and may have marched from Windsor to Herringsgate/O'Connorville [now Heronsgate] on the occasion of the Chartist Jubilee which I describe. Heronsgate, near Rickmansworth, is not far from Uxbridge.

political sympathisers who promised a shilling per month to finance the paper. A thousand copies went on sale on market day.

Massey's Stunt

Shaw describes a stunt by Massey (1995, 27): he obtained a Republican Paris Civil Corps uniform and Leno's brother was persuaded to march round Uxbridge selling the paper in uniform. The device worked: nine hundred copies were sold. There was worker support, but unsurprising 'dissent from the more affluent Tory townspeople and condemnation from the vicar's pulpit (in the name of God) the following Sunday'.

Massey and Leno had stated their editorial intention to 'Call a man a man and a spade a spade' and, in response, an ironmonger placed a shovel outside his door with 'This is a spade' written on it and a baker mocked *The Spirit of Mischief: or Working Man's Window Breaker*.

Massey shortly thereafter left Uxbridge to become secretary of the Working Tailors' Association; 'he expected [in London], there would now be a greater opportunity for the expression of his radical idealism' (Shaw, 2009, 31), Massey persuaded Leno also to move to London which he did as an operative at the Working Printers' Association, rather than taking charge as Massey had suggested (35). Leno moved his printing press from Uxbridge and was with the Association for three years, while maintaining his Chartist activities.

The Chartist case indicates successful 'ritualization' of a political sentiment. Through marching around the town centre, handing out leaflets in a French revolutionary uniform, selling newspapers mobilised workers' sentiments. This is a good example of ritualization of local affect (the rites generating affect), provoking positions, including the opposition of conservative elements, the vicar and tradespeople. Sarcasm and joking are employed by the shop-keepers whose different political affiliations were also clarified publicly.

Mixed Reviews

The Northern Star, the Chartist newspaper, reviewed the first edition of *The Vindicator* ('review', 1849, 3), expressing its agreeable surprise at:

a small town like Uxbridge containing men who not only dare think for themselves, but who also, are determined to give their free thoughts utterance, with the view of hastening the political and social emancipation of their order.

A few months later *The Bucks Advertiser* (15th December 1849) commented rather more cautiously that the paper was juvenile but daring:

We take the liberty of suggesting that a good deal of what they write does not look as if it came from men of temperance and peace. The principles are sound and true, but we don't think it worth while to commit sedition in order to expound them (cited Shaw, 2009, 29).

Reproof and Rejoinder: The Young Men's Improvement Society⁹²

A member of the Uxbridge Young Men's Improvement Society 'from its formation' wrote to the Editor of *The Bucks Herald* (25th November, 1850, 6). The letter is a rejoinder to a Mr. Wilkinson who had previously written condescendingly concerning the Society. The writer quotes from Mr. Wilkinson's letter:

"Young Men's Improvement Societies need the daily countenance of those who are in the scale of society, and in experience superior to the majority of the members. But for this feature in the Uxbridge institution it would have been converted into a propaganda for the dissemination of sentiments inimical alike to the souls of men and the stability of society".

The rejoinder declares sarcastically:

It is true that the rabid chartist and the shameless infidel, the absolutist and the democrat, have each and all endeavoured to give weight to their own peculiar dogmas by identifying the Young Men's Improvement Society with those dogmas, which would undoubtedly have had the effect (had those attempts not been opposed) of rendering the Institution "inimical alike to the souls of men; and the stability of society".

Comment: In this last letter the hierarchical voice (through Mr. Wilkinson) is heard as well as the egalitarian voice (through the Chartist society). Together with the other exemplars it is evident that what was perceived as radicalism met with mixed responses. Uxbridge was divided, with a passion, between a radical readership and stinging criticism from the church, small shop-keepers and the establishment press. My reading of the October, 1849 edition of *The Uxbridge Pioneer* found that it contained significantly more about freedom than about Uxbridge. I take the reactions from the Establishment as well as from the small-owners, together with Massey's departure from Uxbridge, as confirmation that conservatism was embedded here and that Massey and Leno found more enthusiasm for Chartism in central London than here. The departure of two significant figures (though Leno returned) must have been a significant loss to local Chartism.

⁹² The Young Men's Improvement Society was started by John Bedford Leno with local Chartists in 1845 (Shaw, 2009)

Local historian and archivist Hearmon (now Cotton) wrote (1984, 61-62) that ‘despite the efforts of John Bedford Leno there was little interest even over the question of the “Charter” which led to riots elsewhere in 1848’. I would qualify this as from cited correspondence passions *against* Chartism were stirred. The passions were enacted in defence of an entity which might be difficult to put a name to (at this stage), but which, I propose, was the Uxbridge local sacred. Hearmon is right in the sense that key Chartists *did* depart from Uxbridge itself, as ultimately infertile territory, though feelings ran high for a little while.

While Chartism sought the enlargement of the franchise, it was through an associated demand for housing, that it left its trace on Uxbridge.

The Chartist Co-operative Land Society

Context

‘The Chartist Co-operative Land Society’⁹³ was a branch of the Chartist movement with aims focussing on land, property and self-sufficiency. Chase (2010, 57-58) describes the ‘Land Plan’ as a ‘scheme to settle its supporters on four acre cottage holdings, located in a network of national colonies’ He also highlights (2003, 254) the proposal of the Society which, he recounts, was approved by the 1845 Convention:

[The proposal] would demonstrate, according to its objects, ‘to the working classes of the kingdom – firstly, the value of the land, as a means of making them independent of the grinding Capitalists; and, secondly...the necessity of security the speedy enactment of the “People’s Charter”, which would do for them nationally what this society proposes to do sectionally: the accomplishment of the political and social emancipation of the enslaved and degraded working classes’.

The working-class was to be made independent of capital, though the Chartist Land Plan was to collapse ignominiously. Chase (2010, 57-58) describes how that the scheme ‘attracted over 70,000 subscribers at its peak in 1847-1858” but that by the time the scheme was wound up ‘only 234 subscribers [were] located on the land’.

⁹³ I refer to ‘The Chartist Co-operative Land Society’ because this is what it is called in the contemporaneous reports I have drawn upon. As alluded to, the name went through various transmutations (which could be described as transmutations in the ‘mode of regulation’) Chase (above) refers to the Land Plan. He suggests this term was the most commonly used.

Processing to 'Redemption'? The Jubilee Cavalcade

The Chartist Co-operative Land Society's first estate was laid out at Herringsgate (now Heronsgate), which also became known as O'Connorville, after its founder, Feargus O'Connor, situated near Rickmansworth, a few miles from Uxbridge. In 1846 the Society's 'Jubilee' cavalcade processed through Uxbridge eliciting great excitement in Uxbridge but the excitement was short-lived and in 1851 the scheme was wound-up.

The Northern Star and Leeds General Advertiser (22nd August 1846, 9) reported the procession to O'Connorville. The procession was a 'Chartist Jubilee', and a 'Grand Demonstration to the People's First Estate'. From sunrise the 'Great Metropolis' was in a state of 'joyous excitement', with vehicles of all description, their banners and streamers fluttered in the breeze. The most conspicuous inscription was 'The Charter and the Land'. The vehicles left Hyde Park Corner just after seven in the morning and 'were freighted with joyous-hearted men and women, all animated with the spirit, all inspired with the human determination of rescuing their father-land from political and social bondage'. Their hope was to 'redeem the soil for the whole people'. The report speaks to 'liberation', 'redemption', 'arrival', 'animation' and 'expectation'. 'Persons of all classes' gathered to watch. It was 'Labour's Procession to Labour's own Land, purchased with Labour's own Money!' The convoys processed through Uxbridge where they were met with great enthusiasm.

The Northern Star drew historic parallels:

at the far-famed town of Uxbridge rendered famous in history by an attempt to wrest a "Charter" from the tyrant Charles, and in which town, near the bridge, still stands the Treaty house, now used as a Public-House, the Crown Tavern... the parlour being pointed out as the identical room in which it held its deliberation.

Eager crowds of townspeople were 'wedged', 'crammed' and 'anxious to obtain a glance at the passing scene'. The mood was one of excitement, anticipation and unity. Chartist Co-operative Land Society prospectuses were 'sought with avidity'. The procession arrived at O'Connorville at noon, huge numbers of people preceding by other routes. The article describes a 'Labour procession, to Labour's Land, which Labour's money had bought', invoking 'Father-land' and juxtaposing 'land', 'soil' with political and social emancipation. Biblical terminology is employed by treating the redemption of the soil for the people as a 'jubilee'. Ernest Jones, son of aide-de-camp

to the Duke of Cumberland, and ‘recently recruited Chartist’, made a ‘Declaration’ upon surveying O’Connorville on the day of the Jubilee:

I think we may call this its christening ... we baptise with earth instead of water – and this is indeed holier, since it is the land devoted to the purpose for which God designed it, the maintenance of those who till it by the sweat of their brows. (Cheers). . I have come from the land of slavery to the land of liberty – from the land of poverty to the land of plenty – from the land of the Whigs to the great land of the Charter! This is the promised land, my friends! (cited in Chase, 2007, 260)

Comment: Religious allusions and distinctions abound: ‘slavery’ and ‘liberty’, such as God’s intended use of land for those who would till it; and land as ‘baptised’. The journey from London to O’Connorville is treated as a metaphorical journey ‘to the promised land’ as well as a real one. I infer that the audience was receptive to this skilful interweaving of eschatological and material references.

O’Connor’s Promising Description of the Estate

O’Connor describes the estate in glowing terms (*The Northern Star*, 14th March, 1846). He envisages the scheme as leading to the ‘emancipation of labour’ as well as to the political powers required to defend the Chartist accomplishments. He promises that within three years a location fetching £6 per annum would be worth £15.

Hadfield, (1970, 98-126) reports that the ballot for allotments was held on 20th April, 1846. ‘1,487 people were eligible for thirty five cottages and allotments. 157 held two shares, eligible for the thirteen 4-acre holdings; 580 held one and a half shares, eligible for the five 2-acre holdings; 750 held one share, eligible for the seventeen 2-acre holdings’. The excitement was great as lots were drawn. Feargus O’Connor spoke to the hopefuls. Hadfield describes how O’Connor conveyed his vision of children going to school instead of the mill and that the children in the audience (1970, 91) ‘sharply, painfully’ wept. The allottees included a tailor from Reading, a shoe-maker from Northampton, and a weaver from Wigan. In class terms they were probably artisans, or possibly ‘petty bourgeois’ (Steinmetz and Wright (1989, 980).

Comment: The Chartist Co-operative Land Society’s jubilee cavalcade *processed through* Uxbridge. It is worth asking how much it changed local affect. From the Chartist reports there seems to have been significant enthusiasm shown as the convoys processed through Uxbridge. The Jubilee rites were performed well and were

successful on the day (according to the *Northern Star*, at least) with fine speeches, favourable reference to a staunch anti-Royalist past in Uxbridge and the act of marching to a gathering, all fostered excitement, hope and solidarity. As alluded to, religious and eschatological references abound and this which served to reinforce the fervour of the rites. The rites celebrated autonomy and self-help (through collective enactments).

The *Northern Star* emphasised that it is *Labour's* own land, own money and Labour's own procession. Nevertheless, the Chartist Land Plan collapsed ignominiously, I suggest, due to inadequate development of authoritative housing mechanisms.

'Arcadia' Interrogated

The anti-Chartist *Weekly News and Chronicle* (September 4th, year not known)⁹⁴ counterposes The Freehold Land Society's aspirations to those of the Chartist Land Plan. An article, 'The Freehold Land Movement' contrasts the political and economic advantages offered by Freehold Land Societies favourably with those of the Chartist Land Plan. To summarise, the article criticises the way that weavers and mechanics from Bradford, Stockport and other northern towns took up allotments on the estates. Neighbouring farmers did not want to associate with them and a living could not be gained through the small-holdings. The article contrasts this with The Freehold Land Societies which offered 'a means of investment and a vote'. 'Increased respectability' and 'moral power' from savings are emphasised.

The Uxbridge Freehold Land Society 'Festival'

The exemplar of the Uxbridge Freehold Land Society was selected because its enactments generated a high level enthusiasm and 'dynamogenesis' towards it, coalescing around notions of domesticity and self-help (with an attempt to express these ideals collectively). Though this intervention also ended in disillusionment the episode serve to clarify the state of local feeling.

On 1st February, 1850 *The Freeholder* reported that the *National Freehold Land Society* was 'daily acquiring strength'. Meetings of the *Society* had taken place in a number of towns including Romford, Cheshunt, Enfield, Richmond, Godalming, Epping, Uxbridge, and London. Evidently enthusiasm was generated at the Uxbridge meeting since on 30th September, 1850 a festival took place nearby celebrating the 'taking

⁹⁴ This was re-printed in *The Empire* (January 18th, 1853, 3).

possession of the first of a series of freehold estates in the course of purchase by the Uxbridge branch of the Society' (*The Freeholder*, 1st October, 1850), 'with a view to the increase of the Forty-shilling Franchise in Middlesex and the surrounding counties'. As the first purchase, it was resolved to call it 'Walmsley-Terrace', in honour of Sir Joshua Walmsley (M.P. for Bolton, President of the National Reform Association and the National Freehold Land Society).⁹⁵

The Committee and Mr. Stranson's interests

A committee arranged the proceedings (Messrs. Brown, Price, Shrub, Stacey, Burgiss, Stranson and others) although the reader is not told how the committee was formed nor any details of their relationship to the Freehold Land Society (including potential 'conflicts of interest'). However, an advertisement appeared promptly after the festival (November, 1850) in *The Bucks Herald* announcing an auction to be held at the Uxbridge office of Mr. Stranson - who was, we read, an Auctioneer and Long Timber Surveyor - of thirty 'sticks' of 'elm timber', of oak fencing, and of three gates 'with posts and ironwork'. The auction was to take place at the 'Premises, Page's Lane' on 7th November 'by order of the Directors of the National Freehold Land Society'.

The site encompassed Page's Lane and the fact that the Freehold Land Society Directors instigated the auction implies some conflict of interest which was either not recognised as such, or ignored.

The Uxbridge Festival (30th September, 1850)

From the description in *The Freeholder* (October 1st, 1850, 150-151) the setting was promising. The property consisted of eleven acres of 'fine meadow land' near the western end of Uxbridge with a 1,700 feet road frontage on a road leading to Harefield village. Natural drainage was good because of a gentle inclination down to a branch of

⁹⁵ Walmeseley Terrace very likely coincides with part of what came to be known as 'Pages Lane'. (now Harefield Road, Uxbridge) A correspondent to the *Bucks Herald Uxbridge Advertiser Windsor and Eton Journal*, Saturday 10 May 1851 pointed out that Sir Joshua Walmsley was 'unseated for bribery'. The correspondent suggests that this is perhaps the reason why the 'Purity of Election Party' have 'denominated their estate at Walmesly Terrace'. Interestingly, the 'Walmesley Arms' is described as a 'Beerhouse' and premises' in the 1858 Church Rate book. The Arms appears to have been established at a later date since its first mention appears to be in the 1858 Church Rate Book. In the light of this, I speculate as to why a different name was not chosen. It survived until 1961 (Pearce, 2013: unnumbered page).

the Colne which skirted the estate providing the inhabitants with ‘a copious supply of pure water’.

Seventy houses were ‘about to be erected’. The site provided a ‘fine view of part of Buckinghamshire’. At the ‘western extremity of Middlesex’ it was only separated from Buckinghamshire by the Colne. The north-west end ‘abut[ted]’ the estate of Mr Charles Newdegate, M.P., and the festivities took place ‘within sound and sight’ of his mansion.

The writer relishes the contrast between property owned by the Tory M.P. for North Warwickshire and the adjacent plot where freeholders intended to build homes.

The site was decorated elaborately for the Festival: A ‘triumphal arch’ was ‘thrown over the entrance to the field’, tastefully decorated with dahlias arranged to spell out the motto ‘Progression’. A ‘spacious and elegant’ marquee was erected by Messrs. Brown in the middle of the ground. In front of it a piece of canvas twenty-five foot long and six foot deep was stretched between two poles. ‘Walmsley⁹⁶ Terrace’ and ‘Long Live the Queen’ were inscribed on the canvas which was surmounted by the royal coat of arms and flags. The Union Jack and other flags were hung in different parts of the meadow.

Antagonism to the ‘landocracy’ (well-handled by the speaker) contrasts with the patriotism articulated through material references to the Queen. Festivities began after the gates were ‘thrown open’ to the public at 2.00 p.m. Sports included cricket and trap-ball and several thousand visitors came to the grounds from Uxbridge and places nearby. A brass band ‘enlivened’ the proceedings. Elaborate arrangements were needed since at four thirty between four and five hundred ‘ladies and gentlemen’ sat down to tea in the marquee.

National figures attended: Mr. George Thompson, M.P. for Tower Hamlets, Dennis M’Donnell and Mr. Serle from the National Reform Association; E. Clarke and H. Elkington from the National Freehold Land Society and James Taylor from the Birmingham Freehold Land Society. A Mr. J. Newton was ‘called to the Chair’ to open the proceedings. He drew attention to the success of the meeting regarding ‘the attainment of the important object which they had proposed to themselves’. He

⁹⁶ Although the official spelling of Sir Joshua’s name appears to be ‘Walmsley’ several variations on this spelling appear in newspapers and documents. I have reproduced as in the original text but when referring to Sir Joshua myself I use the spelling ‘Walmsley’.

approved of the motto 'Progression', saying this was the principle which 'actuated the working classes' in the present day – 'who justly took a more prominent part in politics than they were wont to do in former days'. An inference can be drawn from this that the majority of the audience were working-class, either self-styled or articulated so by others.

Mr. Clarke, from the National Freehold Land Society, addressed the meeting first, beginning with a tribute to the gathering with the greeting 'Honour to the men of Uxbridge!' in light of the fact that they had come together in a large gathering to promote a good cause. He links the local gathering with the larger cause 'connected with the improvement of our national legislation and the elevation of the masses in the scale of society'. The Society is, Clarke declares:

...composed of earnest men, who, seeing the utmost necessity for a large extension of the franchise, and the way to get it, have banded themselves together to carry out the object in view. Not that we believe the possession of the franchise is inherent only to the possession of land...

Clarke protests against war spending by legislators whose interests were different from those of the people:

But does any man say we do not want reform? No! Not when we are groaning under a debt of eight hundred millions, incurred for the most part by extravagant and war-loving legislators who did not represent the people and whose interests were thought not to be identified with the interests of the people....

This theme is familiar to modern ears and demonstrates some resonance with nineteenth century 'economisers':

I have always been taught, sir, that a nation should be governed upon the same principles as those of a large house of business or family, and that if a man cannot keep within his annual expenditure, ruin must be the consequence; ...I maintain that unless our national debt be removed or reduced to its minimum, and our expenditure reduced to the lowest possible amount, we can look only for national discontent and national bankruptcy....

Clarke describes how the Society operated. Despite the aristocracy managing 'a sort of monopoly in the land' he saw 'opportunities' of which the Freehold Land Society took advantage. For example, if mortgages could not be paid or death drove the aristocracy to the market then land was purchased at the lowest possible price or at wholesale prices. The Society's solicitor would then investigate the titles. Land was marked out

into allotments judged to reach, at minimum, a 40 shillings freehold valuation. There were around two thousand holdings and nearly five thousand shares. Including land, examination of the title, and conveyance, the cost was from £25 to £35, depending on the situation and other factors. Monthly, a ballot was held for the allotments. Everyone who had subscribed for three months was eligible, their names being drawn from a ballot box. Members who could pay £30 (described as the nominal price of a share) were given priority and able to choose their allotment, providing it did not harm the rights of 'subscribing members'. Subscribing members mortgaged their allotments to the Trustees, until they had repaid what they owed. Clarke explained that their general operations and rules were those of a building society. Once the freehold was obtained, after six months the freeholder would be entitled 'we believe' to vote at a county election. Clarke insisted that the vote of 'an artisan or labourer' would count as much as that of their rich neighbour, Mr Newdegate, 'or that of the most elevated of the aristocracy.'

Clarke connects the 'political elevation' of those participating with 'habits of economy and forethought', declaring with optimism that social advantages would be improved and that, as well as setting an example to wives, daughters, sons and neighbours, there would also be an 'inheritance' 'bringing down future blessings'. He exhorts that morality be learned through politics:

You show me a man who respects himself, and denies himself of superfluities, or luxuries, the pot and the pipe, - for his own social, moral and political elevation, and I will point you to a man whom others will respect, and is truly worthy of the honour to which he aspires; for whatever may be said about the right and duty of universal suffrage, I suppose it will be admitted that he who works out his own political enfranchisement must deserve it.

Morality (self-respect, abstinence, frugality) is linked to home-ownership and domesticity. The speaker implies that it is through the individual's efforts that 'political enfranchisement' is obtained.

Although through ordinary purchase the plots would be £50 to £70, even £100, through the Society members would only pay £25 to £35 at a shilling a week; an amount that could be saved from amounts usually spent in the public house or on tobacco. He exhorts his 'countrywomen [who] have a deep interest in the question...to inspire the hardier sex to a sense of duty to their country and to themselves' and links the Freehold

Land Societies to 'the political, social, moral and economical elevation of [his] countrymen...and...countrywomen too.

Mr. Serle, from the National Reform Association, then explained the necessity for proper representation and congratulated shareholders 'on the acquisition of so beautiful an estate, commanding, as it did, such a magnificent view of the surrounding country.' He declares that Uxbridge people had been noted for their public spirit in the past and notes that they are re-affirming it at the present occasion - Henry Hull, their 'late lamented townsman' had been associated with the formation of the National Reform Association and with all liberal movements in the country. Mr. Serle urges the audience to continue their efforts in the National Reform Association as well as in Freehold Land and to 'emancipate yourselves by the noblest means that ever a nation hit upon'.

Mr. Serle makes reference to the history of Uxbridge in order to lend further credibility to the movement and to its townsman associated with 'liberal movements'.

James Taylor rose next and 'was received with loud and prolonged applause'. He expressed his pleasure at 'witnessing such a pleasing spectacle'. He emphasises that it was a 'moral revolution' that Freehold Land Societies were 'seeking to effect' even though 'such associations' did have a 'revolutionising tendency'. The audience responded with 'Hear, hear!' Mr. Taylor's speech was not reported although the reader is told that it was 'long, able, and humorous'.

The Chairman then called upon George Thompson, M.P. 'in flattering terms'. Thompson rose to loud applause and raised a laugh straightaway by saying he thought he might be let off speaking since he had brought along James Taylor. He expressed the desire that Mr. Taylor's strength continue 'until he had made Freehold Land Societies universal in England'. This was met with cheers.

Mr. Thompson led 'three volleys' of cheers since Mr. Taylor had to leave for London. Mr. Thompson reported progress made in Middlesex where more than five hundred freeholds had been purchased, 'confer[ring] the franchise':... in due time there will be 500 sturdy and independent electors; men who will be free from landlord influence; who will not stand in awe of the dictation of stewards and land-agents; men who will be free to elect their representatives according to their choice; and who will be, therefore, so much pure and health-giving blood thrown into the constituent body in Middlesex.

In order to maintain ‘the ancient celebrity’ of Middlesex, Mr. Thompson explained the necessity of ‘[foiling] the tactics of certain reactionaries who dare to hope for the recovery of their lost dominion’. This met with more cheers.

I read this as a reference to Mr. Newdegate’s estate, on the boundary to the intended development. Alternatively, Mr. Thompson refers directly to contestations in the political arena. Mr. Thompson declares that he is glad that they had resolved to call the estate ‘Walmsley terrace’ after Sir Joshua Walmsley, who ‘is present in sympathy and spirit...’ Mr. Thompson addresses the audience, using biblical language:

You have indeed pitched your tent in green pastures beside still waters (loud laughter). It is pleasant to stand upon this rich meadow land; joyous to see your peaceful banners waving in the summer’s breeze; to read your loyal and patriotic mottoes; to pass under your flowery triumphal arches; to listen to the exhilarating strains of your well-disciplined local band; and now, to see before me this dense concourse of intelligent persons, who are winding up, in an instructive and intellectual manner, what has evidently been one of the happiest days of their lives (loud cheers). In imagination I see this terrace built, with its broad tablet telling its well-chosen name to the world; the new-made freeholders marching erect and independent to give their first vote at the Middlesex county poll (cheers).

Mr. Thompson suggested that this was ‘one of the happiest days of their lives’. He continued by saying, with sly humour, that the one drawback is that what took place that day and would take place in the future would be under the window of the M.P. for North Warwickshire [Charles Newdegate⁹⁷]. Mr. Thompson mocks protectionism in verse:

Yon house erected on the rising ground,
Whose noble aspect tempts one from the road,
Where Newdegate a residence has found,
And loath’d pro-tec-tion- its last abode.

This was met with great laughter and cheering. Mr. Thompson acknowledged that though he dislikes the politics of Mr. Newdegate, he admires his character. He makes another biblical allusion:

When you have made it “all right” with Middlesex, why should you not
cross yonder clear stream, as the Israélites went over into Jordan? Why

⁹⁷ Newdegate was a supporter of the *Central Agricultural Protection Society*, nick-named ‘the Anti-League’ (Evans, 1983, 267-8). Evans writes that the *Society* ‘delivered effective counter-punches by demonstrating the self-contradictory nature of League pronouncements on the likely effects of repeal on wage rates and bread prices’.

not lead the armies of Middlesex to the conquest of Bucks? (Loud laughter and cheers.) Surely, there is nothing now to fear from the ducal, but ducalless, influence of the once more than princely tenant of Stowe⁹⁸ (cheers). The sceptre of the mighty one has departed from him, and the county may now be assailed with every prospect of success. Send, then, your missionaries into this necessitous region, and let them preach a pure political gospel (laughter). It will be a word of charity, and will be well rewarded; and though the hospitable host of the house near us, and the accomplished author of “Vivian Grey⁹⁹” should faint away when our first purchase is made, we must regard duty as paramount over sensibility, and face the dreaded catastrophe (loud laughter).

Mr. Thompson criticised the ‘landocracy’ and the ‘squirearchy’ who ‘play the part of sycophants and toadies to the titled and inflated aristocracy of the neighbourhood’. Together with the ecclesiastical influence, they formed an alliance, he continues, with the other classes and they were determined to resist the advancement of the people to political power. This met with a ‘Hear, hear’. He predicts that the Freehold Land Society would get hold of ‘many a piece of lovely and fruitful land formerly a portion of the possession of these men’. However, he reserved the largest portion of his sympathy, he said, for the ‘Tenants-at-will’:

the abject occupiers of yearly-rented farms, and rustics who, through the poverty of the church, and the overworked condition of the clergy, have little more intellect than the horses to whom they whistle, and cry “Woah!”

‘Laughter and cheers’ followed.

He condemns county elections as ‘a ceremonial farce – a pageant mockery’, maintaining that they could only look to themselves for reform. He condemned the Whigs as only being interested in reform as the road to power and accused them of denying England any reform. He suggests that if they were sent into opposition for a few years they might become ‘professional champions of reform’ again.

⁹⁸ The tenant of Stowe to whom he refers is probably the second Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, who, in 1848, was forced to auction the contents of Stowe and concede control of the estate to his son (The University of Nottingham, Manuscripts and Special Collections). Reference is made again here to the land owned by the aristocracy, in antagonistic yet joking terms.

⁹⁹ Benjamin Disraeli was the author of *Vivian Grey*. Chase (1991, 336) explains that Disraeli formulated proposals ‘for legislative intervention to curtail the scope of [The Freehold Land Society’s] political activity’, and that he discussed this ‘as early as 1850’.

Referring to the Chandos¹⁰⁰ clause, ‘that adroit scheme’, he asks whether it were not ridiculous that ‘the intelligent tenant of a house paying £49 19s 11 3/4d’... because it is beyond the limits of a parliamentary borough has no vote at all’. Although Thompson did not think that the freeholders would be able return many radical members, since that would be dependent on views changing ‘the majority of the constituencies’ he pointed out that there was an important difference between free traders’ and protectionists’ creeds. He declared that the audience needed ‘to turn the scale in favour of the candidate whose political creed is nearest to your own’,

Thompson saw ‘the ‘working power’ in the movement as having great capacity to effect changes. Here he mentions how James Taylor had raised himself to a position of respect:

[Man] is made better at every step, by the exertion he puts forth, by the exercise of the higher powers and faculties of his mind, by the abandonment of habits of indulgence and vice, and the cultivation of habits of thought, and economy, and perseverance.

This is met with more cheers.

Mr. Thompson was evangelical in tone:

If, by this movement we convert unthrifty toppers into sober county freeholders, we shall not only multiply happy homes and virtuous citizens, but win the power of summoning to our aid the independent and political power of those self-enfranchised voters, and of putting to the rout the assembled hosts of monopoly, and the Falstaff regiments that corruption and bribery gather around them at elections. (Great cheering.) I should be glad to be here when “Walmsley-terrace” sends its first batch of voters to the poll. I should rejoice to see an Uxbridge artisan, walking proudly to the polling-booth between the knight of high degree and the booted squire (the equal of them both), to give a plumper¹⁰¹ for the man whose motto was “progress,” whose aim was the elevation of the people.

This is met by yet more ‘loud cheers’. Mr. Thompson emphasises that the right to a vote should not depend upon the fact that a man was a freeholder but because he was a man. He then sat down ‘to the loudest cheering’.

¹⁰⁰ The Chandos Clause

¹⁰¹ To ‘plump’ is to tactically vote for one candidate under a double-vote system (Phillips and Wetherall, 1995)

Mr. Henry Elkington from The National Freehold Land Society made the final address. He made the point that 'The National' had spent over £50,000 in a short period of because it had confidence in parties ratifying their purchases of land. He emphasised the sound position of the Society. He stated that in Birmingham and the main societies, land was conveyed at 30s leaving a surplus to invest in other societies. He concluded by proposing a vote of thanks to the chairman, which was seconded and carried unanimously. The Chairman expressed his gratification at the proceedings and declared that he felt it his duty to forward 'the great and important object they were met to accomplish'. This was greeted by more cheers.

After-affects

Considerable frustration, anger and envy were generated by disjuncture between The Freehold Land Society's promises and what was delivered. Soon after the Festival the self-styled 'Agrarian, Uxbridge' wrote to the Editor of *The Uxbridge Advertiser* (19th November, 1850) concerning his disquiet regarding the Society. 'Agrarian' claimed that the Society had been very prominently 'set before the public of this neighbourhood' recently. Rather than debate its aims or benefits, the writer wished to warn those thinking of becoming a member since it 'is very likely to be all trouble and no gain'.

He explains the back-drop to the events, summarised below:

The previous winter a meeting had been held in town in connection with the National Reform Association where the National Freehold Land Society was promoted, with prospectuses handed out. 'Townsmen' were in this way prepared for the announcement of 'a very eligible estate' in Page's Lane and a few shares were sold. Next, it was decided to have a grand opening of 'Walmsley Terrace' – 'the new name given to the old fields'. The 'orators of the company' had come and pointed out the advantages of having a piece of ground. They had said that allottees would be able to see Mr. Newdegate's mansion and that it would be delightful to keep him out of the 'house' (i.e. out of Parliament). Furthermore, they would experience 'felicity' in digging their own potatoes and in sending their own men to Parliament.

The orators had received 'an abundance of applause' and Agrarian emphasises how many working men in Uxbridge joined the Society believing they were guaranteed

allotments on Uxbridge estates. However, it transpired that they would have to ‘pull carrots’ or ‘draw turnips’ at the Maldon, Manchester or Croydon estates instead.

The correspondent continues that he did not claim that it was against the rules (he admitted not having read them), but that it was against what many of the allottees had been told and what the public had been led to believe at the inauguration fete. Though the Society seemed for the mechanic and the man who could not afford to purchase a vote for the County, it was the wealthiest tradesmen, who held ‘freeholds in abundance’, that held the greater share. This, he believed, was prejudicial to the men of the Society.

‘Agrarian’ also raised the question of where Uxbridge Freehold Land Society allottees would vote if their ‘estate’ was in Manchester, for example. The correspondent is complaining, instinctively, about the lack of transparency, and regulatory structure – if you do not know that you need to read the rules you might not read the rules, for instance. The correspondent signs off as ‘defending the interests of the “townsmen”, and the “mechanic”’. This choice of the pseudonym suggests that this commentator worked on the land or owned land. His or her politics may have been Tory; troubled that working people were led astray and that the orator anticipated Mr. Newdegate’s discomfiture with pleasure, inviting the audience to join him. From the tone ‘Agrarian’ does not seem to have been affected personally by the debacle.

Soon after the Festival, Tom Moore (or a friend), the self-styled ‘Shrubbiensis,’ sent some critical verses to *The Bucks Herald*, 30th November, 1850. Apparently, he had taken a ‘preference share’ in the Society then found that his plot was in Surrey. In the same edition the Editor added that, since receiving the following verses, ‘neighbour Moore’ had obtained a piece of land near Hertford Crescent. The Freehold Land Society, he wrote, had yielded to ‘importunity’. Its proceedings were published to remind the Society that it was being *watched* (emphasis original) and that ‘any attempt at *shuffling*’ ‘would meet with a merited castigation’. The Editor congratulated ‘neighbour’ Moore on escaping from his position.

The Editor infers that knowing the verses were to be published pressurised the Freehold Land Society into making a plot in Uxbridge available to Mr. Moore.

In summary, ‘Moore’s Lament’ describes Tom Moore as ‘a thirsty mercer’, from Uxbridge, well-known, and with credit. In view of his position, he decided to buy ‘a

plot of Freehold Ground'. He bought a preference share for land near Hertford Crescent because 'the place is very pleasant'. Just to be safe, he checked the prospectus and felt reassured because Cobden and Bright belonged to the scheme. 'Tis true I am no Radical but this must be alright'. When allotment day arrives, however, 'he stands aghast to find his plot is somewhere down in Surrey'. Moore writes that the moral of the verses is to 'avoid clap-trap societies, and never trust a Rad.!' Mr. Moore is a mercer rather than a working-man since he is able to buy a preference share.

More complaints were to be submitted to the local press. 'One who earns his daily bread' complained (*The Bucks Herald*, 14th December, 1850) about the way that a small group of individuals, with influence, ended up with the most plots and properties. Preferential allocations were made to the Committee and their relatives. He describes how he felt 'betrayed' by those who ought to have protected us. He says he won't say anything about Mr. Moore who is 'a worthy neighbour, but 'a rank Tory'. Individuals subscribed to the society, he wrote, in order to obtain a plot entitling them to the vote:

many of us hardworking men were induced to subscribe to the Society, under promise that we should have a plot of land in Paige's Lane, at a fair cost price, as the land was bought for the purpose of granting what is called the liberty of franchise to the non-electors.

He describes how 'anxious' they all were to know how Paige's Lane was to be divided up. Because there were sixty-five lots he assumed there would be sixty-five new voters. But, he tells the Editor, 'see how the cat jumps with these 65 lots':

the first four lots go to that Mr. Moore (he refers to Mr. Moore as a 'rank Tory', although 'a worthy neighbour'), the Mr. Edward Brown has three, then his son – honest independent voter, and active agent for the Society comes in for the next three. Then comes Mr. Drinkwater, the agent's partner; then his brother-in-law, R Browne, then their lawyer, Mr. Wools, then their brother Drinkwater; then lots of the Norton tribe; then Mr. Rawlinson, Mrs. Brown's brother; and then lots of others; who have already got the vote, and some of whom, when they do vote, will go a-head against the Cobden cheap bread party. I am angry when I think about it, after I heard Mr. brown [sic], the agent, say, that he had become the agent upon principle, and for the purpose of giving the poor man an opportunity of getting a good piece of ground, and a vote to keep the Tories out. Well, all that I shall add is, that I consider myself an ill-used man, and fairly done brown.

Some of those he named already had the vote, he wrote, and when they did vote 'will go a-head against the Cobden cheap bread party'. He signs off with 'From one who earns his daily bread, and who will never listen to a mob orator, no, never no more'. The writer engages in a jeu de mots with 'brown' and 'done brown'; he considers that the

Browns and all the other members of the middle-class he names did him down and is aggrieved that the proceedings have been taken lightly as though they were amusing, possibly even by the newspaper.

I have identified names connected with the Uxbridge Freehold Land Society listed in the Hillingdon Poor Rate for 1851 who are shown as having ‘allotments’, ‘tenements’ or ‘cottages’ in Pages Lane: ‘Edward Wools, for tenement occupied by Ed. Wools cottage(s) Pages Lane to the Land Society’; ‘William Brown for tenements occupied by self land three allotments and ‘two allotments in Pages Lane’; ‘G. Drinkwater for tenement occupied by self land one allotment’; ‘John Price for tenement occupied by self two allotments’; ‘Drinkwater B. for tenement occupied by self three allotments of land.’ A William Brown was the agent for the Uxbridge district, Edward Brown, probably father of William Brown, was also agent for the Uxbridge district, and Mr. Daniel Norton later became a Trustee later of another local Land Society. The letter-writer complains of preferential allocations to committee members and their relatives. Brown and Drinkwater are names mentioned by ‘one who earns his daily bread’ and William Brown was on the Committee responsible for organising the Festival.

Comment: The extent of development sixteen years after the launch of the scheme does not match expectations at the inauguration of Walmsley Terrace. I have walked the site and perhaps half-a-dozen date from the mid nineteenth century. Although the inauguration rite was conducted well and a state of *collective effervescence* was attained, the outcome was disappointing, probably because, as then constituted, Land Societies were inadequate to the task required. It is interesting to note how the rites were orchestrated by the leaders of the movement, eliciting laughter and solemnity even at the apposite moments. Further, these strong feelings enacted collectively concerned the quiet virtues of ‘indoors’ and domesticity – enthusiasm for suburbia.

William Brown Counters Criticism

William Brown, Agent for the Uxbridge Freehold Land Society, was stung to respond to the Editor of *The Uxbridge Advertiser* (21st December, 1850). He accuses ‘Agrarian’ of either ignorance or falsehood: allotments were allotted to the members as they recorded their names. However, the land in Page’s Lane was too valuable and because of that the ‘first members [were] desirous of obtaining their portions before the divisions took place’ and were pressed to sell ‘before the day of partitioning arrived’.

Some lots were transferred at large premiums before partitioning. The Uxbridge estate was 'very desirable' and 'there has scarcely been a town or county subscriber but what desires his allotment out of the property'. This, he thought, fairly answered the correspondent.

Mr. Brown enclosed a prospectus. He ends with a 'P.S.' repudiating the suggestion that there would not be many new voters and to see 'if the cat he talks about won't jump with thirty new voters at least'.

Comment: Insufficient structures were in place to prevent speculation. Mr. Brown explains what happened but does not seem to feel particularly accountable. Although he addresses his somewhat truculent responses to 'The Agrarian', in fact, both 'The Agrarian' and 'One who earns his daily bread' raised the question of new voters. The phrase 'see how the cat jumps' was used by 'One who earns his daily bread' not 'The Agrarian'. There is a tinge of a sneer in the way Mr. Brown articulates the phrase. William Brown may be the same person as W.C. Brown, elected to 'The Lords in Trust' in 1830, when 'old Brown' was Chair (and about whom there were anonymous complaints). This is detailed above in my discussion of The Lords in Trust.

A complaint concerning unwanted development was published in *The Bucks Advertiser* (19th April, 1851) 'D' wrote to the journal complaining about 'the gross invasion of the rights of the public by one of the lucky Free Traders who drew a prize in the Walmsley Terrace Estate'. Apparently, along the frontage of the Estate there ran a walkway, raised in height, with a view of the beauty of the Colne and Chilterns along which the townspeople would promenade.

Comment: The Uxbridge Freehold Land Society is another case of initial affective success followed by disappointing failure. Ritual promotion of the local freehold land scheme on Pages Lane (intended to be Walmsley Terrace) generate a high level of collective effervescence but decayed into accusations and recriminations. The half-life of the initial excitement was short, and one could again say that this has something to do with a similar disjuncture between the mode of regulation (the mechanism for allocating plots) and the mode of accumulation (land and housing development) as was the case for the Chartist Land Plan.

Class was a conscious component as far as the protagonists were concerned: the supporters of the Uxbridge Freehold Land Society rally themselves and rail against the

local aristocrat, on the edge of whose land the plots were to be laid out. They revelled in non-violent, indeed decorous provocation to which music and flowers added pride and distinction. Through the purchase of the freehold these workers would have the right to vote (Liberal, the organisers hoped). So it was a political contestation; the local landowner was Tory and the Freehold Land Society supporters were Liberal; the land-owning class was pro protection and the Liberals pro the repeal of the Corn Laws (which had, in any case, happened by this date), pro ‘cheap bread’, and Free Trade – most of which could be said to have brought ‘regulation’ into better alignment with ‘accumulation’ and even an *imperial* Britain. The case demonstrates a rare occasion in Uxbridge: ‘celebrations’ and large-scale display of public affect, managed expertly by the leaders of the Freehold Land Society ‘movement’. As in the contestations of the early 1860’s here we find Uxbridgians lined up against the local landed aristocracy, relishing the conflict – examples notable for their rarity here.

Only two years later an advertisement appeared in *The Bucks Herald* (19th March, 1853) for the ‘Uxbridge and General Land Society’ which had just been established on 2nd February, 1853. According to the details, it was a permanent society. Shares taken since it was enrolled represented capital of more than five thousand pounds. Subscriptions amounted to one thousand eight hundred and forty pounds. Shares were advertised at £40 each, and monthly payments were 5s per share. The trustees were William Henry Kitchen, Daniel Norton and Thomas Gardiner. The advert claimed that it was not established to promote particular political views but ‘to promote the benefits of the industrious and enterprising, while any person desirous of obtaining the franchise may do so by means of this Society’. Four per cent interest was payable on deposit and members could purchase small quantities of land at wholesale prices.

An unaffiliated ‘permanent society’ seems to have been established. Daniel Norton’s name appears as a Trustee. Norton had also been involved with the Uxbridge Freehold Land Society. The moral tone is less high blown than before. It differentiates itself from the Freehold Land Society by emphasising it does not express any ‘particular political views’.

A notice appeared in the *The Lloyds Weekly Newspaper* (31st July, 1853) announcing the distributions of the Uxbridge Land Society’s first estate situated near to the proposed station on the GWR Uxbridge branch. Shares were £40 each and monthly payment of 5(shillings?) per share.

Uxbridge's notion of 'improvement' is now associated with a zeal for profitable property ownership. In a letter to *The Buckingham and Adjacent Counties Advertiser*, (12th November, 1853, no.1, vol.1) 'Hyperion' states that the *Uxbridge Land Society* had thousands of pounds of capital and that 'By the judicious laying out of its estates has earned for itself a character contrasting strongly and flatteringly with societies having professedly similar objects.' He predicted that the society was likely 'to be a means of great and continued improvement in the town and its neighbourhood'. Since he had last addressed the press, he writes, the Depot of the *Elthorne Light Infantry* had begun and a great number of houses of 'the respectable class had been built, whilst others were being erected'. In 'Hyperion's view two things were necessary to give impetus to the trade of the town 'to enable it to assume the position and importance we claim for it': more banking accommodation and railway communications with 'the Metropolis'. Since his last letter the *London and County Bank* had been established. This bank was doing much business.

He tells of misjudgement which would have cost the town dear: the Great Western Railway had begun the 'long promised branch from West Drayton' with the terminus to be on the south-east side of Vine Street. 'The Company' had offered to buy land along the railway to make a public road. However, due to a misunderstanding between the landowner and the company the offer had been turned down. A 'vast public benefit' would have accrued and the project had been defeated 'just at the moment when it appeared to be certain of accomplishment.'

Land values were rising: recent auctions had realised £1,000 per acre for 'open building sites' as 'The population was in advance of the builder', but also in advance of services: the Board of Health had accepted tenders for lighting the Oat Ward and were adopting a 'complete system of sewage and water supply' to deal with 'want of water' and bad drainage'. A new gas company was to be established with £3,000 capital and money was "flowing freely". The works would begin the following winter. Uxbridge had 'all the advantages to be derived from unrestricted competition in artificial light'.

'Hyperion' states that in the previous spring an attempt had been made to dispose of 'our beautiful Recreation Ground for Militia Stores', which had been 'raised in the spirit of the town' and that the attempt was defeated. A subscription was 'entered into', and a committee formed for the improvement of the Common. According to 'Hyperion' the

Uxbridge death rate shows it was ‘the healthiest district in the kingdom, Glendale even not excepted’.

Comment: My interpretation is that through the ritual staged by the *Uxbridge Freehold Land Society*, the O’Connorville ‘Jubilee’ procession and Uxbridge’s attention-grabbing *Chartist* newspaper, public passions were clarified. Radical passion for housing as a means to securing the emancipation of *individuals* of all classes was stirred up. However – perhaps for reasons of institutional weaknesses in building societies, and later by the lowering of the property threshold for enfranchisement – housing lost its radical trappings to be replaced by excited expectation of financial gain. This is a passion for home-ownership which is easily recognised in Britain today, a passion much less apparent in many European cities. Building societies could be assigned Radical or Tory affiliations or none at all.

The rituals of the Freehold Land Society failed even though the level of *collective effervescence* was raised to the highest level, carefully orchestrated by the ‘orators’. Instead of the repeated rituals necessary to maintain commitment it became apparent that the regulatory mechanisms in place were inadequate. However, a Permanent Society was established soon after. The Freehold Land Society aroused the passions of the Uxbridgians. The ‘Festival’ was a collective, but the enactments of the Festival coalesced around notions of autonomy and self-help. Bad-temper over the distribution of authority – especially over market tolls - had been a longstanding local feature, resolved eventually through formation of the Lords in Trust and this fractiousness is seen again in the Paige’s Lane dénouement in Uxbridge. The Toll riots and the Uxbridge Freehold Land Society gathering (and subsequent local correspondence) demonstrate animation, but about somewhat individualistic ethics attempted collectively; in the first case, through the prospect pocketing of at least a share of the market and tolls; in the second case, through an ethic of respectable domesticity which elevates the plot holder vis a vis the aristocratic neighbour further up the hill, by having one’s own house (and vote) through the methodology of the forty shilling freehold. There is a suggestion of instrumentalism in both cases, the first is about rights and legitimacy from the perspectives of the ‘burgagers’, the second, partially at least, about using a collective system in order to obtain something for the individual. Both cases are far removed from the sentiments excited by the Dartford Heath Encampment.

Public innovation seems to have been relatively slow. James Stacey had built a gas works around 1832 eight years after the Lords in Trust had refused permission for the British Gas Light Company to light the town (Hearmon, 1984, 49). The new gas company that Hyperion alludes to is probably the Uxbridge and Hillingdon Consumers' Company, incorporated in 1854 under the provisions of the Local Board of Health. This would therefore have competed with the Uxbridge Old Gas Co., which had been formed when James Stacey had been bought out. 'Hyperion' praises the idea of 'unrestricted competition in gas light but competition ended in 1861 when the Old Gas Co. was bought by the new company'¹⁰². The delay in establishing a Permanent Local Board of Health may have delayed work programmes.

The Great Western main line (1838) bypassed Uxbridge in 1838 and the town waited until 1856 for a branch line connection from West Drayton. This may also have had a quietening effect and indeed that 'okayness' which I reported earlier probably dates from 1850's. Uxbridge also seems to have missed opportunities when the landowner fell out with the Great Western Railway, preventing the building of a road which would have been advantageous to the town.

Bread, Passion and Epistolary Rites, 1854

Having analysed and discussed Chartism and the Uxbridge Land Society I now examine a series of intense epistolary exchanges over bread, enacted in 1854 through the local press. These feature accusations of an alleged cartel. As the exemplars show, the price of bread was critically important, but bread is also something more – it is an emblem which is contested.

The editor of the *Buckinghamshire and Adjacent Counties Advertiser* and correspondents alike tested out ideas around trade regulation in this series of spats given a religious dimension, between the self-styled 'Mother of a Family', 'Father of a Family', 'Lover of Truth', and 'Lover of Justice'. The exchanges are vituperative, and, probably, slanderous. These epistolary rituals 'turned up the heat' over political and religious issues through competing claims on truth. An exchange took place between August, 1854 and October, 1854.

¹⁰² According to Baker et al. (1971) a local act (1861) 'provided for the purchase of the Old Gas Co. by the Gas Consumers' Co. and the incorporation of the amalgamated concern'.

‘The Price of Bread at Uxbridge’

‘Father of a Family’ complains to the Editor (1st August, 1854, 5) about the price of a loaf in Uxbridge which was most important ‘to a labouring man’. Not only is the bread more expensive, but, he claims, it is only weighed if requested. The writer ‘refrains’ from naming him but writes that ‘I am told’ the price of bread is regulated by one man ‘to whom the other bakers apply every Sunday evening after his return from chapel, to know what is to be the price of the loaf for the following week. I know not whether he regulates the weight as well.’ The opinion of those connected with Uxbridge is that the most prosperous class is ‘the mealman, the miller, and the baker’ ... ‘[who] are taking the bread out of the poor man’s mouth’. The correspondent asks the Editor to ‘make a weekly return of the price and weight of the quarter loaf, with the name of the baker’.

Very probably ‘Father’ is a ‘labouring man’ himself who does not belong to the ‘Chapel’ since he accuses the price-fixer of being ‘chapel’. One wonders what the religious affiliation of the other bakers is in the alleged cartel.

‘Mother of a Family’ Takes up the Cudgels

A letter from ‘Mother of a Family’ was published on 8th August, 1854, expressing the hope ‘Father’ would be able ‘to cut an extra slice from his loaf, as some recompense for his exposure of a system too long practised in Uxbridge, by the bakers and praising the newspaper for publishing it, thus helping to ‘keep men and things in their places’. She reports that the bakers had lowered their prices the day before the paper appeared [presumably on the 7th] which she attributes the fact that far more bread was being weighed on delivery due to the letter to the newspaper. Everyone had been pleased at the letter, except the ‘light weights’ who have been uncommon crusty this week’. She ends with a flourish ‘The less the Uxbridge bakers speak of their good qualities the better for the public will pronounce them bad judges, tradesmen, if not bad men’.

The ‘hierarchical voice’ is heard; the writer’s sense of propriety is satisfied. ‘Mother’ does not refer, however, to the religious affiliations of the alleged price-fixers.

Defence of the Bakers by a ‘Lover of Justice’

A letter dated 12th August, from a 'Lover of Justice', headed 'The Uxbridge bakers' appeared on August 15th, 1854.

The pseudonymous correspondent conveys that he/she is aware that if a letter of 'a personal tendency' is accepted, then the Editor would publish a reply. The letter(s) in question are from 'A Father of a Family', and 'A Mother of a Family' (whom the correspondent assumes are husband and wife). The correspondent finds their tone 'bitter and personal' against tradesmen who 'are no worse than grocers, butchers, or even book-binders' and challenges 'Father' as to how he could know bread was a penny cheaper in London than Uxbridge, given variation in price.

'Lover of Justice' refers sarcastically to 'Mother of a Family's 'elegant and feminine expression' - 'Its all in my eye, Mr. Editor'. If the 'amiable matron' had wanted the truth she would have discovered that bread in Wycombe (where wages were lower) had fallen in price a couple of days before Uxbridge, and that bread was being undersold in that particular shop. The correspondent declares that 'Father' should not treat all the eight bakers as equally guilty when what he should have done was buy a loaf at each baker every day for a week, then tabulate the result.

With regards to price-fixing after chapel every Sunday the pseudonymous contributor suggests that this is the worst accusation and that many young men would consider the accusation 'too highly seasoned, even for the *Bucks Advertiser*'. The 'Lover of justice' suggests that any trader who went to chapel would be picked as having adulterated goods:

You will notice that it is said, that this baker who regulates the price, does so after he returns from '*Chapel*' [italics original]. The grocer who sanded the sugar, damped the tobacco, and then called to prayers, went of course to *chapel* [italics original], or where would have been the moral, or rather the sting.

He/she believes that this baker did, undoubtedly go to chapel but that 'it is undoubtedly false that he is waited upon by eight bakers every Sunday night, for the purpose spoken of'. He/she points out that such a proceeding would have attracted observation from the neighbours:

Fancy eight bakers calling either one at a time, or in a deputation, between eight and nine every Sunday night, upon one of the principal bakers of the town, and that, too, just after chapel, and then say, if such a fact would have needed a newspaper to spread it abroad. Every man has

a right to his belief, and I, for one, firmly believe that such an insinuation is false both in the letter and the spirit

‘Lover of Justice’ emphasises his personal knowledge of the baker over many years. The accused had even abandoned baking Sunday dinners, even though it brought in ten or twelve shillings a week, because he thought that Sunday trading was wrong. The writer concludes saying that he would be happy to meet ‘Father’ and for both parties to bringing two friends to a meeting chaired by the Editor to discuss and asks whether ‘... the Father and Mother of a family [were] justified in writing in the *spirit and manner* they have done about the Uxbridge Bakers?’ The writer signs off with ‘a lover of cheap bread, but at the same time, a Lover of Justice, Uxbridge’.

On 29th August, 1854 (4) a letter is published from ‘A Lover of Justice’ entitled ‘The Uxbridge bakers’ with an update on the situation. Apparently ‘Father’ had said that he was ‘no orator’ but would be willing to find an advocate. However, the writer does not see how ‘Father’ could accept the challenge if he cannot speak and, in the light of that, needed to see ‘Father’... ‘just to take his measure’. He/she jokes sarcastically that his idea was to hire Exeter Hall and ‘charge one shilling for admittance and apply the proceedings towards paying off the national debt’.

On the same date as above, 29th August on page four a letter also appears from ‘A Lover of Truth’, concerning ‘The Uxbridge bakers’. The writer sets out some figures which apparently demonstrate that ‘the bakers are not the men who bag all the profits.’ The writer emphasises that the reason the baker was targeted is because he is a Dissenter.

I sense that the letter is a reply from the accused who writes as though injured personally ‘But, Sir, I deny it, and I here call upon ‘Father’ to prove the thing, or else at once to apologise’. ‘A Lover of Truth’ asks whether it is the entire sect to which he belongs that ‘Father’ wishes to stigmatize:

for they are the known friends of liberty in religion, and the determined enemies to all religious persecution in the shape of church rates and the like, on which, by the bye, “Father”, and his coadjutors suffered such a memorable defeat in 1853; and like a worm that has been trodden upon, they turn and write under the pressure that has crushed it. If it be not so, why was religion mixed up in his letter, and the slander cast upon the dissenter? Why not have named the other bakers and largest baker in the town?: But he happens to be a churchman; no, he is right, and the dissenting one is to bear the scandal.

The writer seems to be implying, above, that “Father” is aggrieved by his ‘defeat’ in 1853’ over church rates and that this is the reason that ‘religion was mixed up in his letter’.

What “Father” writes about short weight slinks from the truth since only two bakers weighed their bread over the counter and they were dissenters. One of them even carried [scales?] about in his barrow so the customer can have his bread weighed ‘by right of the law; not like the poor dissenter who, for conscience sake, has had his goods taken by the power of that law, which was an insult to reason and common sense’. ..’the chapel-going baker must be falsely accused because he is a methodist’.

He surmises that if ‘Father’ and his friends had their way bread would have been 2s a loaf.

The pseudonymous correspondent praises the virtues of free trade, which he/she emphasises that all dissenters endorsed and links free trade with the lowering of bread prices:

But thank God truth has prevailed, the public mind has been moved and their power thrown down; and under the blessings of free trade (and, by the bye, all dissenters are free-traders and took a leading part in its advocacy) during a time of serenity and war, bread has been com-at-able by all, and, under the blessings of a kind Providence, I hope soon to see it 6d. per loaf; and I doubt that the Uxbridge bakers will not be behind their brother tradesmen in other towns.

‘Father and Mother’ tried to take the praise for a fall in the price of bread but to no effect because:

That very chapel going baker you have tried to stigmatize was the first man in the trade to say flour ought to fall, and he, with the two head mealmen of the town, (mark, they are Dissenters) in the Market-house, on the Thursday, before your noted letter appeared in public, agreed to fall the price 5s., and they went to their respective shops and did it and bread fell on the following Monday. No thanks, then, “Father” (if he has the boldness to appear in public), at the forthcoming discussion, will be compelled to retire amidst his paper shavings, until he has learned better ways, and the respected “Mother” amidst her plums and currants.

The pseudonymous, (maybe anonymous)¹⁰³ protagonists in this drama seem aware of each other's identity. In the letter above the aggrieved writer seems to know the trade that 'Mother' engages in. 'A Lover of Truth' seems implicitly to approve of cartels, since he refers to bakers convening in order to *lower* prices. The split between Dissenters (Methodists) and Anglicans is highlighted further through the correspondence.

A couple of months later (17th October, 1854) an article appeared in the same newspaper under the general heading 'Local Intelligence'. The heading to the article itself is 'Bread agitation'. I surmise it is editorial. It pokes fun gently at the 'agitation':

The agitation on the unjust price of bread in Uxbridge produced through the medium of the *Buckinghamshire Advertiser* is now assuming a practical character. Our benevolent and philanthropic townsman Mr. John Bailey caused the towncrier to announce three times, "That as bread was sold dearer in Uxbridge than any town in England, the millers were desired to take notice in a friendly manner that unless they supplied the bakers with flour at such a price as at other towns who deal in corn and flour, and the homes of the poor labouring man is robbed of the blessings the almighty has so abundantly bestowed...he Mr. Bailey was prepared with a scheme, whereby the public should be supplied with bread ... at 6d a loaf, instead of 7 and a half d a loaf, the price they are now paying. [Mr. Bailey] is a "Friend" and possesses both the means and the will to do what he proposes. It is a well-known fact that the advantages and blessings of the abundant harvest have, as yet, gone wholly and solely into the pockets of the rich monopolist.

The trail then dissipated on the bread issue, presumably because feelings had been exorcised.

Comment: I detect a theme: angry criticism and mistrust attributed to the opacity of the Uxbridge Land Society, complaints at the secret conduct of the Board of Guardians, Board of Health, Lords in Trust and bakers and a baker's reply suspecting he'd been singled out on the basis of religious affiliation. Anger is cloaked in sarcasm and mistrust. Admission that prices had been lowered deliberately after a meeting of bakers betrays the existence of cartel-pricing by bakers however! The price of bread causes feelings to run very high.

Reaching a Decision on Burial Grounds

Context: In 1853 The Home Secretary, Palmerston, ordered the churchyard to be closed due to overcrowding. In view of this, a vestry committee was appointed in Uxbridge in order to make enquiries about a new site and about the expenses attached to and then to make a report. Vestry discussions about the Parish Burial Grounds exemplify the economiser moderated by an instinct for improvement by at least two members of the Committee.

‘Parish Burials Grounds and Cemeteries’

The Buckinghamshire Advertiser (14th February, 1854) reported that a meeting had been held on 7th February, to receive the report of the Committee, appointed at the last vestry regarding burial ground. The Rev. C.P. Price chaired. Mr. Batt, vestry clerk, read the report. Mr. John Rayner proposed that a burial ground be provided for the parish which Mr. H.G. Cosier seconded.

There seems to have been some dissent at this meeting, but Mr. Riches thought the report contained important information which ratepayers should know before making a decision and considered that the ratepayers be acquainted with it before they decided what ought to be done. He proposed the report be printed and circulated amongst the ratepayers. This resolution was carried.

Mr. Johnson, churchwarden, said that the churchwardens had no funds and found it difficult to raise money by public subscription so ‘Several gentlemen’ took on the task of printing. The vestry was adjourned till 21st February. A vote of thanks was passed for the Committee’s ‘able’ report.

According to a report appearing in *The Buckinghamshire Advertiser and Adjacent Counties Circular* (February 14th, 1854) the inhabitants of Uxbridge were divided over what type of cemetery to have – a new parish burial ground or one run for profit by a private company, a joint stock company - ‘ratepayers [being] naturally anxious to fix on the plan which will least affect them in the pecuniary point of view’. The report refers to the unpleasant prospect of having to make up £10,000 for the Board of Health as ‘a punishment for past neglect’, critical that the burial ground had not been closed years before. The reporter thanks the ‘few spirited individuals’ who had reported the state of affairs to the Home Secretary, who ordered the grounds closed immediately.

The chief benefit of a private scheme was supposed to be that it would release ratepayers from a 'heavy burden'. But, the report continues, 'like many other things, second thoughts dispel the attraction of the first, and we must confess such have been the case with ourselves'. The report claimed that it did not want to throw opposition in the way of the proposed company but was of the view that the object of a company with a monopoly was to declare a dividend. Therefore, the company would need to charge a good price to give a good return to shareholders and the inhabitants would have no control over the rate of charge or management, nor any guarantee on future prices. The poor would not be able to pay and would have to apply to the parish to bury their dead, pushing up parish rates. The parish would lose out since extra demand would be continued 'whereas the extra rate for purchasing the land [directly] would continue for another twenty years'. The report suggested that if a joint stock company could make a profit from such a speculation then the Vestry should also be able to, and retain control of the burial ground and therefore the Burial Board. The writer exhorts rate-payers 'en masse' to attend the Vestry 'this day week' 'and vote as their reason dictates', cautioning them not to let power pass from their hands:

And in conclusion we beg to state that we are led to believe that the Uxbridge and Hillingdon cemetery company will dig but one grave, and in that bury itself, independent of the extra charges for the internment of non-parishioners.

A second adjourned Vestry meeting was held on 21st February reported in *The Buckinghamshire Advertiser and Adjacent Counties Gazette*, (28th February, 1854) to decide whether a new burial ground should be provided. Churchwarden John Rayner chaired and Mr. W.H. Ball, the Vestry Clerk, read the report, already printed and circulated among the rate-payers. Mr. Thomas Johnson, Churchwarden, proposed and Mr. R. Austin seconded 'that a burial ground shall be provided under the Act 16 & 17 Vict., chap 134 for the township of Uxbridge'. Mr. T. Murray thought that as the last Vestry was adjourned to enable the Cemetery Company to explain their views, they should do so'. Mr. Gardiner moved and Mr. Shoppe seconded as an amendment:

...That it is the opinion of this vestry that every exertion should be made by the ratepayers to carry out the views of the promoters of the Cemetery Company, and for that purpose a thorough canvas should be made by a committee of gentlemen favourable to the scheme to ascertain whether the necessary number of shares will be taken up, and to report there to another vestry to meet this day month.

Mr. Gardiner spoke in favour of his amendment, disclaiming on behalf of the promoters of the scheme, any rivalry or opposition. He judged that the £2,400 proposed by the recent committee was not enough to carry through the proposed burial ground. He estimated £3,500 was required, which implied a 7½d in the pound rate for the first year, 4½d over 20 years, to furnish the capital and pay the interest. This was plain, he declared.

Mr. Gardiner argued that a ratepayer would be better-off financially by buying shares in a private burial company than meeting the costs of a public scheme. The aim of the company was not to make a profit but to induce ratepayers to advance the capital. This would release them from paying an extra rate for twenty years. This would be advantageous given that the Board of Health meant that an extra rate would be required. Mr. Mercer, for example, 'the biggest rate-payer in the parish' would, during the first twenty years, pay rates totalling £160 for the purpose but through taking eight shares in the company he would pay £80? [£50] 'leaving interest out'. Other ratepayers would be affected proportionally. Mr. Gardiner mentions what he sees as additional benefits with the private scheme: interment charges would be regulated by an Act of Parliament or charter, the site chosen by the company would be very suitable. It would be as close to Uxbridge as that proposed by the Vestry committee and bigger.

The report tells us that The Newbery Company had forwarded its expenses at the request of the committee and that the cost of obtaining an Act of Parliament and associated legal expenses amounted to £1,000.

Mr. Woodbridge refused to support the amendment as it would commit its supporters to exert themselves on behalf of the Company, instead proposed an adjournment until the first Tuesday in April, at six o'clock. 'By adjourning until the time proposed, this patriotic company would be in a position to say whether they can carry out their scheme'. Mr. W. Norton seconded with large majority support.

Comment: The *Vestry* found it difficult to choose between a ratepayer financed and a commercial solution to the burial problem, despite the urgency given to Palmerston's closure order. Their main concern was economy and weighing long term ratepayer liabilities against immediate outlays – and longer-term profit - which they could make as individual shareholders in a private scheme. They knew that pauper burials would

have to be paid for by the Parish in either case (as a commercial company would not offer burials free of charge).

What is striking about the Vestry discussions is the omission of any other ethical consideration: no mention of a suitable 'resting place' for the deceased, no sentimental consideration of the need for contemplation by relatives and friends; no discussion, even by proxy, of the sacred realm. The discussions were business-like and matter of fact.

I notice also that the Vestry discussed the issue in a polite and measured way; without accusations, rancour or parody. It seems to have been more polite than Dartford's Vestry. Claims are taken on trust and not maligned as might have been expected in Dartford. Unlike the Pages Lane gathering and the Bakers question, nobody is denigrated. Participants are 'okay' with each other.

Despite the urgency of the problem time is scheduled to go through the issues and enable all to understand them. The committee report was not countered with leaflets and pamphlets.

Do the class positions help us understand the positions the actors were taking: the priority given to economy? I have not identified ratepayers' occupations, although this could be done. For example, one can say that in 1854 Mr. R.W. Hetherington – who sounds sympathetic to the commercial solution - was a 'Practical Bookbinder and Account Book Maker, Uxbridge'. His advertisement appeared on the front page of a number of issues. An advert appeared on 7th February for 'Hetherington's Register Office for families and servants, Uxbridge', suggesting he is numerate. Mr. C.J. Caffall received instructions to let a 'capital road-side Public House' 'near to Uxbridge' (March 21st 1854); but one does not know how he voted.

The outcome, as reported in *The Bucks Advertiser*, 25th April, 1854 was that on Tuesday, 18th April the Vestry appointed a Burial Board. Rev. C.P.Price was in the chair. Mr. G.B. Hetherington proposed that the following persons constituted the board: Rev C.P. Price, Messrs. John Mercer, Charles Woodbridge, John Rayner, T.H. Johnson, Thomas Murray, Edward Taylor, Joseph Hunt and William Morton.

It is interesting that Mr. Mercer was willing to be proposed for the Board, given that the he was described as the biggest ratepayer in Uxbridge and that Mr. Woodbridge, in the face of an over-persistent Mr. Gardiner, refused to support the proposed amendment.

They opted for a public solution. The Burial Board purchased land off Kingston Lane for burial of Anglicans and Dissenters replacing the separate denominational burial grounds which were over-full and believed to have presented a contamination risk to drinking water. The Board included the Rev. C.P. Price and Charles Woodbridge.

The Joy of Shopping

Uxbridge was and remains a shopping centre. Fortunately, there is a contemporaneous record of what it felt like to shop here in the nineteenth century, through the 1853 *Dairies of Emily Goldar Fearn* (cited in Hearmon, 1984, 67-68). For Wednesday, 19th January this young girl records:

Considerable bargains to be had at the drapers Goodman and Noke who are dissolving partnership. Capital flowers at ½d. per spray, purchased several bunches.

On 18th March Emily describes a 'plaid pink barège' which was 'one of the Goodman bargains' being altered and that 'Mamma sent to Hillingdon with the children in the afternoon, then to Hedgcocks and bought us hair-ribbons and pink belts'. The Toy Fair was described with the same enthusiasm recognisable in children going shopping for toys today.

The 'Statute Fairs'

During the 1850's the 'Statute Fairs' meant:

The streets are full of people, all flocking in from surrounding districts. The High street...is lined with covered stalls, here and there with a caravan behind. On these stalls are displayed all kinds of articles, toys, whips, canes, whistles, trumpets, crackers etc., but several display Gilded cocks and hens, ducks, nuts and cakes, composed of Gingerbread. Stalls for nuts and walnuts...The famous stall with its big round tin canisters with trap toys and its tastily set out shelves principally for Gingerbread nuts, is attended by the Misses King from Brentford. Their black hair in long Victorian ringlets on each side of the face ...

...The crowds of Farmers and their wives interviewing serving men and maidens who stood in groups for the yearly hiring. The labourers denoting their profession by placing in their hat wisps of hay for haycutters and binders; thatchers by bunches of straw... (Strutt cited in Hearmon, 1984, 48)

A market for corn meant a market for flour and at the peak there were thirteen mills in the area but after the Great Western Railway bypassed Uxbridge its market declined, leaving only four mills by 1895 (Hearmon, 1984, 49). Uxbridge had no equivalent of Dartford's industrial élite but also, it would seem, no antipathy towards hawkers (which they did in Dartford).

Shopping was, and is, a sacred activity in Uxbridge.

Comment: The descriptions so far give indications of local feelings in the early to mid-nineteenth century which neo-Marxists describe as the 'competitive period'. Except for the lofty promises held out by the prospect of home-ownership it is difficult to find expressive interest in the general good and even housing loses its radical connotations in favour of individual (especially financial) advantage. Bread is debated ostensibly on behalf of price but with more than a hint of Anglican animosity towards Dissenters. The burial question was settled without rancour or recrimination.

The question is whether we can recognise any present day public local feelings in these descriptions. I suspect that the answer to this is 'yes'.

Section Three

The Cause of Autonomy

This section looks forward to what for regulation theorists should be the 'monopoly' period of accumulation. Two things can be said. Firstly, large scale manufacturing remained relatively absent here, with nothing like the scale of industrialisation seen in Dartford. Secondly, what I detect in what follows is ritual expression of domestic ideals rather than of a 'brighter and more beautiful' future for all, more typical of Dartford. Ethical dispositions are clarifying.

Boundaries are imbricated with authority. As discussed, the Uxbridge Poor Law Union (1836) enhanced the authority of Uxbridge, whose authority now reached over the whole of, more or less, the whole of the modern borough. A (provisional) Local Board of Health was established in Uxbridge, following petitioning by Uxbridge, creating another set of boundaries and authority. The 1872 Public Health Act imposed new authority and boundaries. Through the Act, from 1874 the Uxbridge Local Board

became the Uxbridge Urban Sanitary Authority whilst a Rural Sanitary Authority took on responsibility the area administered by the Uxbridge Poor Law Union.

The period begins, roughly, with the 1880's, and the 1888 Local Government Act which was highly significant in that it reformed English local government, using the counties as its basis. To summarise its impact locally: Middlesex County Council was to govern the rural part of the County and the London County Council the metropolitan part. Further changes took place with the Local Government Act of 1894 when a new second-tier of local government created urban and rural districts into which the sanitary districts were incorporated. The Uxbridge Urban District Council was created, at the same time as the Uxbridge Rural District Council.

I have alluded to the precipitous decline into which Uxbridge entered after the development of the Great Western Railway, which by-passed the town. Uxbridge itself misjudged several opportunities such as the possibility of developing a road along the railway, a chance which was quashed by a local landowner. Uxbridge also had to wait until 1856 before it had a branch line to West Drayton. Hearmon describes how:

The decline of the market meant that by the end of the [nineteenth century Uxbridge had become merely the shopping centre for a small local district (1984, 44).

and that:

[At] the dawn of the twentieth century...there was a feeling that nothing would ever change...The town was a sleepy backwater, on no main transport routes, and although still a prosperous market centre its position as a major cornmarket had long since disappeared.

This, then, is the backdrop then to Dartford's Monopoly period which was a period of almost fevered public activity which lasted from approximately the 1880's until the 1930's. Reported public affect of Uxbridge was *very different*.

I now analyse and discuss selected exemplars, several of which focus on Hillingdon and Uxbridge shows, with fruit and vegetables and trade displays. These shows have persisted, in a surprisingly similar form to the present day, or until recently.

The Uxbridge/ Hillingdon Show

The Hillingdon Show and its precursors have been selected because they reference a bucolic past, of agriculture and horticulture, and present-day domestic sentiments

From the Uxbridge Library archives one can see that Uxbridge and District Horticultural Society held its first show in 1909 at Hillingdon Court. The weather was poor. Nevertheless, 1,500 people 'were treated' to a Ladies versus Gentlemen cricket match and music from the Hillingdon Prize Band. The event continued under the auspices of the Horticultural Society until 1931, when the secretary, Alfred Routleff, formulated his idea for a much longer show, launched with great success in 1932 when around 12,000 attended.

The 1932 Show

Trade Displays

A brief article in the *Middlesex Advertiser and County Gazette* of the 29th July, 1932 describes the 'trade exhibits' on view: Randall's Stores 'have a reputation that has stood high for many years, and stands high today for the best class of furniture at prices extremely reasonable'. The Uxbridge and District Gas Company exhibited cookers and fires, to demonstrate that 'summer day need not be smoky days.' Other stalls include a 'Canine Practitioner'; a specialist in dog and poultry foods, cage birds and pets; a specialist in summer houses and pigeon-cotes; and a 'hairdressing and beauty culture'. A familiar focus on domestic virtues is seen here.

In the same issuer '*The Special Show Supplement of the Middlesex Advertiser and County Gazette*' describes the 'mammoth show' as the outcome of 'the old horticultural show'. Local interest had languished apparently in recent years although the show had 'a long and distinguished record'. Rather than reduce the size of the horticultural show a 'bold idea' was made to introduce a bigger scheme with other attractions. The show was to be the largest of its kind in the Southern Counties and a crowd of fifteen to twenty thousand people was anticipated. Agriculturalists disappointed with other county shows were turning to Uxbridge to see the old-style show in combination with modern amusements. The event became the 'Hillingdon Show' after the formation of the London Borough of Hillingdon in 1965.

FINAL ARRANGEMENTS

TIME TABLE FOR BANK HOLIDAY MONDAY.

9.30	Horticulture, Poultry and Rabbit Sections. No further Exhibits received after this time.
9.45	Horse Parade. Assembly at "The Lea" Meadow.
10.15	Horse Parade Procession leaves "The Lea" Meadow.
10.30	Dog and Cattle Exhibits to be on the Show Ground.
10.45	Horse Parade Procession arrives on the Show Ground.
11.0	Show Ground opens to the general public. Admission 2s. Judging of all Sections except Motor Carnival and Children's Pet Dog Classes.
1.30	Interval for Lunch.
1.30	Motor Carnival. Assembly at the "The Lea" Meadow for Procession.
2.0	Motor Carnival Procession starts. Judging en route.
2.30	Motor Carnival Procession arrives on the Show Ground. Afternoon Admission 1s. 6d.
2.45	Parade of Winners and Award of Cups (Heavy Classes).
3.0	Military Display.
3.30	Children's Jumping. Open Jumping.
4.30	Judging of Children's Pet Dog Classes.
5.15	Parade of Winners and award of Cups (Riding Classes).
6.0	Military Display and Mounted Musical Chairs.
6.30	Evening Admission 7d.
7.0	(Approx.) Completion of Arena Events.
8.0	Dancing in Bandstand Enclosure.

Figure 14: 'Final Arrangements - Time Table for the 1932 Uxbridge Show', *The Middlesex Advertiser and County Gazette*, 29th July, 1932. (Image by kind permission of Trinity Mirror). The long list of timings set out above shows what value was placed on *precision* by the official organisers of the show.

Horses, pets (mainly dogs), motor cars and a military display were to feature. There is no mention of illustrious histories or brighter futures and no evidence of mass participation or organisation typical of Dartford shows. The Uxbridge Show has more modest aims than Dartford's 1932 Pageant. It was held on August Bank Holiday

Monday opposite Uxbridge Common, in a field sufficient for thirty thousand people. Sectional committees and secretaries were appointed under an Executive Committee and general organising secretary for coordination.

A Special Supplement praises Mr. A.T. Routleff, Organizing Secretary, describing the 'romantic story of individual achievement in the way of organizing'. Mr. Routleff, 'with characteristic Devon cheerfulness' disagreed with 'pessimists' who thought it time to end the Horticultural Show due to lack of public interest and its financial losses. He'd decided to create 'the biggest agricultural show in the southern counties' and 'the enthusiasm thus started became quite contagious'. 'Feeling his way carefully' he set up Sectional Committees represented on the Executive Committee. The former then developed their own branches. The previous year's show was a 'try-out' for the 'mammoth event'. (The Dartford Divisional Pageant had been organised in less than five months.)

This was not to be a local event as organisers expected exhibitors and visitors to travel considerable long distances. The Supplement proclaims that the Uxbridge Development Committee would have a 'powerful ally' in the Show in making the town known as an 'ideal industrial centre'. The Clerk of the Committee was Mr. John Poole, *Clerk* to the Uxbridge Urban Council. Local traders took stands. As was the case in Dartford and neighbouring wards, the Supplement anticipated that industrialists expecting a revival in trade would be impressed by Uxbridge's offering of factory sites as well as 'charming residential areas.' Newcomers to the town included Messrs. G. Scammell and Nephew Ltd.

The Advertiser and Gazette of August 5th, 1932, 10, expects the *Show* to be remembered as 'the first big and successful event of the Uxbridge and District Agricultural Association'. It was held on the newly acquired public grounds. The paper surmised that the public thought of it as the biggest event Uxbridge had attempted with 'huge marquees', 'large horse and cattle ring', an 'the array of trade exhibits' and 'the pleasure-fair' and their extent as 'staggering'.

An intense thunderstorm occurred in the middle of the day. The decorations on the motor-vehicles were spoilt and the bandsmen had to change back into civilian clothes. At the luncheon Major J.J. Llewellyn¹⁰⁴, M.P., proposed the toast of 'Uxbridge and

¹⁰⁴ Major Llewellyn was elected MP for Uxbridge in 1929.

District Agricultural Association’, but the downpour began as he started and rain on the roof of the marquee made him hard to hear. Major E.W.C. Flavell, M.C., J.P., also competed with the storm when he responded in his capacity of Chairman of the Show Committee. However, ‘in true military stentorian tones he mastered the occasion’.

The trade exhibits seem to have a local emphasis. Mr. A.W. Seth, of Ickenham, illustrated how beautiful a garden could be made by ‘stone work and other adornments’. The wireless and electrical displays of Messrs. Bayley’s Battery Service showed how electricity was becoming important in the home and Uxbridge, Maidenhead Wycombe and District Gas Company demonstrated the utility of gas for cooking. Large ‘model houses’ were on display by Palace Houses of Wembley; early bulbs and garden plants by Messrs. Vernon Brown and Co. (Uxbridge) and the ‘Edgemow’ by Mr. H.J. Jennings.



Figure 15: ‘One of the three judging rings for the dog section of the Uxbridge Show. Here are seen some of the splendid golden retrievers being judged’, *The Middlesex Advertiser and Gazette*, 5th August, 1932. (Image by kind permission of Trinity Mirror).

Other images published shortly afterwards included Major Flavell, J.P., M.C.¹⁰⁵ presenting a case of cutlery to the band leader who was leaving, a crowd at a horse-jumping contest, a scene from the cattle section and ‘a magnificent parade of horses and tradesmen’s vehicles [which] began the day’s proceedings’. Prefaces, if provided, are

¹⁰⁵ Major Flavell, later Brigadier Flavell, had a distinguished career in both the First and Second World War.

brief (two or three paragraphs) and factual without any of the baroque prose more typical of Dartford.

Comment: The 1880s-1930's corresponds with Dartford's 'Monopoly' period (in Marxian terms). It is hard to detect a local élite orchestrating events in tandem with, on behalf of, or as part of the local authority in Uxbridge. Although local MPs attend the shows the emphasis is on the domestic virtues, displayed collectively; the fruit and flower displays, dog shows and horse shows.

Rising Attendance

Attendance rose through the 1930s. In 1931 attendance was 4,132 rising to 17,428 by 1935 and 19,492 by 1936. Between 1931 and 1937 profits rose from £31 15 4d to £113 14 8d. Earnings financed the following years' shows.

The 1949 Show

The Foreword to the 1949 show alludes to 'arranging annually these things that give point and pleasure to town and countrymen' a statement which was about as declamatory as any ever used in connection with the Show!

The 1951 Show

The *Advertiser and Gazette* of the 10th August, 1951 features domestic and leaning ethics. The *Dog Show* was well established with over seven hundred entries. The newspaper reports exclaimed 'Rain keeps hundreds away from the Uxbridge Show'; 'Wettest August Bank Holiday for Ten Years...but it can be fun in a Dog Show'. A montage appeared of *Una*, a Great Dane entry in the obedience class, (figure 16 below) and the award-winning floral display from the horticultural tent. There was also a big increase in horticultural entries, and the winner was awarded the gold medal diploma for 'a charming setting of sweet peas, gladioli, dahlias, statice, and dyed bull-rushes' and was televised the day before in the T.V. series *Design for Women*.



Figure 16: Montage of 'Una of Rollright' and floral display, Middlesex Advertiser and Gazette, 10th August, 1951. (Image by kind permission of Trinity Mirror)



Figure 17: "'Bambi' and 'Pansey', Guernsey T.T. calves shown by a member of the Uxbridge and District Young Farmers' Club at the Uxbridge Show were popular with children'. *The Middlesex Advertiser and Gazette*, 10th August, 1951. (Image by kind permission of Trinity Mirror).

The Uxbridge and District Young Farmers' Club fielded the Jersey Calves shown above (figure 17). Also included in their exhibition were varieties of tame mice and a pig 'to be bowled for'.

The agricultural side of Uxbridge is clearly represented in the 1951 Show, and domestic animals, including 'splendid' dogs, are displayed

In 1964, however, there was a 'Rock Band Contest' (2.30 pm. to 7.30 pm.) followed by 'the fabulous Yardbirds with supporting Groups from 8 p.m. to midnight'. After the formation of the London Borough of Hillingdon in 1965 the event was renamed the Hillingdon Show although the Programme was still similar to 1933.

The Hillingdon Show, 1976

The agricultural, gardening and pet contests were still included though 'Seventies elements were evident:

(<https://www.londonsscreenarchives.org.uk/public/details.php?id=1096&searchId=>)

The 1981 Show

The content is more wide-ranging and more military, featuring the following, amongst other items: the 'Metropolitan Police Marquee'; An Introduction to the 7th Duke of Edinburgh's own Gurkha Rifles; King's Division, Parachute Regiment, REME and Historians' Treasure Hunting Club.

The 1984 Show

The *Advertiser and Gazette* (28th June) reported that about 43,000 turned up during the Saturday and Sunday of the show, roughly 7,000 down on previous years...The education tent was missing because of a boycott of the show by Hillingdon borough headmasters in protest over planned education cuts.

The annual show was abandoned in the 1980s. However, an 'Auto Show' by vehicle enthusiasts in support of Rotary charities is in its thirtieth year. The event was abandoned, then reinstated as the 'Middlesex Town and County Show' and abandoned again in 2010 due to occupation of the site by travellers. The last show attracted 14,000 visitors, well-down from peak attendances.

Comment: What do local shows indicate? It would be presumptive to assume that local emotions can be read off from the content of local shows. However, they do epitomise

local sentiments to some degree and this becomes clearer through comparative analysis. There are clear, indeed prominent differences between on the one hand, the Dartford Division Historic Pageant (1932), the Dartford Incorporation Parade (1933) and subsequent Dartford Festivals and the different variants of the Uxbridge Show on the other. The contents are significantly different, and the contemporary claims made in connection with the first are much more elaborate and ambitious than with the second. The more I have studied the two locations the clearer the difference becomes. The reinstated Fruit and Vegetable Competition (2016) though much less ambitious, demonstrates significant continuity with the original 1909 event. There may even be a connection between it and the elaborate and enthusiastic launch of the *Uxbridge Freehold Land Society* project at Page's Lane (Walmsley Terrace) and this low-key show. Symbolic demonstrations of public sentiment in Uxbridge tend to employ land, fruit and vegetables, domestic and farm animals, housing, home furnishings and home appliances as objects of attention and going back further, also venison.

Uxbridge Shopping Week, 27th June – 6th July 1951

The Advertiser and Gazette of the 6th July ('Uxbridge shopping week adds colour to the town, 5) reported The Uxbridge Shopping Week. The High Street was 'dressed in bunting and gay flags bedeck[ed] shops. The address of Mr. Dudley Button, President of the Uxbridge Chamber of Commerce, to shoppers was reported. He recalls:

Ever since the old coaching days when Uxbridge was an important stopping place for stage coaches between London, Oxford and the West, the town has held an important place on the main thoroughfare in West Middlesex.

Mr. Button also refers to the 'the tradition of service... 'from those ancient days'. The exhibition was reported as 'the first of its kind in Uxbridge'. Frank Beswick, M.P. opened the exhibition on June 28th. Industries represented included 'two of Uxbridge's oldest industries', Messrs. Harman' Uxbridge Brewery and 'the last surviving Uxbridge miller, 'Messrs., E & J. Fountain'.

Industries listed included 'British pioneers of chain-link fencing, "industrial plating" and 'the Standard production of panel and flush doors'.

Comment: The recollections of Uxbridge as a coaching-town are not linked successfully to a modern vision of Uxbridge. The emphasis is on tradition. A

photograph of a 'Victorian landau' being driven through Uxbridge High Street 'to advertise the shopping week' adds further weight to the notion that Uxbridge looked back to the past, more than to the future. The industries are relatively small-scale, except the brewing, which was to disappear.

The Uxbridge Charter Day Celebrations, 18th May 1955

The Uxbridge Charter Day Celebrations, 18th May 1955 and borough status were marked in Hillingdon:

The Uxbridge Post (25th May 1955, 13) reports 'Borough Status Day for Uxbridge' as 'A day that was the climax of a thousand years of progress in the ancient district'.

Entitled 'Oh, What a wonderful day' *The Uxbridge Post* (25th May, 1955, 24) described the Charter Day events: More than fifty policemen had to be drafted in from the entirety of Middlesex to assist local police to control throngs of people in the High Street. The police had to hold back crowds which 'surged forward at the Regal as the Royal party arrived'. Fourteen men from Uxbridge Council's Parks Department worked all night decorating the auditorium with 'more than 2,500 plants and flowers'. They were all volunteers, with some even balloting for the job. At midnight the Chairman of the Urban Parks Committee brought sandwiches to them and flasks of coffee. They did not finish until 9 am on the day itself.

The table decorations were completed by noon consisting of dozens of sweet-peas, roses and stocks. *The Post* describes the day: A labourer walked slowly down the red carpet, hat in hand. He called out 'apologetically' 'Mr. Cochrane?' 'The buzz' which went into the foyer of the Regal Cinema where Uxbridge and Middlesex dignitaries were waiting is recorded. Councillor Jimmy Cochrane, with his top hat and walking stick came forward. The labourer apologised for the fact there were no telegram boys, then 'proffered' a telegram. Before Councillor Cochrane had read the message, and just as the cleaner had finished sweeping the carpet, the Duchess of Kent arrived. Councillor Cochrane crammed the telegram into his pocket.

The article reports the celebrations of the Borough Status Charter as 'about to begin'.

Michael, Duke of Kent, is first out of the car. His sister, Princess Alexandra, follows. The Duchess was met by the Lord Lieutenant of Middlesex. 'It was left to Princess Alexandra to close the car door', the writer notes¹⁰⁶. Other dignitaries attended, including The High Sherriff of Middlesex, the Chair of Middlesex Council, the Clerk to Middlesex Council and the Bishop of Kensington.

Jimmy Cochrane presented 'his right hand man', Clerk, John Poole. He 'grinned broadly as he shook hands [and] Mrs. Poole shook hands and curtseyed gracefully.' The group 'turned to face the Central Band of the R.A.F. in their blue and gold braid'. The Royal Salute was played in front of the Duchess then she inspected the guard of honour, the Advanced Drill Unit in Uxbridge.

They then processed to the cinema where flower arrangements were displayed. Representatives from various bodies including the Home Guard, Civil Defence, Girl Guides and the Army Cadets lined the stairs. The Duchess paused talk on her way up the stairs. She was handed a bouquet by the daughter of a past Chairman of Uxbridge Council.

The report states in capital letters that the Duchess entered the auditorium to a fanfare of trumpets, where 1,600 people had been waiting for thirty minutes. Councillors and their partners were already seated on stage. The Duchess was presented with an 'illuminated address' and the audience listened to her speech in a silence which was only interrupted by the 'whirring of movie cameras'.

She outlined the history of Uxbridge mentioning that its cricket club, established in 1789, had beaten an MCC side on a couple of occasions and that negotiations between King and Parliament had been held there. The Duchess described the town as 'well established' and with a large population. The Duchess referred to its 'fine churches and buildings' and to 'a big project in the form of a civic centre' under consideration. She wished prosperity to the new Borough. Jimmy Cochrane was apparently overcome but able to reply steadily. The Charter was blessed by the Bishop and the royal visitors signed the 'distinguished visitors' book'. Jimmy Cochrane read the Queen's message of

¹⁰⁶ The *Uxbridge Post* is slightly critical in tone, noting lack of 'public conveniences' as one of the biggest concerns before the event. It reports on the front page (5th January, 1955) that many citizens were preoccupied with 'the lack of adequate toilet facilities'. A publican had declared that 'Mine is the only lavatory this end of the High Street. It's ridiculous that no facilities have been laid on this way at all ... talk about Clochemerle!'

congratulation and the Duchess was presented with a silver lighter with her crest. Princess Alexandra also received a gift. Sherry was served on the balcony. The article notes that ‘Princess Alexandra detached herself from the group of privileged guests’ and ‘spoke informally’ with the Red Cross. The Princess posed for photographs and posed with St. John’s Ambulance Brigade who were very eager to meet her.

Comment: Thousands turned out for the event and the floral display seems to have equalled any other. The event seems to have been less elaborate than Dartford’s in 1933.

Reorganisation:

Celebrations for *The London Borough of Hillingdon* (1st April, 1965)

With the reorganisation of London government, the County of Middlesex was abolished and the London Boroughs created. LBH was a large unit, replacing several district councils. Oddly, this highly significant change on 1st April 1965 was marked ‘with very little ceremony and less celebration’ (Hearmon, 1984, 82). A relay race was held to mark the boundaries of the new borough and an Uxbridge town crier read a proclamation at several locations.

The Middlesex Advertiser and Gazette (9th April 1965, 3) describes the ceremonies which took place and how some residents felt about the new borough. It reports that three hundred excited school-children cheered the proclamation along with parents in a West Drayton primary school playground. The Mayor, his lady, and local officials were present and TV cameras covered the event.

The new Town Crier rang a bell and proclaimed that the Queen Elizabeth II had granted a Charter of Incorporation ‘The borough comes into being today, April 1, God Save the Queen’. *The Middlesex Advertiser and Gazette* notes that the Town Crier was transported in a Model T Ford and that the mayor, his lady and the town clerk followed. They stopped in Yiewsley High Street where the proclamation was read in front of the old Town Hall. ‘The cavalcade’ proceeded to Uxbridge where the proclamation was read again. One of the crowd remarked ‘we become part of a bigger area, good enough but I object to the rate increase’. Another by-stander said ‘I think the new borough is a load of tripe – the rates going up – I think it’s shocking.’ A Ruislip resident remarked ‘the new borough means nothing to me really.’ A Hayes housewife commented ‘At the

very least, it's a change'. The Mayor said 'I am glad we were able to start in this way symbolic of the new and the old joining together.'

On the same page a large photograph of a baby is featured who is sat up, crying loudly. The photograph is entitled 'Oh no! Oh no! Oh no!' Underneath the photograph we read 'Competition? This baby obviously did not recognise the historical significance of the occasion'. The size of the photograph and its contiguity to the report of the ceremony further domesticates the celebrations.

Low-Key Ceremony

A softening of ritual was noted. The *Middlesex Advertiser and County Gazette* (3rd June, 1966, 4) notes how they 'forgot the panegyric' for the newly elected Mayor of Hillingdon, Councillor Terence Cluny.

According to the article, it was the first agenda item of the annual Council meeting and Councillor Davies 'confidently expected to be called upon to give the usual panegyric about the mayor-elect'. However, the outgoing mayor, Councillor Cliff Gaddesden, went straight on to declare Councillor Cluny elected. Cllr. Davies looked non-plussed and hurt and approached the *Leader*, Alderman Alf Beck, 'who just shrugged his shoulders'. At least 'Alderman Beck was making sure the outgoing Mayor got his measure of mead'.

'An Historical Pageant for the London Borough of Hillingdon' (1966)

A Pageant which was produced after the fact, celebrating LBH, attracted lukewarm support. The title of the pageant, *The Tiger and the Deer* was a reference to its new Coat of Arms, with Uxbridge supplying the tiger and Hayes the deer. Four green crowns symbolised parity between the areas whose authorities had been abolished. The event was to be held at the Hayes Sports Stadium from the 15th to the 17th of September 1966), with the 'souvenir edition of text and production' priced at 2/6d.

As with the Dartford Pageants, *The Tiger and the Deer* was historical, and was to depict events in this part of the Thames Valley 'since the dawn of its occupation by the race of Man' (*Middlesex Advertiser and County Gazette*, 10th June, 2), ending with 'the birth of the new London Borough of Hillingdon on April 1st'. A headline *The Advertiser and Gazette* of the 10th June, 2, warned of a 'Get moving ultimatum on the pageant' and that the 'sands of time are running towards September, and the Hillingdon Borough Pageant

– a backward look through the borough’s history’. Four Arts Council representatives were interviewed and gave dispirited responses. Hayes and Harlington were responsible for the *St. Anselm and Rufus*, *William Byrd* and *John Wesley* scenes. A representative said, ‘the organisation as a whole seems to think that as the event is not until September, there is no need to hurry’. Mr. Nind of West Drayton, art director for the Pageant was more positive. But in Ruislip ‘things are not running so smoothly’. An Arts Council representative said ‘It’s been going a bit slow at the start. There is not a great deal of enthusiasm in Ruislip’ surmising that the reason might have been resentment by Ruislip Northwood at their inclusion in ‘the Hillingdon borough’. Ruislip Operatic Society was responsible for *Abbey Bec* while Ruislip Riding School was to assist with a mounted scene. The spokesman added ‘Ruislip people do not want to know. Nobody has said this to me in so many words, but this is the way it seems’. Uxbridge was also getting off to a slow start. Its five contributions included a Roman scene about a Roman road discovered near Brunel University, a scene about the ‘Uxbridge Martyrs’, scenes about the ‘Dark Ages’; the Great Football Match between Uxbridge and Ruislip and the robbing of Sir Robert Vyner.

A spokesperson for Uxbridge said that few local organisations had done more than cast their players. However, Leslie Nind’s input as art director (West Drayton) was original and creative; he used its Southlands centre, producing drawings to be sent for manufacture. The Phoenix Theatre was to present a history of steam and navigation as well as the arrival of the *Vulcan*, which hauled the first GWR train to run (*Middlesex Advertiser and Gazette*, 10th June 1966). Nind commissioned Pinewood Studios to make a model of the train (Southlands Arts, 2017).

Comment: The boundaries of affect and the boundaries of authority do not always coincide and much ritual work needs to be attended to, before, during and after re-configurations. The animation necessary for devising and enacting new rites may well be lacking, understandably so in this case. Why and how should anyone care especially about ‘Hillingdon’, or care about whether anybody else cares? Low-key attachment persists fifty years after its formation with pockets of enthusiasm created by charismatic local leaders in Hayes and ‘Metroville’ who engender more urgency through community and chamber of commerce meetings respectively (below).

The Tiger and The Deer Pageant should have been an opportunity to signal the creation of a new Borough by the (forced) abolition of its constituent District Councils, but at

least one of the former District Councils remained hostile and other local areas also resisted the notion. Residents from many parts were at best lukewarm. There seems to be a lack of familiarity with, and expertise in, the mechanisms of public inspection and affect.

The *Tiger and the Deer* was one of a series of missed opportunities noted in LBH (and its antecedents). These include: ending up with an omnibus for years between West Drayton and Uxbridge, only attaining a branch line in 1856; a road *not* being built along the GWR due to a ‘misunderstanding’; only obtaining a ‘provisional’ Board of Trade initially due to disputes over drainage and the succumbing of the local Committee of the Freehold Land Society to quick profits and self-interest.

‘Horticultural Hillingdon’

The London Borough of Hillingdon website (2015) gives details of Royal Horticultural Societies’ competitions, ‘Britain in Bloom’ and ‘London in Bloom’, which Hillingdon enters, as well as its own competition ‘Hillingdon in Bloom’ which feeds into other competitions. In 2014 Hillingdon was awarded Silver-Gilt in ‘Britain in Bloom’, ‘Gold’ at ‘London in Bloom’ and in the ‘overall Large City category’ in competition with the rest of London. Year on year LBH has received accolades for ‘civic pride and enthusiasm, provision of flowers and plants and overall cleanliness’ (LBH, 2015). ‘Hillingdon in Bloom’ winners are to be announced at the ‘Autumn Show Fruit and Vegetable Competition’ which holds ‘competition classes’ in the categories: ‘vegetable art’; ‘children’; ‘floral art’; and ‘cook it preserve it’. ‘Vegetables’ includes sub-categories of ‘Carrots – long pointed’, ‘Carrots – other varieties’, ‘Marrow – ‘Fresh, young tender fruits that should be less than 350mm. in length.’

Uxbridge’s largest rites reference a bucolic past, a past of agriculture and of horticulture though the Hillingdon Festival evolved over the course of the twentieth century, perhaps in step with domestic sentiments. Fruit and vegetable competitions celebrate pride in individual skills, the domestic scale, amateurism and the rules of fair and impartial judgments, most succinctly, and dog shows have most of these attributes too.

The Fiftieth Anniversary of the London Borough of Hillingdon

It would be wrong to state that LBH marks no anniversaries. A large, wide-ranging and meticulous exhibition was mounted to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the formation of

LBH and smaller exhibitions marking the beginning of World War 1 were staged across the Borough. However, in comparison to Dartford there are fewer such exhibitions.

Exceptional Enthusiasm: Don, the ‘Unofficial Town Centre Manager’

‘Metroville’ is a moderately affluent commuter suburb in the Borough developed in the 1920’s after construction of a metro line. ‘Don’¹⁰⁷ has a genius for staging annual Fun Days, Business Launches and Christmas Lights nominated the ‘Best in Borough’, switched on by the Mayor, accompanied by carol singing and free mince pies. These events are designed to ‘attract footfall’ and enhance positive feelings towards ‘Metroville’. Don recruited over ninety-four percent of local businesses into the ‘Metroville’ Chamber of Commerce.

Don’s outstanding ability as a Master of Ceremonies has been acknowledged by the Borough. Don has liaised with Borough officials, the Metropolitan Police Borough Commander, local and national politicians over planning consents, zoning, library improvements, parking schemes, street refurbishment, policing methods and local licensing. He has met with some jealousy because of his many successes.

Don devotes a great deal of energy supporting, representing and advising small businesses in ‘Metroville’. He once employed hundreds of workers in the construction industry and has undertaken public service both here and abroad. He is a trusted intermediary between the Borough and local interests particularly but not only in ‘Metroville’. Local mood in ‘Metroville’ is noticeably more elevated than in Uxbridge and Don facilitated a very high level of local participation in Borough consultations for the comprehensive re-design of the ‘Metroville’ street-scene.

He is explicit about the creation of apposite timed and executed to perfection. He stresses the simple need for shop keepers to stand at their doors and welcome potential customers into their shops; creating interest through official openings by the Mayor of restaurants in the town. His ‘Christmas Lights Switch On’ and his ‘Fun Days’ have filled ‘Metroville’s’ High Street with crowds.

Comment: Don has civil engineering qualifications and much experience. His urgent wish now is to promote local improvements *could* – with difficulty - be attributed to his big business past. However, he has developed a detailed small business consultant’s

¹⁰⁷ ‘Don’ is a pseudonym.

understanding of each local small business's needs, constraints and potential – a feel for small business immediate interests and for their collective stake in the 'public realm' which includes paving; lighting; parking regulations; public seating; street cleaning and policing. His own company closed decades ago, and, as I see it, he is now engaged in conspicuous and successful good works. After attempting to retire from public life he felt compelled to return.

He is charismatic and generous spirited with a rare capacity for creating events which raise public mood. His impact is noticeable by way of contrast with LBH as a whole, which is characteristically more low-key. Don is a good example of an 'exception which proves the rule', furnishing an extra comparative dimension to this study: a small area within the Borough with different public affects fostered by ritual activity of greater intensity and frequency than is the generality for LBH.

Don and 'Metroville' are not the only intriguing exception to 'okayness':

Hayes and 'the South'

Hayes is a second exception to the 'okay' London Borough of Hillingdon as there are substantial affective and other differences between the north and south of the Borough. Rapid industrial development came late to Hayes (between the Wars) and the decline of manufacturing employment in the 1980s was rapid with some twenty-five thousand job losses in vinyl record and record-player manufacture, engineering applications research, helicopter-building, electronics and food. The prospect of Cross-Rail (the new cross-London rail link) has stimulated property-development.

I have noted a Hayes discourse which accuses the north of the borough of 'neglect' of the south or of 'cornering of resources' (the south has been accused similarly by the north but with less conviction). John McDonnell, M.P. for Hayes and Harlington since 1997, and has been Shadow Chancellor since September 2015. He is a 'community MP'. He has been acknowledged as a community-minded 'super-councillor' and has been active in local entities such as the Hayes and Harlington Community Development Forum (from which local policies and plans were developed through Community Conferences), Hayes FM, (a community radio station), the (former) Town Centre Committee and Business Breakfasts hosted by Hillingdon Chamber of Commerce. John McDonnell has the role of Shadow Chancellor now, together with his local duties, but

:an extract from an article (Popovic, 2016) in *The Hillingdon and Uxbridge Times* (online) is representative of John McDonnell's general position and that of LBH. John 'puts communities first'. This extract from the above article, summarised, is representative of John's position and of the LBH response.

John McDonnell's views on the 'country park', Lake Farm, are reported as not having been 'particularly helpful.' They had built a school on Lake Farm, which he calls "our country park". He is worried that [the council] "will come back for more of it". The article reports that John McDonnell calls himself a "community socialist" and that he had established "groups for residents and planning forums, attended by planning experts" to ensure the protection of the green belt. According to the article, Mr. McDonnell had criticised the Conservative council on more than one occasion and the previous December had requested the House of Commons act pressingly to "resolve the council's administrative competence and probity". Ray Puddifoot, the Council leader had responded to the allegations. The article quotes Councillor Puddifoot:

John McDonnell is a real politician and a committed campaigner, but not one with any real record of achievement. It is easy to blame Tony Blair, Gordon Brown and David Cameron for bad policy, but in local government, particularly in Hillingdon, it is about getting things done, not just whinging about particular issues.

As seen over the seventeenth century Market Tolls, rival sources of authority foster much bad feeling; accentuated when one authorised version of the *sacred* contradicts another. One version of the local sacred, the 'community' is here upheld by the MP and another by a previous (LBH sponsored) Town Centre Committee whose then convenor trod 'softly, softly'. Some of its role was assumed by the Hayes Community Engagement Programme which was convened by a retired LBH officer with such aims as 'engaging with pupils, parents and teachers in Hayes' to be part of the 'Local Living Environment' programme (LBH paper prepared for the *Community Engagement* meetings, 2011-2012) and local public health initiatives. He has been active in bringing children and parents' attention to 'Hidden Jewels' (underused parkland) and in combatting anti-social behaviour. A number of local authority representatives have sat on its *Committee* along with NHS officers, women's group representatives, charity representatives and a GP.

The convenor, 'Peter', has an unusual capacity for collating resources, human and financial and for consensus-building among diverse groups in Hayes. His skills have

been recognised officially by the Local Authority. His roles included or have included chairing local town partnerships as well as many other campaigning roles.

A land-occupation in nearby Sipson, 'Grow Heathrow', has been one more intriguing exception to 'okay Uxbridge'. Its guest speakers have been given a sympathetic hearing, for example, within local schools. Both LBH and 'Grow Heathrow' hold in common their contestation against the expansion of Heathrow. Finally, relations between the three M.P.s representing Hillingdon's Parliamentary constituencies were cordial – despite two being moderate Tories and one a Socialist. This was observed at past Business Breakfast meetings which I attended and at which the MPs have spoken in the past. All three were committed 'localists' and refrained from criticising each other.¹⁰⁸

The Long View of Similarities and Differences

While all research is selective, by this stage I can offer some headline conclusions which take in LBH Uxbridge and its similarities and differences compared with Dartford. Overall, the differences are more striking than the similarities.

Violence or threats of violence have been rare. The Uxbridge burgagers came close to causing bodily harm. A drawn sword on the steps of the Market Hall reinforced claims over tax collecting powers, but the threat of legitimate violence by the dreaded Star Chamber, and the Lady of the Manor's judicious offering of a deer feast (and the acceptance of the offer) had a pacifying effect. Much later in time, Dunkin's description of rowdy youths wandering the lanes around Dartford (reduced through Sunday Schools) and similar-sounding boisterousness gatherings at Guy-Fawkes Night seem to be exceptions to local disinclinations towards violence.

Expressions of passionate ethical mutual hostility feature in both places, expressed theatrically by Uxbridge Chartists at about the same time that Dartford was developing its lasting joking-relationship with filth, are noted. The evidence suggests that the focus of Uxbridge radicalism, demands for homeownership (funded through mutual societies) linked with demands for a universal male franchise, evolved quite quickly into a

¹⁰⁸ This is prior to 2015 when John Randall M.P. stepped down from *Parliament* (2015) and was replaced by Boris Johnson. The other two MPs are (2018) Nicholas Hurd (Ruislip, Northwood and Pinner) and John McDonnell (Hayes and Harlington). John McDonnell is also Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer (2018).

mixture of disappointment (at a failed housing development) and a long-lasting preference for profiting through rising house prices.

There is a very clear and persistent place difference in the frequency, scale and nature of public assemblies in Uxbridge and Dartford. The self-funding Uxbridge Show, which featured horticultural and dog breed competitions, went into a long decline due to inadequate receipts and the Hillingdon Show was short-lived. The pageant play intended to celebrate the formation of LBH had a lukewarm reception. A small-scale Uxbridge Show was revived, again focussing on plant competitions but the Middlesex Show Ground (within Uxbridge) had no events listed at the time of writing. A second 'Total Students Lock-In' took place at the intu, Uxbridge Shopping Centre (formerly the Chimes). Like the 2012 event (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QTMyCnvyOXo>) which attracted over 1,000 YouTube views including 1 'Like', no 'Dislikes' and one 'Comment', it was dedicated to the local sacred which is shopping.

These can be compared with the Dartford propensity for organising a large civic gatherings and processions dedicated invariably to public purposes. These rites reached the largest scale in the 1930s, but big crowds still gather for the Dartford Free Festival and take part in other marches. To a Durkheimian this difference in the occurrence of large and expressive assemblies is important as evidence of very significant and persistent differences in the 'religious lives' of the two places. It is difficult to envisage Uxbridge as having something similar to Dartford's strategic objective of turning Central Park into a recreational destination for visitors from well beyond the Borough. LBH recognises its parks as under-used 'hidden jewels' and its slogan 'Putting Residents First' contrasts with Dartford's bold official description as 'The Town that Changed the World'.

I will argue that differences in the official symbology of Dartford and Uxbridge do indeed index differences in their religious lives – 'religious' in its Durkheimian sense of course – and that these differences are probably best detected using the methods I have developed and applied. Local symbols instantiate consistent and different sacreds. They distil very different affective histories traceable over centuries. For convenience, a comparative visual summary of differences closes this chapter, using installations:



Figure 18: End pieces: Diplomatic Pudding

In figure 18, a representation of Uxbridge, the central object is diplomatic pudding, a form of trifle which is mild tasting, placed on shopping bags. The CD player is playing 'Music to Watch Girls Go By', an easy-listening compilation.



Figure 19: ‘Rival Radios’

The image above (Figure 19) approximates to relations (at the time that the specific research was undertaken) between the MP for Hayes, representing his own form of local authority as well as central authority, and the London Borough of Hillingdon forms of authority and its intermediaries. The radios were tuned to different talk radio stations and the large radio is set at a higher volume. The larger radio is easier to hear because of this, but the overall effect is quite cacophonous. I first exhibited *Rival Radios* at the *Our Place, Our View* Exhibition on Friday the 15th July, 2011, *Southlands Arts Centre*, West Drayton. One version of the local sacred, the ‘community’, is here upheld by the M.P. and another by a previous (LBH sponsored) *Town Centre Committee* whose convenor trod ‘softly, softly’.



Figure 20: ‘Dartford/ Dirtford’

A Brighter and More Beautiful Dartford. This installation was prepared and presented at a place-marketing conference together with the two preceding images.

In figure 20 turf represents passion for parks originating in mass resistance to the enclosure (privatisation) of Dartford’s common land during the 1870s. Protestors were defeated in the *High Court*. However, some land was bought by Everard Hesketh, managing partner in an innovative engineering firm (represented by the micrometer, vernier gauge, caliper, chuck-key and DTI gauge) and returned to public use as ‘Hesketh Park’ in 1904 - hence the formal flower display and turf. Dartford is self-described as a ‘World Town’. Agriculture in Argentina, New Zealand, Australia and the Caribbean (represented by tropical fruit) was transformed through ship and shore refrigeration equipment manufactured here. Most countries’ development was affected.

‘Improved Dartford’, embodied in a glass of clear water, (not clearly visible in photograph), makes reference to its nineteenth century public health issues and its continuing self-mockery.

Chapter Seven

Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter centres on achieving further theoretical and empirical insights into the findings, and on drawing out ways in which these insights might be applied in a broader context. A neo-Durkheimian research-related strategy is also discussed. The discussion consists of two parts. Firstly, the two principle towns studied are re-introduced through a comparative account of their present-day public affect and ‘local sacred’. Secondly, selected key exemplars are grouped together thematically and discussed with a view to advancing theoretical yield (including that of the local sacred). Thirdly, the findings are considered theoretically and empirically in order to achieve broader insight.

The Conclusion consists of a discussion drawing together the previous threads also addressing the research questions and contributions, followed by the limitations, and future research implications.

For convenience, the research questions informing the discussion are restated below:

1. How can local authority formation over time be explained with reference to authority, rites, emotions, ethics, action, class, and the sacred? What are the relative attributes and deficits of Durkheimian and Marxian theory when applied empirically?
2. How can the sacred be conceptualised in the contexts of Uxbridge and Dartford? What forms do rituals, emotions and the sacred take in these settings and how do Uxbridge and Dartford compare?
3. What insights can be achieved from comparison?

To recapitulate, ‘elements’ were derived from iterations between the theoretical and empirical and the research questions. Their interrelationships are set out in Table 7.0., below:

Reprise of Dartford/DBC and Uxbridge/LBH

The local sacred is in a complex relationship with other elements and is sacred, according to my proposition, divined through the other elements and instantiated over time. It is not a straightforward trajectory, however, since different versions of the sacred may attain empire through different authority formations at different times. Local authorities and earlier authority formations have their own peculiar religious sentiments.

I have proposed that local authority, local emotion, local rites, local ethics (or inaction) are very likely co-constitutive of one another and that the local sacred is instantiated over time. As local authority becomes more coherent, then relatively autonomous, eventually it is the Local Authority (with a capital L and a capital A) which is the custodian and reviser of these rites. What makes the earlier contestations so messy and animated is less the fact that this was what regulation theorists call ‘competitive capitalism’ but rather that this was the period of ‘competitive authorities’. However, it is misleading only to associate particular local sentiments with particular ‘fractions of capital’, or with ‘...distinct stages involving the restructuring of the social relations of production’, (Fine and Harris, cited in Smith, 1984, 127), meaning periodisation, or with different regimes of accumulation, a concept ‘building upon the earlier periodisation laid down by Marx’ (Peck and Tickell, 1992, 348).

Dartford can be said to demonstrate *approximately* a transition from ‘absolute-’ (labour intensive) to ‘relative-’ (capital intensive) ‘surplus-value’ accumulation, followed by manufacturing collapse and present reliance on market ‘realisation’ of surplus value through wholesale and retail exchange (‘exchange value’). Uxbridge can be said to have been characterised by market exchange for centuries. The comparative development of the two town’s ‘regimes of regulation’, for which I read their local governance, varies from one locale to the other, and over time, although these ‘régimes’ are marked by early disjunctures. If there is a link between accumulation and regulation it is at the very least mediated, and, much more likely, created through ritual, emotions, ethical shifts, redefinition of the local sacred leading to practice changes.

My sense of place differences is that every ‘element’ was involved and that the ethical stances one finds with, for example, Dartford’s Jardine, Hesketh, Kidd, Keyes and Clarke, or with Uxbridge’s ‘burgagers’, aristocrats and Chartists were as much ritual creations compelled by different sacreds as they were the product of class interests.

Hesketh's, Kidd's and Clarke's passions, were probably as much creations of the local sacred than of any other source. They *believed* in Dartford and it mattered to them more than just as a place where their businesses were situated and whose public policies were to be made the instrument of their interests.

The empirically based discussion in the last chapter also demonstrated how local ethical dispositions (around the local sacred) were ritually produced and that class explanations are unreliable in accounting for the stances taken by different local notables over public policy in the mid nineteenth century. But how is the sacred recognised empirically?

Comparisons: 'the Sacred...engraved in...more ways than one'

(Douglas, 2003, xvii)

The starting point of this study is my observation of strikingly different public emotions in the two locales. This was reinforced afresh through re-reading the Findings. I felt the animation and pleasure of the locals who participated in the 1932 Pageant whereas I felt more subdued when reading about the less animated Uxbridge Show, for instance. My feelings have a connection with those of participants in events both now and in the past. These emotions are public social emotions. Even though the emotions I experienced were derived through the written word they were the outcome of live events. Since local emotions vary from place to place in order to investigate local emotions and the local sacred an approach capable of discrimination is required. The exemplars should be envisaged diachronically since latter-day synchronic differences make best sense as the historical creation of a vast amount of sedimented ritual effort and feelings. This is why present-day Dartford and LBH have different 'religious' systems, whereby different things are held sacred and available to be felt. It is interesting that although religious in character, local actors do not describe local emotions in religious terms. How then do they (and the researcher) know what is sacred in that case?

The Local Sacred in Objects: Dartford

It is clear enough, both to local actors and to myself, the researcher, that local ceremonies generate specific affects, such as anger *over* something (hence the 'walk out'), or joy *over* something. From a neo-Durkheimian understanding, for there to be a (local) sacred it *must* have its origins in (local) affects. In *Primitive Classification* (1903 1969) Durkheim and Mauss argue that 'religious sentiment' is what defines things as sacred. Even though local inhabitants and members of the local economic-

political infrastructure might find it difficult to express what they find sacred in religious terminology, when confronted by certain local objects they are then able to identify the local sacred with ease (such as Hillingdon's under-appreciated parks referred to as the Borough's 'Hidden Jewels'). I begin with two of the most straightforward of these representations which are 'The Portrait Bench' in Dartford, and 'The Giant Pink Handbag' (formerly situated at the entrance to the Intu Shopping Mall, Uxbridge).



Figure 21: The 'Portrait Bench', Central Park Dartford (photographed by the author, 2015). The Portrait Bench shows Mick Jagger, the Dartford Warbler and a Vox amplifier. The bird stands on the right of the 'AC30'. A plain wooden bench is placed in between. The objects are grouped on hard-standing. Though devoted to sound, the location is peaceful and secluded. The sculpture is made to a design by a local school student, the winner of a design competition, and is one of many local art initiatives. The installation was funded by Sustrans. Vox Amplifiers were once manufactured in Dartford. Mick Jagger was born and educated in Dartford and is lead vocalist with The Rolling Stones.

There are points in Central Park which are sown with wild flowers and this is a fairly recent innovation which contrasts with the more formal planting in the rest of the Park (below).



Figure 22: Central Park, and Dartford Library (Photographed by the author)

The image above (figure 22) shows Dartford's Central Park (and its formal planting) and Dartford Borough Library. Central Park was opened officially to the public in 1905, with considerable ceremony. Located outside the park gates, the Divisional Library, opened in 1916 also with ceremony. At the end of the path stand the War Memorial and a large mural 'One Town that Changed the World' (not seen in photograph).

Dartford's most special events tend to be staged inside Central Park or either begin here, end here or pause here as processions. For example, the 1933 Charter Celebrations; the Dartford Festival or Steam (a celebration of the life of Richard Trevithick).

The Local Sacred in Objects: Uxbridge



Figure 23: ‘The Giant Pink Handbag’, Uxbridge. (Image by kind permission of *Sabrina, The Mummy Stylist*).

A giant pink handbag is shown which was displayed previously at the entrance to intu Uxbridge shopping centre.

Uxbridge was and remains a market town. Here the pleasures of shopping are objectified in a giant pink handbag supported by castors (figure 23). The owners of intu shopping centre have also displayed it at other shopping centres which they own elsewhere. Though truthful to Uxbridge, this totem is not wholly ‘site-specific’ to the town.



Figure 22: Student lock-in, Intu Uxbridge, September 2016. Young people gather in a shopping mall outside normal opening hours and are ostensibly ‘locked in’ to engage in reduced-price shopping and some other activities. (Images by kind permission of Intu). The image is suggestive of the sacredness of the ‘shopping experience’.

Intu Shopping Centre Uxbridge has hosted student lock-ins for several years (figure 22). In 2015, for example, the centre opened after hours until 10.00pm. Events included a ‘DJ Shed’, the presence of ‘Towie’ Star Dan Osbourne and Amy Childs for meet, greets and selfies’, and ‘exclusive deals’ on ‘big name brands’ (intu, 2016). ‘Ladies lock-ins’ have also taken place in Uxbridge’s *intu* shopping centre. (intu uxbridge, 2013).

A very mild degree of animation is suggested by the picture which may even depict a ‘lock-in’ at a different *intu* shopping centre in another town. It is clear that participants have been willing to attend in large numbers to a crowded venue. It is demarcated as sacred by being held outside ‘ordinary’ business hours, but at the same time it is not exceptionally sacred; for here the profane business of ‘increased footfall’ for shopping purposes is the main point. This is a money-making venture dedicated to increased ‘market share’. Given their incomes, students at least, are not always able to participate in intense shopping. Nevertheless, shopping is Uxbridge’s most sacred activity, and this was already the case by the early 19th century by which time it was already, indeed principally, a thriving market town. Although this image could be of Uxbridge, we are

not certain, and this is in itself interesting. The event is reproduced elsewhere and one of its emblems (the giant handbag, above) has appeared both in Uxbridge and in other intu shopping centres, in a number of other large towns and cities.

It is also interesting that the ‘category’ of the sacred is breached through inversion of gender roles at the 2013 intu event. The persistent concerns in Uxbridge past and present involve domestic virtues – indoors activity (as in a shopping mall and in the life of ‘home and garden’ in ‘Metroland’) rather than in outdoor daytime and night-time civic gatherings for collective celebration (as in Dartford’s Central Park).



Figure 23: ‘Anticipation’ by Anita Lafford

A bronze sculpture (figure 23) commissioned by *Hillingdon Arts Association* in December, 2001. The sculpture was unveiled in 2002 by the Queen on her Jubilee tour. (photograph by the author).

In 1997 the Hillingdon Arts Association reached a decision that it would be a good idea to commission a sculpture for the Millennium. Various processes were enacted including a national competition, press coverage and a public opinion survey (London’s Screen Archives, 1992). The work was funded by the Hillingdon Arts Association and voluntary contributions. Anita Lafford was chosen to undertake the work which was commissioned late December, 2001 and presented to the Borough on completion, but

not in time for The Millennium. The statue was unveiled ceremonially on the 26th June, 2002.

At the ceremony the Queen was met by the Mayor who introduced her to other dignitaries including Councillors, members of the Hillingdon Arts Association and the M.P. for Uxbridge, John Randall, who was also a local retailer of furniture and home-furnishings. The process suggests that due and fair process is sacred to Uxbridge and to its Borough (Hillingdon). The sculpture has the object of embodying the Millennium in the shape of a young child and a figure presumed to be its mother. It strikes us that the sculpture also embodies domesticity, a quality which has been promoted, celebrated and enacted for more than a hundred and fifty years in Uxbridge.

When confronted with objects, members of the local political and economic infrastructure, as well as local inhabitants, are able to identify the local sacred, particularly in Dartford. Indeed, as seen with the plaques in Dartford on which is inscribed the 'Dirty Dartford' poem, the Local Authority is able to capture the local sacred, or varieties of the local sacred in order to create, re-create and authorise local public affect.

What Durkheim calls an 'emblem' I call an object, while recognising a similar theoretical origin in collective emotions and projections of sentiment onto an object, much as Durkheim and Mauss did, but applied to the local level in necessary detail. These emblems/objects can be used collectively or in private reverie, having been clarified with considerable public effort. I infer that the existence of such emblems would be inconceivable in a society which is merely the sum of 'individual agents'.

Durkheim writes that an emblem is a 'rallying centre' for a group and that it 'express[es] the social unity in a material form'. The emblem 'is not merely a convenient process for clarifying the sentiment society has of itself: it also serves to create this sentiment; it is one of its constituent elements' ([1912] 1915, 230). 'Social sentiments' need symbols to continue existing, he continues. Although these sentiments are strong when the group are gathered, afterwards they grow weaker and weaker. Durkheim (230) suggests that by communing in a group and that by 'pronouncing the same word or performing the same gesture in regard to an object' individuals 'feel themselves in unison' (230). Durkheim (231) suggests that 'if the movements by which

these sentiments are expressed are connected with something that endures, the sentiments themselves become more durable’.

Even if we are by ourselves, the object will recall the feelings although the feelings are replenished through gathering. What is sacred locally is reinforced in this way. In unruly seventeenth century Uxbridge, though, the sacred was not settled and although for the Countess the venison gesture was highly symbolic, the gesture was rejected ultimately by the burgagers; it was not their emblem but was designed by the Countess in order to encapsulate her authority over the town.

Dimensions of Objects

However, I propose that objects are contemplated or created locally with unconscious knowledge (or conscious knowledge, often, in the case of the local authority). This notion is accommodated much more comfortably within neo-Durkheimian theory than neo-Marxist theory. I illustrate this with the ‘Giant Pink Handbag’ exemplar.

Although the handbag only resided temporarily in the Intu Mall in Uxbridge, it was a very apposite emblem, devised and placed with care. Following Durkheim, I suggest that objects have the power to summon up feelings. The problem with Durkheim’s account is that it is a-historic, save when he refers to ‘Commemorative’ or ‘Representative’ rites whereby the participants remember the glorious days of their ancestors. But this is history in the minds of participants and not the history of ritual practices, emotions, ethics, actions and authority which it ought to be in order to assess the full utility of what Durkheim has to offer. One does not get much sense of how, and how far, emblems are open to modification from Durkheim’s own texts. He attempts no adequate place-specific history of rites or feelings.

An object (such as a giant handbag) is a repository of place-specific public affect enacted over many years. I have evidence of ardent interest in shopping and the market in mid-nineteenth century Uxbridge. Uxbridge is still concerned with the market, not the corn-market but the exchanges in the shopping-mall. Many rites enacted over many years are objectified through the bag. It is noteworthy that the bag was *not* place-specific (although the rites encapsulated in it are) and was moved to another town. This description accords with Uxbridge’s lower levels of animation and low attachment to collective outdoor rites. Malls are both outdoors and indoors and in Uxbridge the mall

was the site of a mass ‘student lock-in’ sales event. In Uxbridge rites have focussed on domesticity, horticulture and gardening.

Durkheimian theory is more amenable to the subtleties required than is Marxian theory. It is possible to account for the bag by declaring that the image objectifies commodity fetishism, but this does not suffice to explain why it is there. Nor is neo-Marxian theory able to account for why the pink handbag would not have same effect on affect in one town to another. If the Giant Pink Handbag were transposed to Central Park, Dartford and the *Three Sounds of Dartford* replaced it in intu Shopping Mall, Uxbridge, it is likely that passers-by would struggle to access their meanings. But in their original sites they are easy for locals to read, and to read the respective sacreds in them.

‘The Portrait Bench’ is clearly a very different image to that chosen for Uxbridge. The portrait bench is outside, in Central Park, a place of collective commemoration and the town’s history, encompassing the Dartford Warbler, Mick Jagger and the Vox Amplifier. What is particularly note-worthy about the emblem (which includes the place surrounding it – Central Park) is that two kinds of the sacred are summoned up – the sacred pure and the sacred impure. I return to this.

Rites and Beliefs – Epistemology in Objects

Durkheim writes that ‘the cult depends upon the beliefs, but it also reacts upon them’ ([1912], 1915, 296). Yet he *also* writes (296) that ‘[religious representations] are *inseparable* from the rites, not only because they manifest themselves there, but also because they, in their turn, feel the influence of these’ (emphases added). Whether rites have primacy over beliefs, or vice versa, is a source of academic contestation, exemplified in Susan Stedman Jones’ (cf. 2006) and Anne Warfield Rawls’ (cf. 2004) dispute. For Rawls (2004) rites have primacy over beliefs, which she discusses with reference to *Forms*. Rawls claims (2004, 20) that for Durkheim ‘it was the process of enacting practices, not the resulting concepts, that could serve to ground epistemology’ and that ‘Durkheim argues that [beliefs and narratives] were only retrospective constructions that obscured, without preserving, the underlying social facts’. Stedman Jones, on the other hand, suggests that:

Representation and/or belief always precede practice or action for Durkheim and are thus central to Durkheim’s account of action. And this is always the case even though there are mechanical rites (which

Rawls seems to extend to all rites) and some cases where ritual is productive of the sacred. For what are the participants doing without some meaning or direction provided by a belief or representation of the point of the ritual? (2006, 40)

Durkheim's wording of the relationship between rites and beliefs is ambiguous in *Forms*. But he provides support to Rawls' view that rites have primacy insofar as he argues, for example, that the 'beliefs' of participants in rites *do not correspond* simply and directly to the real reason for the rite. How can the effects of rites precede the causes? The objects which have been crafted for Dartford and for Uxbridge are the outcome of hundreds of years of prior ritual efforts. One conclusion is that rites precede temporarily or are privileged (metaphysically-speaking) over 'beliefs', logically and historically, albeit with feed-back loops (after Rawls). Alternatively, the observation that the Dirty Dartford rhyme was approximately contemporary with Hesketh and Kidd's 'Brighter and More Beautiful Dartford Movement' suggests that rites and beliefs are contemporaneous (ie. co-constitutive). It is difficult to see, at least from within the Durkheimian paradigm, how a belief could altogether precede the social devices that make it thinkable. This may not have been what Stedman Jones intended, and is in any case only part of the larger argument she makes. I err on the side of the co-constitutive. Durkheim wrote ([1912] 1912):

These two elements [beliefs and rites] of the religious life are too closely connected...to allow of any radical separation. In principle, the cult is derived from the beliefs, yet it reacts upon them; the myth is frequently modelled after the rite in order to account for it, especially when its sense is no longer apparent. On the other hand, there are beliefs which are clearly manifested only through the rites which express them. So these two part of our analysis cannot fail to overlap (379).

It is striking that the improvers and economisers, with very different ethical dispositions, engaged in fierce political contestations in mid nineteenth century Dartford. Therefore, it was not an unbroken lineage of 'belief' (for which, transposed to Dartford or Uxbridge, I read instead ethical disposition, or class – 'big capital' and 'small capital'). It was only due to the enactment of the improvement ethic through enlarging public space and parks sustained by a relentless series of pageants, civic processions and festivals that an object such as the portrait bench was crafted. In Uxbridge, the defining motif of the market has been a constant for centuries, encapsulated in the toll riots of the 1630's, the bread cartel rows of the

eighteen fifties and shopping animation. The genealogy of the Big Pink Handbag's lineage can be traced back through these enactments. The belief is contained in the handbag but not produced by it.

Objects as Heuristics

In Dartford, certainly, participants in present day parades and festivals draw on previous memories, anticipate the future, ponder on buildings, places and photographs, and consolidate and modify their notion of the sacred, even to the point of embracing Dartford's renegades, Wat Tyler and Mick Jagger. The rituals have heuristic value made simple through repetition, and lend themselves to extension by substituting different materials, for example within successive public displays in Dartford Museum. Durkheim, I think, underestimates the heuristic nature of emblems.

Objects such as Dartford's new Edwardian Bandstand – a nostalgic and apologetic marker for jobs lost in pharmaceuticals manufacture, funded as a parting gift by GlaxoSmithKline – function as an heuristic which condenses feelings rather efficiently. These markers are 'objective; the collective feelings and understandings of 'assemblies' projected outwards and then embodied in material form. And these properties largely explain why my respondents were so talkative in response to 'The Bears', 'Rival Radios' and 'Diplomatic Pudding'. Durkheim could have written as much but failed to do so.

Abbott, (2004, 4) proposes that heuristics are 'gambits of imagination, mental moves [social scientists] employ to hasten discovery. Some are general gambits implicit in the nature of argument and description, while others arise in conceptual issues that pervade the disciplines. Durkheim argues directly enough that emblems (objects) arouse 'religious' sentiment. Furthermore, Abbott suggests, heuristics can hasten discovery. My suggestion is to treat objects as both heuristic and objects onto which sentiments can be projected.

Dartford, explicitly, and Uxbridge residents more quietly, have enough to think about and feel about and as a researcher I am quite sympathetic to the idea of preserving these contemplative objects because I am also affected by them. Places are made and unmade as sacred through ritual and its rhetoric which may be translated into text or newspaper report. As Philip Smith writes (1999), by contagion, a place's sacredness and the

sacredness of its boundaries may be upheld. This is seen in the case of *The Brent* through speeches, legal proceedings, frantic communications, press reports and latterly websites some of which, like the Dartford Archive, are labours of love. Local heuristics were built to last, like the ‘Dirty Dartford’ rhyme. Dartford inhabitants can measure their version of Dartford and themselves against the rhyme and use it for self-parody. An object such as the sculpture ‘Anticipation’ outside Uxbridge Underground Station – the outcome of a documented design process – is also a succinct expression of its peculiarly *ordinary* sacred: mother and child with dog.

Dartford’s and Uxbridge’s affects (and of course their sacreds) are an outcome of their prevailing ‘religious’ systems, in Dartford the imperative to improve and in Uxbridge the imperative to attain the ordinary status of being ‘okay’, notwithstanding the affective accretion laid down by seventeenth and nineteenth century landowners and aristocrats - radical aims by seventeenth and nineteenth century standards rendered non-radical and enjoyed quietly only because they have been achieved.

Probably the most striking observation during the course of the research is that of differing degrees of animation in DBC and Uxbridge/LBH. Douglas (1996, xvii), who is critical of *Forms*, thought that Durkheim was mistaken in his association of the sacred only with high levels of collective effervescence writing that ‘the Sacred can be engraved in the hearts and minds of the worshippers in more way than one: there are several kinds of religion. Some ritualists plan to achieve spontaneity, others aim at co-ordination.’ Where I differ from Douglas is that she refers to Catholic rites which are very likely ‘quotidian’ while the events I describe are typically large-scale (especially in Dartford), place-specific enactments of (religious) sentiments, often outdoors.

What I have not found in Durkheim or Douglas is recognition of the stages of ritual which culminate in ‘relatively autonomous’ authorities qualified to re-stage and modify apposite rites for their places. Local Authorities’ local authority is a made object too and it would not be the same even for authorities which have nominally the same juridical-legal powers. (In this sense one London Borough compared with one ‘second tier’ district council was an imperfect comparison).

‘Religious sentiment’, the local sacred, emerges over time; categories have to be rehearsed, enabling classifications to be rehearsed again and again, sometimes sustained in the teeth of opposition (for example, from Crayford UDC towards the 1932 Pageant),

not least in the context of changing models of public health . Although classifications are never settled finally, the relatively autonomous local authority is under an imperative to ‘licence’ rituals that are appropriate within its boundaries. Usually these foster a town’s view of itself, but, in extremis ‘demands’ may be ‘licensed’ for unprecedented improvements, such as Business Improvement Districts.

After studying Durkheim’s account of the sacred in *Forms* it is difficult to be definitive as to what the sacred is from his writings. I argue that it can consist specifically in attempts to ‘put the town on the map’ (meaning make it a place worth visiting. Dartford Borough Council envisages its Central Park as a visitor destination). Locals, I suggest, have a vocabulary for it, without necessarily knowing *why*. The giant handbag displayed in Uxbridge temporarily, then moved to another location, encapsulates shopping, which is easily recognised as Uxbridge’s sacred (though it was probably too pink and garish to reference the ‘okay’). It was when reflecting on the removal of the handbag to other shopping centres that I recalled that the Chartists also left Uxbridge in the mid-nineteenth century, and that the Co-operative Land Society Jubilee processed through Uxbridge, without leaving pronounced affective traces. Comparing, say, the giant pink homage to shopping and the ‘Three Sounds of Dartford’, is it reasonable to see the ‘okay’ (moderation) in one and an equally site-specific synthesis of nature, manufacture and exuberance in the other?

The presentation of a ‘counterfactual’ might clarify: if the Giant Pink Handbag were transposed to Central Park Dartford whilst Three Sounds of Dartford replaced it in the intu Shopping Mall, Uxbridge (formerly the Chimes) I propose that, if asked what these sculptures might mean, it is likely that passers-by would struggle to access their meanings. But in their original sites they are easy for local to read, and for them to recognise the respective sacreds in them which are much more difficult to express only in words.

The meaning of the sacred is theoretically ambiguous, and one possibility is that this is because the sacred *is* inherently ambiguous. Durkheim ([1912] 1915) refers to several ways that the sacred is ambiguous including the way a corpse changes status from pure to impure again during mourning ceremonies; and how ‘sad celebrations’ fulfil the same function as joyful rites with the mood changing once the sad celebration (‘piacular rite’) is over. Translated into our local rites, The Giant Handbag and The Three Sounds of Dartford (The Portrait Bench) cannot be completely unwrapped.

Having drawn attention to the contrasting ‘local sacreds’ of Dartford and Uxbridge the next section re-considers the elementary forms of local authority (including the local sacred) through a theoretically focussed inspection of selected exemplars

Both towns facilitate local visions developed prior to rather than in response to ‘interests’. Intermediaries act as cheer leaders contributing to an ‘infrastructure of consensus.

Summary: I have reprised briefly and differentiated the religious sentiments of the two principle locales and highlighted the way that local objects crafted by Local Authorities and other bodies serve to encapsulate local sacred sentiment. These objects have heuristic value too, providing short-cuts into emotion and classification. I have also demonstrated empirically the validity of Rawls’ argument that rites precede beliefs (rather than vice versa).

The public affects of the two towns are very different, being more animated in Dartford than Uxbridge. Enactments in Dartford are typically large-scale and outdoors whereas in Uxbridge they often tend to be smaller scale, with less attachment to outdoors. Objects, often made-objects, are repositories of collective sentiment authorised by the local authority, made over time and are place-attached.

I have divined contrasting local versions of the sacred marked by different rites and totemic markers in Dartford and Uxbridge. In Dartford the ‘Portrait Bench’ embodies collective sentiment enacted collectively in Central Park; in Uxbridge the ‘Giant Pink Handbag’, a transient object, embodied the market and shopping, celebrated and contested over centuries. The dimensions of ‘comparison’; temporality (or historical time); and the sacred (pure and impure) through rites constitute dimensions encapsulated in these two exemplars.

I have attempted to convey a flavour of Dartford and Uxbridge, in the most powerful way possible: through their differing ‘religious sentiments’ around their ‘local sacreds’.

Iteration: Further Inspection of the Exemplars for all ‘Elements’

Selected exemplars are now inspected in order to obtain more theoretical yield, and to assess the relative usefulness of neo-Durkheimian and neo-Marxian theory. Through this inspection the elementary forms of local authority (including the local sacred) are

considered. The diachronic inspection of exemplars for both locales separately enables synchronic comparison (at any point). The number of synchronic comparisons that could be made on the basis of these two diachronic cases is practically infinite.

Dartford/DBC is inspected firstly, then Uxbridge/LBH. The majority of the historical instances reported above encapsulate *local authority*, *local emotion*, *local rites*, *ethics* and *class*, but not always straightforwardly in terms of class. In most instances each element is discernible in the historical record from which their co-constitutive nature can be inferred with caution.

Dartford

Dartford Heath

The Heath encampment seems to have marked and modified locals' lasting 'representations' of the sacred. Mrs. Potts, John Dunkin, Keyes and even latter-day children are all affected. Though the cause of improvement is not obvious here, collectivism and authority are apparent enough. Dartford's collectivism is *outdoors* and *massed* and any agency invoking the commons is assured of strong support here.

Philip Smith's insightful neo-Durkheimian suggestion (1999, 17) associating 'human action' with spatial location through the mechanism of 'contagion' 'with a progress towards a more pure or perfect place' applies to each subsequent occasion when a 'Brighter and More Beautiful Dartford' (or an assault on 'Dirty Dartford') was attempted. His account of human action is a narrative, concerning 'themes of ascent' whereby the sacred place is created. For myself, sacredness seems to be invoked quite directly by doing ritual, and by modifying and rectifying it. Actions and space, place, affect and the sacred provide Dartford with *sensible* 'past-perpetuating', 'future-binding', 'past-correcting' and 'present orientated' rites, as articulated by Perri 6 (2007, 37-61). The sacred is something which is not spoken, but enacted, and enacted in public spaces.

Colley (1996) alludes to our period approximately. She refers to the way that volunteer militia improved popular reaction to the military and that the king's review which took part at Hyde Park on 26th and 28th October, 1803 was 'one of the best attended royal events of that period' and that the display was 'entrancing' (239). In a way, however, what the Dartford Heath exemplar shows is something rather different about relations

between place and those who occupy the space. The Heath represents the Commons and out of that relationship between the public rites and public affect and an ethic of heteronomy the Commons is established and then re-established. The local sacred is instantiated. The military who participate in the military enactments on the heath are partially militia, but not local regiments. They depart and the Heath is left again. The *feelings* are left behind, it is true, because they have been enacted and retained in objects such as poems and through the modifications to the Heath's appearance.

As alluded to, 'common lands', 'pre-capitalist modes of production,' and enclosure could, with difficulty, be moulded into an account of the Heath episodes; but notions of heteronomy, large open spaces and public rituals all invoke Durkheim. The Durkheimian account has more to offer.

An Act for 'lighting, watching and improving the Town of Dartford'

As shown, commitments waxed and waned in early to mid-nineteenth century Dartford. The local act of 1814 for 'lighting, watching and improving the town of Dartford' received assent yet gas lighting was not implemented until 1827. Commissioners allowed the scheme to lapse and it was only due to petitioning that it was re-introduced (Smith, 1985, 138). The Commissioners did not uphold their other improvement powers either.

Local politics in mid nineteenth century Dartford was complicated, as in other industrial towns, with clashes over public policy between self-styled improvers and economisers (Hunter, 2007, 115) compounded by flawed health science. In Dartford regulatory institutions (and local taxation systems) meant improvements were highly visible and vulnerable to immediate self-interest (rate-payers' worries about their ability to pay). Economising is characterised by Hunter (2007, 115) as 'expressing an ideology of laissez-faire and self-help' and he and others point out that 'improving' was 'encouraged by an increasingly interventionist central government'. In comparison, Dartford (whose dirty condition was mentioned in Parliament) was more troubled by filth than Uxbridge at this point.

The neo-Marxist perspective is that early to mid-nineteenth century Dartfordian urban politics are driven by 'ideologies' of improvement and economising supported by Big Capital and Small Capital respectively. Foster's (1974) more complex neo-Marxist account of the political economy of Oldham has it that 'Oldham's [working class]

radicals managed to control many aspects of state power' (see also Harvey 1975, 109-111). I recognise the argument that through conflict and eventual 'domination' by 'big capital' and 'big labour' the cause of collective heteronomy was adopted locally, but those conflicts and the ethical shift were made possible through ritual enactments.

Moreover, urban politics in Dartford was more ramified than the neo-Marxist account would allow. Some interests were cross-cutting, not competing, and both 'big' and 'small' capital are difficult to define on the ground. For example, at what point did John Hall, engineer, move from being 'Small' to 'Big'? While Colonel Kidd's Steam Brewery was clearly 'big', were William and John Tasker 'big' brewers by the standards of their day or no bigger than others? In the early nineteenth century an unambiguously 'small' draper, Joseph Jardine, was nevertheless a director of the 'improving' gas company, whilst also satirising the self-interested motives of those involved in the 1846 local inspection into 'nuisances'. He tended to side with improvement, most prominently in the Ship Canal case, despite being 'petit bourgeois'. John Hall, who pressed for gas lighting (and for the Canal) is likely to have seen the opportunity for his firm to provide pipes, which would therefore seem to relate to self-interest. However, he was already active in public services locally. When the Commissioners allowed gas lighting and other powers to lapse this might be attributed as easily to lack of ritual as to class antagonisms within the Vestry.

In short, class is not a straightforward predictor of public sentiment and appropriate rites are required to animate authority. In this early period of authority-formation, even where self-interest and public interest are entwined 'objectively' and rituals were enacted thoroughly (rousing support), institution-forming could still be confounded as in the Canal case. The actors, individual and institutional had still not quite 'got the hang of things'. Autonomy (economising and self-help) tends to characterise small capital and collective heteronomy (improvement and collectivism) big capital. Participants' classifications (Durkheim, [1912] 1915) were being rehearsed and clarified step by step. Public opinion was a work in progress.

Where, in regulationist vocabulary, the 'mode of regulation' and 'mode of accumulation' had got out of synchrony, it was ritual efforts that brought them back including local rows seen in Dartford around filth and in Uxbridge about market tolls. But what does Dartford's mode of accumulation consist in at this stage, given diversity among and between *both* small and big producers? Peck and Tickell (1992, 350)

propose that ‘within each MSR [mode of social regulation], a certain set of *regulatory functions*’ [emphasis original] must be in place for the ‘accumulation system’ to be stabilized and ‘reproduced’ (for example, the regulation of business relations and the formation of consumption norms). But it is difficult to determine whether Dartford’s accumulation system was truly compromised by the failure of the Ship Canal, the switching on (or, indeed, off) of Gas Lighting, or even by the eventual success of interventions on sewage and drinking water. Applegarth thought definitely *not* in the latter case. In short, the intelligibility of regulation theory suffers from a lack of detailed attempts to apply it to practice development on the ground.

I think that, in any case, rites are more than an overlay above conflicting interests, or underlying modes of accumulation and regulation. Also, one should not forget that authorities begin as creations of successful ritual arousal and develop into masters of ceremony creating rites which animate popular belief in their powers of governance. This can work both ways. In the gas case it is likely that lapsed rites contributed to subsequent institutional failure. In the case of gas lighting it took years from the passing of the 1814 Act to instigate a gas lighting scheme. This slipped away, provoking parishioners to petition the Commissioners for reinstatement (Smith, 1985, 138).

There are a number of anomalous instances here which do not conform to the notion of big capital – improver and small capital – economiser. The regulationist model of necessary convergence between modes of regulation and régimes of accumulation does not seem discriminating enough with regards to the Ship Canal. On the other hand, the episodes described are replete with ritual. It is through these rituals that participants have the opportunity to clarify their ethical dispositions and therefore to clarify their sacred.

‘Inclosures’ and Defence of the sacred: The Brent and the Tesco Central Park Incursion Threat

These two exemplars are grouped together since the fused notions of common land under threat *and* the sacred are common to both.

To recapitulate; in 1876 part of the Brent was enclosed by Mr. Pigou, a gunpowder manufacturer, provoking public protests but to no avail. Eventually, Everard Hesketh bought part of the land, gifting it to the town. Dartford ended up with less land than if

it had it accepted Mr. Pigou's 'olive-branch', due to the fact of the commoners being enraged.

A class explanation is weak in this case. Pigou might be described as a 'big' capitalist but his opponents speak as residents, probably diverse; not representing any class in any clear sense. The Durkheimian account is richer, more complex and more applicable empirically.

Enclosures are the antithesis of those 'positive rites' which Durkheim saw as joyfully creating 'a communion of minds' ([1912] 1915, 399). Enclosure rites are often performed in anger, with expiation and retribution uppermost. For Durkheim the 'ambiguity' of the sacred resides in its capacity to transform from pure to impure and impure to pure with 'piacular rites' an exemplification of ambiguity ([1912] [1915, 401-414]). Durkheim's account *may* be ambiguous not only because of inherent qualities of the sacred but because of his own possible moral ambivalence as to the status of the sacred empirically. Riley takes up this point (2005, 275) suggesting also that Durkheim wants to separate the pure and impure '...empirically, whilst acknowledging the potential of the one to become the other...'

Although the sacred(s) is/are indeed problematic theoretically, in the face of the empirical evidence the concepts can be employed fruitfully. In this case, the Durkheimian account works by treating the enclosure events as a threat to the sacred from the profane - two phenomena which *must not* come into contact. As well as being dangerous on contact with the profane, the sacred is highly 'contagious'. If the boundaries of the sacred are violated its contagious character conquers the profane rapidly and invokes the 'impure sacred'. (Durkheim, ([1912] 1915, 413). Durkheim implies that the profane, too, may escape its boundaries and that this also has violent outcomes on contact with the sacred.

Durkheim's model captures locals' reaction the Brent enclosure and to a proposal to drive a road through even a small area of Central Park (part of the Tesco-led redevelopment of the Lowfield Street area, since abandoned). Sacred/ profane trespasses need not be spatial but are plainest when they are. Actions and spatial location are linked through contagion (Smith, P., 1999, 17).

Contestation over 'the commons' is disproportionate to the 'interests' involved. If the sacred is touched by the profane then mayhem may be unleashed through enactment of

‘piacular rites’ ... ‘celebrated by those in a state of uneasiness or sadness’ (Durkheim, [1912] 1915, 389). Public displays on Dartford Heath, and festivals in Central Park are happy celebrations, ‘positive rites’ of the sacred; but ‘inclosures’ invoke piacular rites, which some Durkheimians also classify as ‘positive’ (cf. Richards, 2007).

‘Quotidian’ rites may not suffice; in order to maintain the commons ‘rites of assertion’ and of contestation, are required in the struggle for authority. Dartford’s commons probably epitomise the local sacred more than any other institution. It is a powerful exemplar¹⁰⁹.

The proposed road through Central Park was a threat which did not materialise due to Tesco’s heavy global business losses but its defeat was likely in all circumstances since there was abundant local energy to mount sustained opposition to ‘profanation’. The road would have only required a quarter of an acre but opposition was both passionate and sustained (<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england//380117kent3.stm>), including a ‘Rally staged against road plans’ involving vintage military vehicles led by the Glentworth Ex-Servicemen’s Club whose clubhouse was also threatened (<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/kent/3676441.stm>).

These episodes have merited this additional investigation. Through them, Durkheim’s notions around the sacred in both its forms have been drawn upon. The concepts of purity *and* impurity resonate with the Dartford account. The way that Dartford’s authority handles its impurity (in all its various *forms*) is a recurring theme. Another important point is that these episodes are concerned with subverted authority. The authority of the local authority and the townspeople was undermined, and, indeed, only partially reclaimed.

¹⁰⁹ Smith (1984) describes an important test case when Dartford UDC rejected a planning application for quarry expansion, even though the outcome was likely to be job-losses in what had been ‘Europe’s largest cement works’ at Northfleet (Blue Circle Industries). The UDC’s position had strong residential support which was expressed through a public march. The ‘Dartford Liaison Group’ consisting of planning officers and Blue Circle managers met regularly and the planners suggested that Blue Circle should explore the possibility of using the abandoned quarry for a large retail development which became the Bluewater Shopping Centre. Smith saw this as a decisive demonstration of the ‘relative autonomy’ of the state in the face of express ‘instrumental’ demands from a major manufacturer with the additional backing of Kent County Council. I suspect however that Dartford’s rejection of the planning application was animated by the town’s local sacred. It prevailed.

Dirty and Brighter Dartford:

Applegarth, Evans, Swaisland, Strike- Breaking and Chartism

Augustus Applegarth's irritable views on Croydon's pipes needed rehearsing and one sees his anger taking shape in his dialogues and correspondence with others and page by page in his treatise. Correspondence - an 'epistolary' rite - derives from all kinds of precedents such as unsatisfactory exchanges at local meetings and meeting of minds. In addition, even when the causes of specific diseases were known, ethical dispositions towards infrastructure spending still differed. Doctor Snow's identification of the water-pump in Soho as the source of a cholera outbreak took place in 1854 but there was a time-lag between that discovery and rejection of miasma theory; Applegarth's arguments of 1853 still draw on 'the good sense of the public' and *gradual* 'labours of scientific and practical men'.

Strike-Breaking and Chartism

Chartism challenged the authority of local employers, as we have seen with the Crayford strike-breaking episodes I have detailed. In this case 'accumulation regimes', 'class-struggle', and 'regulation' *are* part of the story, but, again, not straightforwardly. It was not until the early twentieth century that big firms, the local authority and Dartford citizens became aligned in the common cause of a Brighter and More Beautiful Dartford. Lord Tredegar gave up his manorial rights and past, present and future were fused symbolically in spectacular large-scale visionary gatherings.

I suggest that there can never be a definitive correlation between class and ethical disposition since there can never be a definitive classification of things; classes/categories will always be open to revision (cf. Durkheim, [1912] 1915). Categories can be a long time in the making and public health is no exception¹¹⁰. Presumably this applies to capitalists' determination of their interests too. Insofar as the categories are not clear cut it becomes harder to base forecasts on them.

Weaknesses in the Neo-Marxian Account

Smith's review of urban politics (1984) finds that owners of capital-intensive firms in towns were typically disposed towards improvement yet he concedes that locations

¹¹⁰ Attempts to claim the 'obesity epidemic' as a matter for individual responsibility is another case in point. Quite why this epidemic exists is subject to hot disagreements. Similarly, should nursing be a matter of 'care', 'disease fighting' or 'health promotion'? Nurses disagree categorically.

varied as to the stages they had reached. For example, Birmingham was slow to reach its 'monopoly' phase at which point is seized on improvement with exceptional enthusiasm (under Chamberlain). Change over periods between one 'capital formation' (and its dispositions and regulation) requires close study. Even Dartford's case demonstrates complexity and ambivalence with individuals standing for improvement in one context and economy in another. Again, this is another instance of anomaly being thrown up in the light of the Marxian account.

Although 'class struggle', 'capital formation' and 'periodisation' resonate somewhat with these cases close examination reveals flaws in the neo-Marxian account. There are anomalies. This raises the question as to how many anomalies can be tolerated in a theory before it is no longer useful (or valid).

Suppression of Guy Fawkes Night (1863); Policeman's Funeral (1906)

The suppression of Guy Fawkes Night (1863) has already been discussed but the main point about this case is that it is concerned with the legitimising and de-legitimising of ritual. It seems that in the past the rowdy crowds had been legitimised by the local élite but in this instance, for due to feelings of intimidation, of which I do not know the cause, that legitimisation was withdrawn. The event was transformed by legitimate authority into an illegitimate event. This is another example of inadequate institutionalisation of local authority, which had not been maintained due to lack of ritualisation. This episode is better explained by the neo-Durkheimian account.

The Policeman's Funeral has already been discussed in some detail in the Findings chapter, but I reiterate its affinity with neo-Durkheimian theory. The local sacred, local emotion and ritual and intensity of collectivist sentiment all coalesce through this exemplar. Rather than 'class interest' this exemplar draws attention to the strength of sentiments between local workers, including police, the local authority *and* citizens. Neo-Marxian theory does not easily accommodate this case.

The UDC Minute Book (1897-1898) and the Dartford Improvement Act (1902)

What is interesting about these exemplars is anomaly again, from the perspective of neo-Marxian theory. Smith characterises this as the 'monopoly' period but points out that Dartford did not conform to the period in the sense that the local élite in the shape of the UDC *shaped* policy. *Shaping* policy implies the entraining of the affective capacities of the local political leaders. These local political leaders (Hesketh and Kidd,

for example) were not only members of the local élite they were members of the local council too. This is another blow against neo-Marxian periodisation – the local manufacturing élite is incorporated into local political formations already. This shows features therefore of what should be created much later – the relatively autonomous state. Without the affective capacities of local leaders in public meetings the adoption of the local Improvement Act, for instance, would not have happened. Once again, one sees anomalies in the neo-Marxian account: periodisation does not easily contain the imagination of the local political and social élite. Premonitions of relative autonomy were occurring during the ‘monopoly’ period.

The Association of Dartford Industries

The Association sought ‘improvement’, enlightened community’, ‘the full benefits of local government’ and supported ‘social movements; and a ‘wide awake’ and ‘Brighter and More Beautiful’ Dartford. This is about maintaining an upwards trajectory, not realisation of interests. This is particularly so since one could say that the local élite were acting *away* from their interests in supporting ‘social movements’ and the needs of the workforce. ‘Instrumental Demands’ does not describe the relationship between the ADI and the UDC.

The 1932 Pageant and Industrial Exhibition and 1933 Charter Day Parade

I have chosen to elaborate upon these exemplars because through them the apogee of authority of the local élite is clearly identifiable. Which theory points to this in the most appropriate way? The early and willing transfer of powers by the local ‘big business’ élite to the local authority, in which transfer they participated actively, does not conform to the Marxian periodisation model particularly well. What better explains the Pageant and Parade is neo-Durkheimian theory (I have already alluded to ‘commemorative rites’ which were drawn upon). The relationship between the sometimes ill-natured exchanges and enormous amount of work which went on prior to the Pageant (and into other events) and the actual Pageants is worth exploring. One question is whether the Pageant is containable within the idea of mechanical solidarity or organic solidarity, or whether a more satisfactory sociological distinction should be made between rites ‘backstage’ and rites ‘frontstage’ (Collins, 2004); or whether – as I believe – neither will do.

I suggest that the notions of mechanical and organic solidarity are not particularly helpful. I have no problem with envisaging mechanical and organic solidarity as existing at the same time (despite Durkheim's evolutionary account) but find the concepts difficult to operationalise in terms of the Pageant. Evidently, there are peaks of collective effervescence within Pageants which could be described as 'mechanical solidarity' *at that juncture* while the meticulous and complex committee work undertaken behind the scenes could be described as 'organic solidarity' binding many parts of the Dartford 'division of labour'. However, the local élite, besides playing royalty and so forth on horseback in the Pageant, were also 'instrumental' in organising the Pageant. 'Backstage' and 'frontstage' does not work particularly well as a distinction either. The élite represent themselves to themselves in the rites of the Pageant. The Pageant, I suggest, is best considered as a ritual which begins long before the event itself and continues long after. This has some resonance with Durkheim's 'representative' and 'commemorative' rites, which are much more than a play-spectacle.

Silver Jubilee of Dartford's Charter (1958), the Dartford Festival and 'Dirty Dartford'

The float depicting the 1958 'Silver Jubilee' is not wholly reverential. Notwithstanding its messages of purity, improvement and an upwards trajectory, it is also mundane, containing cement mixer and bricks. It is a clever joke, but is it knowing or unknowing (abject)? The float also reminds one of Durkheim's 'sacred' as having double-edged 'potentiality' through which purity or impurity may be generated. Similarly, Perri 6 (2007, 51) sees 'ritual inversion' and satire as having an 'orthogonal relationship with political and social time'. The satirist assumes an 'isolate' position, yet is also a collective product and cannot be distinguished from the collective product as the work of the satirist is a negotiation with local society whose self-recognition in the joke is sought without risking so much offence that nobody laughs in the mirror held up to them. Joseph Jardine is another case in point. Through his humour impurity is processed, digested and made safe. He 'tells it like it is' and his contributions have been preserved.

The Dartford Festival originated in Pageantry which affirmed improvement and hope, but it has been modified with tinges of abjection and parody (for example in performances by Stavros Flatley (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UJPPy-32n0>) and other television talent show acts. With the collapse of manufacturing it is difficult to envisage a glittering local career from shop-floor to senior management. Perhaps in

recognition of this, the Festival presents its audience with examples of unexpected fame and success sealed in a few moments during a television appearance.

Dartford is 'de-industrialising'. As discussed, Dartford's 'mode of regulation' and 'mode of regulation' are, theoretically, out of 'sync'. Yet the local authority authorises modern-day Festivals which sanctified by past Pageants. How will this continue? Samuel (1994) refers to 'heritage', as part of his larger arguments, and the way that local authorities have made good use of funding, in for instance, crafting monuments, and other artefacts commemorating industrial history. However, I envisage that a sedimentation, or accretion of past affect continues to be drawn upon which is available through a variety of objects. Authorised by the local authority, these objects encapsulate past affect and the local sacred.

In concluding the Dartford section, one wonders what *forms* Durkheim's understandings would have taken of these events. Some development of his concepts is needed to connect them with Dartford's local sacred(s). Riley does not think that Durkheim devotes enough attention to the impure sacred, focussing on the pure sacred instead (2005, 277), although I think *Forms* addresses the impure sacred implicitly. Riley is sympathetic to Hertz, a disciple of Durkheim¹¹¹, who, like Hubert and Mauss, examines the relationship between 'pure -' and 'impure -' sacreds. Riley explains (2005, 286) how Bataille and his group, Le Collège de Sociologie, whilst recognising the duality of the sacred, chose to explore 'the moments that produce effervescence and power through a total and excessive expenditure of energy, even to the point of death'. I agree that the need for more understanding of the impure sacred is suggested by Dartford's 'peculiar' satirical celebrations and verses, on which more later.

Some of the Dartford instances described are on the cusp between Durkheimian and Marxian explanations, but typically they suit Durkheim more easily than Marx. There are significant class anomalies in terms of who supported and who opposed improvement. Dartfordians have also been exercised by concerns that are tangential to class such as the rioting over suppression of the Guy Fawkes celebration; venerating a policeman who died from appendicitis, turning out in massive numbers to celebrate 'Incorporation' and reciting 'Dirty Dartford' again and again. This is *not* all about class. And even where class is identifiable outturns differ in interesting ways from

¹¹¹ Hertz often refers to the 'profane' when he means the 'impure sacred', according to Riley

Uxbridge: in Dartford the handover of manorial authority to the UDC was amicable. In Uxbridge handover of manorial authority to the Lords in Trust was the outcome of lengthy vexatious dispute. Finally, Hesketh's, Kidd's and Keyes' enthusiastic pursuit of civic goals and their 'boundless energy' seems out of proportion to their class positions as owners of an engineering works, a brewery and a flour mill.

The 'competitive period' in Dartford was matched approximately by a 'mode of regulation' consisting in a Vestry, Board of Health, Board of Guardians, and different types of Commissioners, it is true. However, the 'monopoly period' only approximately conformed to the 'model' of periodization, Dartford being 'regulated' by a UDC which extended its reach. But in the 'advanced period' the Borough exercised its authority with imagination that was 'relatively autonomous' of big business 'demands' such as by Blue Circle Cement through the Dartford Liaison Group.

As for regulation theory, I suggest that those who claim the neat interlinking suggested by figure 13 (281) should address the question of how the imagined fit was made, how that fit is demonstrated in the regular practices of local administrations and civil society, how that fit has *changed* over time as capitalism has changed, how, exactly, the successive 're-fits' between the accumulation and regulation system were accomplished and what harm to accumulation was caused by inappropriate regulation systems or systems that fitted poorly. I am unaware of such work.

I think the depiction (figure 13, 281) of the 'regime of accumulation' illustrates the difficulties of translating regulation theory to the local level and to deal with local specificities.

Having teased out further selected Dartford exemplars, I now discuss Uxbridge/LBH, a locale with a very different affective history. To begin, I reach back to the Uxbridge Toll Riots, a striking exemplification of local contestations over the local sacred.

Uxbridge/LBH

Toll-riots and their Outcomes (1631-1633)

The nub of these contestations was over who possessed legitimate power (authority) over the market tolls, the townspeople or the landed aristocracy in the form of Alice, Countess of Derby.

The (neo)-Marxist explanation is not particularly straightforward or easy to apply. The Countess of Derby was a landowner in Harefield, and, in this sense, she could be characterised as a capitalistic farmer with the intention of accumulating surplus value. Her ultimate ownership of the market tolls and her position of entitlement within the manorial courts were remnants of a late feudal/early modern aristocracy. Though the Countess was not local herself and possessed residences elsewhere, her local status and authority came with her manorial land-title.

The market had a regulatory function (of ensuring and upholding fair exchanges) as well as being essential to the accumulation system (facilitating the realisation of 'absolute' surplus value). A regulationist might say that the accumulation regime and the regime of regulation were 'interlocked' in the way Peck and Tickell indicate above. Would it matter to 'accumulation' that the tolls were collected by the Countess or by the burgagers? Would toll collection and distribution by burgagers represent better or worse 'interlocking' and what would this mean for 'reproduction' of the accumulation system? It is difficult to say but neither side found it easy to agree 'who was right' on their terms.

As has been shown, the regulatory system of the Honour of Wallingford was disturbed by challenges from other local sources of authority (such as Uxbridge's own Constables in confrontation with the Bailiff of Colham in the early sixteenth century). Therefore, the mode of regulation was under the strain of what may have been authentic ambiguities in authority as well as very probably self-serving legal ambiguities. For the townspeople there was much to gain economically (a pint of corn from every sack) as well as in terms of prestige through any successful challenge to the mode of regulation.

In a very strong statement of their position, Peck and Tickell suggest (1992, 348) suggest that 'In regulation theory, a regime of accumulation cannot, *by definition*, exist without complementarity between processes of economic development on the one hand and mechanisms of social regulation on the other' (italics in original). It should be noted that Peck and Tickell include 'habits and customs, social norms, enforceable laws and state norms' in what they call the 'Mode of Social Regulation' (1992, 349).

In mid seventeenth century Uxbridge one does not see this 'complementarity' alluded to. Nevertheless, at the same time I do not see any diminution in the importance of what was a growing, indeed flourishing market – perhaps the most important of all grain

markets feeding London. Moreover, the rights to collect and distribute tolls were not embodied in a new authority, but, on the contrary, in a conservative urban institution, and, even so, not until the eighteenth century. The Lords in Trust still, in 2018, exercises authority over local charitable works and local disbursement of grants.

This calls into question Peck and Tickell's suggestion, indeed strong insistence, that 'modes of social regulation perform a critical role in internalizing (for a time and in particular geographical locations) the inherent crisis tendencies of the capitalist accumulation process' (1992, 349). In the case of Uxbridge, it is difficult to determine how far along the transition from feudalism to capitalism the town had progressed and while the toll disputes certainly represent 'crises' of social regulation they do not appear to have 'internalised' crises in the accumulation system.

The Toll Riot affects_were created in different spaces: open anger and drawn weapons at the Market Hall; judicious expression of contending positions within the court system, and, more intimately, at the Countess' residence up the hill. One advantage of this framework is that these enactments are not just visible but dramatically so (unlike Marx's descriptions of class relations, for instance).

Class relations, like rites, can be represented or discerned in paintings, photographs and through 'installations' but are not usually represented as directly as rites can be. Indeed, where class relations *are expressed* these relations occur *through rites*, I suggest.

'Emblems' of the enactments remain; the remains of the Basset Charter (whereby the market was granted in the 12th century) are held by Uxbridge Library. A tryptic of the events by Barbara Jones (1956) can be seen at:

<https://www.hillingdon.gov.uk/article/32597/The-Town-of-Uxbridge-and-the-Countess-of-Derby-by-Barbara-Jones>

The first *animated* exemplar of Uxbridgian local authority, emotion, ethic, rites and action which struck me was in the early seventeenth century and the next case only after a very long period of elapsed time. Although toll-riots by their nature were enacted collectively they involved relatively small numbers of individuals who directed their personalised anger towards named individuals. The enactments took place in or near the market, giving them straightforward clarity, related as they were to power and money.

I have alluded to the venison presentation as a means of rapprochement offered to the townspeople by the Countess, how this rite was *designed* by her, and was a way of asserting her legitimate authority. The toll-riots also have an element of design about them. The weaponry the townspeople used was out of date, for instance, and, as far as I am aware, injuries were more to dignity than to the person (the Countess's elderly servant was dealt with roughly but was not injured).

Two ethics are enacted during these events. The townspeople's ethics and actions coalesce around the market and its control; autonomy enacted collectively. This is seen through the way that Edmund Baker wants to take the tolls for himself, even though his fellow townspeople are also engaged in the brawl. The Countess's ethical disposition is counterposed to that of the townspeople. Her actions coalesce also around the market, envisaged collectively, however. The townspeople and the Countess view space and place differently, too. The riots took place in the market place whereas the Countess held masques and other performances at Harefield Place, engaging with the larger world through royalty and poets.

Ethics, space, place and the sacred coalesce. I suggest that the ethic of autonomy coalesces around the market and the domestic whilst the ethic of heteronomy coalesces around outdoor collective space. The later self-styled 'economisers' were very animated by *retaining* cess-pits whilst the 'improvers' were animated by *building* libraries, parks and sewage systems. The same notions of autonomy and heteronomy suffused their affect and actions. Their local sacreds were different even though the object of contestation was the same (public works). Likewise, the townspeople and the Countess contested the same object (the tolls) but their 'religious sentiments' coalesced around that object in different ways.

E.P. Thompson (1991, 67) discusses the notion of spontaneity and instrumentalism in riots. He refers to legitimation in the bread riot through the 'assumption of an older moral order' (68). This is a useful idea in relation to the toll-riots, partly because it poses the question as to the 'morality' of what the toll-rioters were about. The toll-rioters seem to be referring to an 'old moral order' but this seems to be a myth invented for their own purposes whereby they had claims to the tolls.

Missing the Moment: The Great Western Railway, Drainage, the Local Board, the Freehold Land Society, and the 'Tiger and the Deer' Pageant

The notion of ‘missing the moment’ struck me forcefully during my research. Indeed, I myself felt *regret* about missed opportunities. There was a poignancy attached to those events (some of over one hundred and sixty years ago) which I experienced upon reading about them now.

Were the missed opportunities due to deficiencies in ritual enactments or is ‘okay’ Uxbridge principally attributable to changes in the ‘accumulation regime’? For topographical reasons the Great Western Railway (which bypassed the town in 1838) would never have driven its main line to Bristol through Uxbridge. This was beyond the control of Uxbridgians. The inhabitants of Uxbridge thought a branch line between West Drayton and Vine Street, Uxbridge would be achieved by 1854. However, it was 1856 before it was finished (Hearmon, 1984, 52). Meanwhile, they had to use a (horse-drawn) omnibus service. The Great Western Railway offered to buy land alongside the railway to build a road but a ‘misunderstanding’ (by a local landowner) had led to the offer being turned down. This road would have been of ‘vast public benefit’ according to ‘Hyperion’, writing in *The Bucks Advertiser*, 15th November, 1853. An opportunity was lost. After the railway bypassed Uxbridge, the town went into decline.

The mode of accumulation *did* change with Uxbridge’s market going into decline. Regulation theory offers some explanation. More of the complexities of ‘missing a beat’ are explained through Durkheimian theory however. ‘Classifications’ have to be rehearsed (6, P., 2007) collectively. Where were the public meetings, pamphlets and posters to impress the public mind of the pros and cons of such a scheme? Hyperion’s collective improving tendencies were publicly rehearsed in the local press too late whilst the landowner enacted his economist tendencies more privately. An opportunity was lost.

The new Local Board of Health was initially ‘provisional’ rather than ‘permanent’ probably due to disputes as to the importance and cost of drainage; though the amount of information I have on this question is small compared with Dartford. Although Uxbridge managed to obtain a Local Board of Health then the momentum was lost. Energy dissipated, as in the Freehold Land Society episodes.

The Freehold Land Society *débat* was partially about ‘missing the beat’ – the local Committee was short-sighted in having been tempted to appropriate some land and property for themselves, not for the purpose of obtaining the franchise (which some were already qualified for) but, I surmise, for a quick profit. The Festival generated

collective effervescence which then dissipated. Authority was found wanting. The Festival rites were *designed* and enacted by authority which was partially central, but also local, but central authority departed. However, local authority did not follow through with regular apposite rites.

‘The Tiger and The Deer Pageant’ should have been an opportunity to signal the creation of a new Borough by the (forced) abolition of its constituent District Councils, but at least one of the former District Councils remained hostile and local areas also resisted the notion. Residents from many parts were at best lukewarm. Repeated ritual rehearsals were necessary *prior* to the constituting of the Borough, particularly since the former District Councils had so little in common.

Uxbridge Show, Hillingdon Festival, Autumn Show Fruit and Vegetable Competition

Uxbridge’s largest rites reference a bucolic past, a past of agriculture and of horticulture, though the Hillingdon Festival evolved over the course over the twentieth century, perhaps in step with domestic sentiments. Fruit and vegetable competitions celebrates pride in individual skills, the domestic scale, amateurism and the rules of fair and impartial judgements, most succinctly and dog shows most of these attributes too. They demonstrate ‘complementarity’ between the local system of accumulation (house-building, shopping-centres, gardening for pleasure more than for subsistence) and mode of regulation. I also detect in these competitions more ‘moral regulation’ than of other kinds. Fruit and vegetable growing, and pet ownership are quiet activities interspersed perhaps with club meetings where expertise can be shared, and the competition assessed.

These competitions strike one as well-attuned rites which have been evolved with sensitivity to the emotional climate. Neo-Marxist theorists, I feel, would overlook them, seeing them as trivia. However, since they are ‘habits and customs’ they must surely qualify for attention. As a local I can testify for the way competitions, carnivals, ‘fun days’ and horticultural shows index local sentiment and that which is held sacred. Past radicalism has been exorcised and life, especially in the north of the borough, is peaceful and pleasant. The earlier, animated, radical version of militant self-respect has passed into politeness, between competitors of every scale, from rival shopping malls down to rival specialists in horticultural shows. Uxbridge is ‘okay’ for profound

reasons, and, through this, has sometimes been a source of irritation to Hayes, in the more animated southern part of the borough.

Affect, Authority, the sacred, and Ritual

The cumulative comparative difference(s) between Uxbridge and Dartford strike me as significant even in a statistical sense. These are greater difference(s) than could be explained by ‘chance factors’, including, especially, affective differences. It is also improbable that one place should be broadly ‘okay’ – for more than a century and a half - and another mobilised to a high degree – especially from 1900 to the mid -1930s - only as an outcome of ‘utility maximising behaviour’ by so many ‘agents’. The exceptions in Uxbridge, including Don’s cheerful ‘Metroville Chamber of Commerce’, albeit there are ebbs and flows in its affective disposition, and John McDonnell’s community campaigning were intriguing exceptions which prove the general rule. They are instances of different ritual forms which differ appreciably from the ‘diplomatic’ Uxbridge status quo.

The late arrival and rapid decline of large scale manufacturing in Hayes, the absence of a major manufacturing presence in Uxbridge (particularly with the closure of most mills on the Colne by the mid-1880s), the rise and fall of large-scale manufacturing activity companies in or near Dartford, and Uxbridge’s enduring market-based economy, have contributed something to the observed differences. I next examine what these differences may add up to.

Having developed the theoretical yield of the Dartford and Uxbridge exemplars I draw the threads together in a concluding discussion.

Conclusion

In this dissertation the key concern has been to account for place-variation over time as well as to conduct an enquiry into the relationship between *authority* (legitimate power), *rites* (public rituals), *affects* (public feelings), and *ethics* and *actions* (policy and practice), both empirically and theoretically.

The Research Questions

I have explored the research questions:

Firstly,

How can local authority formation over time be explained with reference to authority, rites, emotions, ethics, action, class and the sacred?

What are the relative attributes and deficits of Durkheimian and Marxian theory when applied empirically?

Present day Dartford and present-day Uxbridge are outcomes of local authority formation which can be traced back hundreds of years. Class and ritual are in an orthogonal relationship theoretically, yet empirically authority, rites, emotions, ethics and class can be treated as co-constitutive of one another. The lynchpin of the study is authority, and, in that sense, authority privileges the other elements. ‘Interests’ or ‘ethics’ are clarified through rites and repeated rites assist their continuity.

The ‘religious sentiments’ and local sacreds of the locations are outcomes of past public contestations between authorities with diverging ethical ‘dispositions’, ‘improving’ and ‘economising’. Protagonists have summoned up their own versions of ‘the impure sacred’ in defence of *their* own ‘pure sacred’.

Outcomes are never certain and there is an element of contingency in sacred- and authority-formation. Rites have been repeated at regular intervals in order for them to maintain their efficacy and to assist in the clarification of classifications over public policies. (Clarification was hampered by time-lags in public knowledge of disease causation and the commercial viability of ship canals, for example, but ethical dispositions may not change *despite* knowledge).

Totemic objects, including pageant plays, poems and verses help sustain public rites over time constituting a way for local authority to represent itself to itself concisely. The relationship is accommodated empirically by the researcher and locals alike with reference to totemic objects which can be modified by both parties for discussion purposes. The local authority authorises objects such as plaques or statues through which past present and future Dartfords (or maybe Uxbridges) can be invoked.

Marx’s account of absolute and relative surplus value is powerful as an heuristic with reference to 1840’s Dartford. Although Marx’s work is full of emotion, he offers no theory of emotion. The neo-Marxian accounts are much easier to apply in Dartford, where a period of intra-class struggle is easily identifiable in the mid-nineteenth century

(‘competitive capitalism’) followed by an easily identifiable ‘monopoly period’). However, there is a disjuncture between what is enacted locally and what *should* be happening according to Marxian periodisation. Regulation theory is severely limited by functionalism and is too abstract to operationalise locally. Class *is* visible in the social formations, but it is a mistake to attempt to read off ‘interests’ (or ethical dispositions) from class. Marx tends to overlook local comparisons, at least in sufficient detail.

The Durkheimian account of ritual is crucial to this study, offering insights into the great Pageants and Festivals which have taken place in Dartford and seventeenth century stand-offs in Uxbridge. Yet Durkheim’s account is a-historic and again, does not address the local comparatively.

Durkheim supplements Marx’s deficits and Marx supplements one of Durkheim’s deficits (class). However, there is still a deficit which neither address as *explicitly* as required in this study. I have addressed this deficit by adding ‘time’ and ‘comparison’. The notion of an ‘ethic’ has also been developed for use in historical place-specific comparisons.

Secondly,

How can the sacred be conceptualised in the contexts of Uxbridge and Dartford? What forms do rituals, emotions and the sacred take in these settings and how do Uxbridge and Dartford compare?

It is easier to understand the sacred condenses through what Durkheim calls emblems. Local leaders and local inhabitants in Dartford and Uxbridge do not refer to ‘the sacred’ when referring to their ‘shrines’ and places of ‘devotion’ such as Dartford Heath or the Shopping Mall. Nevertheless, the local sacred is encapsulated and articulated through totemic objects attached to local places. Local actors are mindful of these; which moreover encapsulate past and present public affects, are authorised by the local authority, and are crafted and curated on behalf of the local authority. Local emotion is co-constitutive of an ethic which is inscribed in actions and through actions (either envisaged as transformation within the rite). The sacreds are instantiated time and time again.

Levels of animation are a ‘marker’ for the local sacred. In Dartford animation is pronounced; in Uxbridge, more muted. Dartford enacts its collective heteronomy

around wide, outdoor public spaces. Uxbridge enacts its autonomy collectively around the market, especially. The Dartford Festival and various processions feature in Dartford whereas LBH (at least in the north) and its Uxbridge centre, are attached to more low-key events such as fruit and vegetable shows, and the successful ‘Hillingdon in Bloom’.

Third,

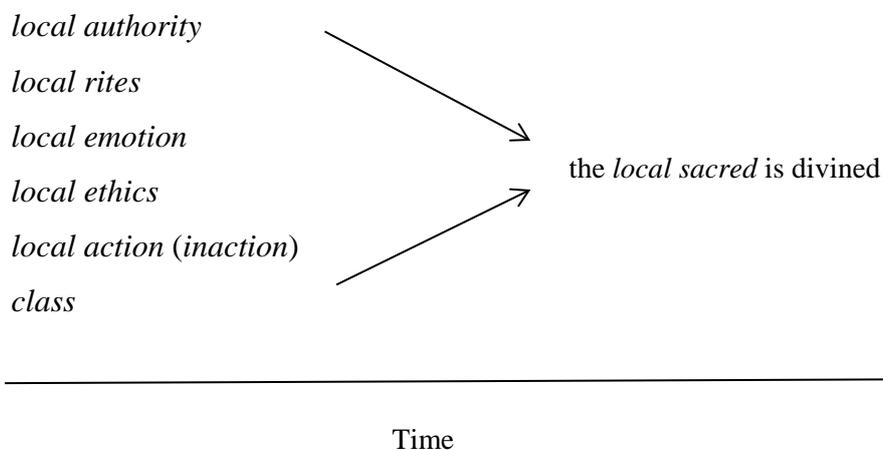
What insights can be achieved through comparison?

Places that are ostensibly similar in that they are equally ‘urban’ can be investigated comparatively to elicit pronounced similarities and dissimilarities. The method deployed must have the capacity to discriminate (which my approach does). Each element can be examined comparatively. Synchronic comparison after diachronic study means that similarity and difference can be detected for any point in time. Convergences and divergences in public affect were detected. The local sacred is indeed ‘engraved in...more ways than one’ (Douglas, 1996, xvii).

Contributions

To reiterate, in this dissertation the key concern has been to account for place-variation over time as well as to conduct an enquiry into the relationship between *authority* (legitimate power), *rites* (public rituals), *affects* (public feelings), and *ethics* and *actions* (policy and practice), empirically and theoretically.

It is useful to reprise this visually (cf. Whetten, 1989):



As noted, the research questions were arrived at through multiple iterations between the theory, the emergent research questions and empirical evidence which was found to be copious.

The Contributions are summarised, followed by a discursive discussion which contextualises the Contribution:

1. A neo-Durkheimian research-related strategy which can be applied to *place* in order to discern the local sacred comparatively. It has the capacity to discern similarities, differences, and points of convergence and divergence between places. The strategy draws mainly on Durkheimian but also Marxian theory. From these two theories the 'elements' relating to ritual and class are elicited. These elements, which are co-constitutive of one another, can be applied to *place* to divine the local sacred in its repeated instantiation over time. Using this strategy, it is possible to determine and differentiate the specific configuration of authority and rites through which a local sacred is derived. This level of discernment in a theory (or strategy) is necessary in place-comparison.
2. A methodology whereby the neo-Marxian account is tested for its explanatory capacities and discernment, against the discriminatory capability of Durkheimian interpretation. This should lead to a more profound understanding of place and place variation for any location. (For Marxian methods cf. Hill, 1975 and Foster, 1974).
3. An elicitation of why rites fail or succeed and under which circumstances (cf. Collins, 2004). Lack of 'emotional energy' is not necessarily a reason for failure (contra Collins). High 'emotional energy', such as Chartism in Uxbridge and the Ship Canal project in Dartford, do not always signal success (contra Collins). The reasons rites fail is intertwined with other features such as the under-development of authoritative regulatory mechanisms.
4. Discernment of anomalies in Marxian periodisation through empirical investigation. Cases did not confirm to 'periods' as Marxist would expect.

5. Understanding, derived empirically from studying mid nineteenth century Dartford, that civic expression of class interests cannot be read-off from class positions.
6. Development of a strategy whereby the researcher works sympathetically with local authorities to solve problems through object theatre. This strategy should acknowledge and express the local sacred. This was trialled successfully in Uxbridge with two leading figures.

The next section contextualises the contribution in a more discursive discussion.

Retrieving and Advancing on Durkheim

The dissertation, at the highest level of abstraction, is a study of sociality after Durkheim. An aim has been to retrieve Durkheim by re-visiting *Forms*, in particular, and the impetus for the investigation has been his latter-day writings. The study advances Durkheim by developing a discerning approach to *place-variation* in order to divine local sacreds. My approach encompasses class as well as rites since the former is an evident deficiency in Durkheim. By tracking back in time and investigating exemplars of local authority, rites, emotion, ethics, action, inaction (and quietude), the dynamics of these elements can be retrieved. Places should be examined diachronically, then synchronically for any points in time. This approach clarifies local sacreds, bearing in mind that this process of clarification was also gradual for local protagonists.

Marxian Accounts of Place through a Durkheimian Lens

The most intriguing Marxian accounts of place could be interpreted more usefully through a neo-Durkheimian lens. In the Marxian tradition, Foster's *Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution* (1974) focusses on Oldham, Northampton and South Shields. However, I propose that Foster's description of conflict would be explained more fruitfully through an account of ritual; an account of ritual enabling conflict. His description of the reaction leading to the arrest of the two secretaries to the Cotton Spinners' Union is replete with neo-Durkheimian imagery, describing how 'a crowd of several thousand persons assembled...and how 'the rioters succeeded into the house of Mr. Thompson and the factory... (1974, 112)'. Yet what should be central to Marxian historiography is not dwelled upon sufficiently.

Christopher Hill's *The World Turned Upside Down* (1975) evokes place sentiment. For example, Hill describes (110) how the parish church of Walton-on-Thames was invaded 'One Sunday in March or April 1649 by a group of six soldiers... [who] in a series of symbolic gestures and amid scenes of some excitement, announced that the Sabbath, tithes...and the Bible were all abolished'. The congregation was 'startled'. Hill recounts (110) how one of the Diggers, based on the previous demonstration in Walton Church, stuffed a mass of briars into the pulpit to prevent the parson from entering. Hill's focus is on the flowering of mid-seventeenth century radicalism, and the Walton-on-Thames' events are an exemplar. These events make more sense through a neo-Durkheimian rather than 'class' lens. Hill's emotive language, with references to imitation and symbolic gesture, is redolent of the ritual and emotion he is himself curating. To interpret the Walton Church exemplar through a Marxian account means stretching it, whereas the causalities are very clear through a Durkheimian lens. Re-interpreting Marxian histories of place through a neo-Durkheimian lens leads to a more profound understanding of the varying dimensions of place and place variation. We see why the congregation was startled.

Authority

The mid-nineteenth century seems to have been critical as a period of intensely conflicted authority and of competing ethical principles and rites. Therefore, I devoted a considerable part of the study to this period in the Findings. I have selected features which have special theoretical value for wider application.

The Dartford Gas Lighting exemplar (1814, 1825, 1832), shows that *power remains latent unless it is ritualised, and that through ritualisation power is institutionalised*. With Willding's Wharf we see that *change in any element among local authority rites, emotion, ethics, action, class and the sacred has important qualitative and quantitative effects*. In the Willding's Wharf case, the act of enclosure, of raw, illegitimate power, resulted in 'public outcry'. The outcry can be seen as a counter-ritual, a reaction to a provocation. This is reminiscent of Richards' account of contestations (and piacular rites) in Sierra Leone (cf. Richards, 2007, 62-84). In *Forms* Durkheim does not elaborate upon competition and conflict, although there are tensions, ambiguities ('the ambiguity of the sacred') and potentialities in his text, which possibly have a relationship with his own ambivalence and, sometimes, pessimism. Willding's Wharf is an exemplar of how actions provoke a reaction or contestation, and Richards advances on Durkheim through his extrapolation upon piacular rites. However, Richards'

account only contains implicitly the notion of reconfiguring 'the elements'. The way that *raw power trumps rites* appears anomalous (when viewed through the Durkheimian lens). *Rites are necessary to authority formation and emotions arise through the rite which may provoke counter-rituals which clarify opposing ethics.*

This study is account of authority formation over time.

Remembering and Time

For Durkheim, authority is the authority of the rite. This authority is represented as moral authority or moral constraint. For 'moral', 'social' can be substituted. It is sociality which constitutes not only morality but authority. But how can one depict the formation of authority over time through Durkheim, given that his account is not historical? One needs to analyse rites in forensic detail. The Dartford Heath enactments encapsulate an ethic (early commitment to heteronomy), enacted over a large space. 'Religious sentiments' (Durkheim, 1912 [1915]) make the Heath sacred. These sentiments are animated, and effervescences occur (fights, disinhibited activity). The Heath is a shrine, but not through contemplation. These enactments can be envisaged as contributing to the later local motif, a 'Brighter and More Beautiful Dartford' and even to the later 'campaign' assault on a 'Dirty Dartford (cf. Philip Smith, 1999, 17).

It can be confirmed that rites contribute to forming and curating memories.

'Representative rites' (Durkheim, [1912] 1915) and 'commemorative rites' are enacted as play-spectacles. Perri 6's 'past-perpetuating', 'future' binding, 'past-correcting' and 'present-oriented' rites (2007, 37-61) expands Durkheim's account of rites helpfully. These rites enable locals to 'get their bearings' though we should acknowledge *contingency in authority formation over time*. Commemorative rites are where the group represents itself to itself (Misztal, 2003, 126). One problem with the notion of collective memory (and Durkheim's articulation of 'social memory') is that it does not address continuity and discontinuity and contestations in authority. What happens to collective memory when it is contested? Durkheim does not answer this although I have demonstrated that empirical answers are available. I return to this point.

Collins (2004) links high 'emotional energy' with successful rites and low 'emotional energy' with failed rites. This 'emotional energy' is responsible for continuity. In *Forms* Durkheim also refers to the great assemblies whereby members of the clan

gather and there is a great effervescence. It is through the effervescence that the sacred is generated. When members dissipate the feelings dissipate and to renew the feelings the clan members need to re-assemble. This might explain continuity of authority (through the rite). However, I have evidence of *repeated low energy rituals* in Uxbridge which have *not* dissipated over time (former Town Centre Committees, politeness, the OK sentiment). I also have evidence of *high energy rites* in mid nineteenth century Dartford which have dissipated (The Freehold Land Society). Low energy rites are sustainable over time. High energy rites are not always sustained over time. This may be due to insufficient institutionalisation (in Durkheimian terms), or, at a stretch, the 'mode of regulation' being out of 'sync' with the 'system of accumulation' (in Regulation Theory terms).

Emotions recorded in verse by Miss Thorpe (later Mrs. Potts) retrieve the Heath as it was before and after the manoeuvres are recorded, defining and preserving memory. *Verses, plays, poems and places are 'objects' through which rites, emotions and class coalesce over time and have heuristic power for locals conjuring up past present and future visions, and which are authorised by the local authority.*

How does contested local authority sustain 'collective memory'? In the case of Dartford, the Improving faction prevailed. In Uxbridge Economising was enacted, in either conservative or radical guise, in the mid-nineteenth century. I suggest that in Dartford although the economising faction was defeated ultimately that Dartford has encapsulated and even accorded official status to its 'dirty' past through emblems, such as the plaques upon which the Dirty Dartford poem is inscribed. In this way the dirt that was so lethal to health and so vexatious in local discourse, has been rendered morally (as well as biologically) 'safe'.

Durkheim's theory of ritual is only partially satisfactory in accounting for authority. The idea of rites repeated over time using objects as heuristic devices as I have advocated makes better sense when linked to local authority as an evolving quality inhabiting local mechanisms: *local authority* possessed by *Local Authorities*.

Uxbridge's trajectory is easier to comprehend than Dartford's. In Uxbridge, even radical enactments coalesced around economising (with the exception of the Chartist's who made universal demands set out in The People's Charter). Dartford's contestations in the nineteenth century coalesced around economising, first hesitant and episodic, then

firm enthusiasm for improving. Durkheim's conception of an ethic in *Forms* is related to moral constraint. However, in this study the 'ethic' relates autonomy to economising (an ethical disposition) and heteronomy to improving (an ethical disposition).

Durkheim's notion of moral authority and constraint has been clarified and developed here. Economising and Improving are what I call ethical 'dispositions' or 'instincts', suffused, respectively with notions of autonomy and heteronomy. It is an interesting feature that autonomy can and has been ritualised collectively and can generate a form of solidarity; while collective enactment of heteronomy lends itself more obviously to solidarity.

Class and Periodisation

I am critical of several features of Marxian theory of authority formation. Having adhered originally to Smith's periodisation of Dartford (and extrapolated to Uxbridge) *I found that close inspection identified anomalies in it.*

One interesting point is that it is easier to apply and discuss the Marxian model in relation to Dartford than it is in relation to Uxbridge. Dartford was an industrial town and though Uxbridge had some big watermills and breweries. But we see evidence of intra-class conflict in Dartford which was not present in Uxbridge. The Dartford contestations suggest a firmer testbed for the usefulness of periodisation. In Dartford I can clearly point to evidence of big capital and small capital in the mid nineteenth century. Laissez-faire capitalism was linked to 'localisation of capitalist relations'; (Fine and Harris, 1979, 112-114). Intra-class conflict is not particularly evident in Uxbridge, perhaps because relations focussed on the markets, inns and shopping. I have much evidence of conflict between and around bakers, their contestations being founded on rival religious affiliations (Anglicanism versus or Dissenting), *within their 'class fraction'.*

However, in Dartford we see that civic expression of class interests did not always align as the Marxian model would have suggested. Big capital should in theory align itself with improvement, and small capital with economising (according to the Marxist model). However, the Ship Canal venture shows that it is unwise to read off interests from class positions. The case was animated by petitioning, counter-pamphlets, satirical verses, public meetings, and fierce opposition from Wilks, who was a 'big'

though old technology (water) mill owner and from a nascent new-technology railway company. Yet Wilks and Fooks (the lawyer) defeated the project. Support and opposition came from both big and from small capital. The diversity of support is confirmed by subscribers. John Hall, advanced engineer, supported the scheme yet so too did Joseph Jardine, draper who could only commit to buying two shares. I have several such counter-factual cases. The conclusion I draw is that interests cannot always be read off from class positions. There are anomalies in the model of big capital/improver and small capital/economiser however this does at least show that Marxian periodization is testable for its first and second stages ‘Competitive Capitalism’ and ‘Monopoly Capitalism’.

The Research Value of Anomalies

The Dartford Improvement Act and the UDC Minute Book of 1897-1898 ought to correspond to the imperatives of monopoly capital. Indeed, the meticulous Minutes record little opposition to improvement and there does indeed seem to be convergence between Dartford’s ‘system of accumulation’ (advanced manufacturing) and its progressive ‘mode of regulation. The Council was keen to adopt permissive powers – including the power to generate electricity and run a tramway - and to extend its own authority through a Local Act. When the Local Board became the UDC it was content to debt-finance new initiatives in a way that economisers would have found intolerable. This much fits Marxist urban historiography.

Smith characterises this as the ‘monopoly’ or ‘instrumental’ period (from the last third of the nineteenth century until the nineteen thirties during which the local élite – owners of large local industrial concerns – were also involved in local politics and civic works). However, closer analysis finds anomalies even here. The instrumental model has it that élite members make demands to which (local) governments respond. But here the UDC – which it has to be conceded had Keyes, Kidd and Hesketh as Council members - demonstrates an imagination which tends to be in advance of what one might expect of ‘representatives of monopoly capital’ in the sense of

- 1) formulating policy and *then* calling public meetings to gain approval (the method of operation claimed to be characteristic of ‘Advanced Capitalism’.

When approval was not forthcoming (for Borough status and for the proposed

Improvement Act, for example), then more meetings were called until Colonel Kidd deemed there was at least narrow support on the basis of a shout-out of ‘Yays’ and ‘Nays’.

- 2) Kidd and Hesketh in particular appear more as ‘emotional leaders’ than ‘instrumental demanders; and of all kinds of initiatives most of which were a) tangential, b) irrelevant or c) *oppositional* to their respective brewing or engineering interests. Hesketh wanted a Brighter and More Beautiful Dartford, to have tree-lined avenues and clean air which had no relationship to a ‘dirty’ foundry producing refrigeration engineering equipment. This suggests he was as much *possessed by*, as he *was the author* of a sacred Brighter and More Beautiful future Dartford.
- 3) The UDC telephone system would benefit commerce, but also every other subscriber and a public electricity power station and tramway and was not especially a ‘class interest’.

This evidence demonstrates that the UDC demonstrated a ‘relative autonomy’ of imagination *half a century before it would be expected according to neo-Marxian theory*, calling into question the value of the three-stage periodisation. What matters more are the affective mechanisms and the persuasive sense of urgency conveyed by the Town Clerk in the face of strong vocal opposition from market traders. As well as pointing to a deficit in neo-Marxian theory this exemplar also highlights the better capacity of neo-Durkheimian theory in accounting for Dartford’s obtaining an Improvement Act.

This detailed account has been necessary in order to clearly extricate just two of several anomalies. I re-emphasise: *interests and enthusiasms cannot necessarily be read off from class positions and local authority did not develop in step with technical advances in the economy and the ‘class composition’ of the UDC (and preceding local bodies).*

When a theory does not ‘work’ empirically leads to the question ‘how many anomalies can be tolerated before a theory ceases to be useful?’ (cf. Kuhn, 2012, Popper, 2002). My conclusion is that the Marxian periodisation has failed when presented with local specificities. If used to guide local studies, then caution and scepticism is required.

Theories Compared

In choosing between theories there is a case to be made for simplicity, (known as Ockham's Razor). If a simple theory works as well or better than a complex one, one should use the simple one. Though as complex - and perhaps more complex - than the Marxist theories of urbanisation and authority formation known as Regulation Theory, it takes less effort to link neo-Durkheimian theory to the cases presented. It is a pity that Durkheim did not link emotion with ethics in *Forms* (Aristotle was clearer on this) but the connections between emotions and ethics is easy to detect in, say, Applegarth's angry pamphlet, Fooks' relentless and furious critique of the *Inquiry* and in the raucous Town meetings held to gather public support for the 1902 Improvement Act.

However, the neo-Marxist account is of some value. Marx's account of how the debate over the length of the working day was informed by a shift from absolute to relative surplus value is probably the clearest Marxian exposition of what regulation is and how it arose in practice. It is reasonable to suggest that as Dartford industries made the transition from absolute to relative surplus value the improvement ethic displaced economising. And I do see evidence of local governments exercising their 'relative autonomy' by acting in the absence or in anticipation of seemingly 'instrumental' demands that they should. I have clear-cut evidence of 'licencing' (legitimation) by the local authority in Hillingdon as the author was once part of an effort to raise interest in the possibility of a 'Business Improvement District' for Uxbridge. Don in 'Westville' has been an important figure through which Hillingdon's policies are articulated successfully to local traders, gaining their approval for local improvements. As a charismatic figure with an acute sense of the local sacred Don is able to act more as interlocutor than as someone who makes 'demands' of the local authority.

Class *is* a part of the explanation, but principally before the Second World War rather than afterwards when local authorities were capable of making up their own minds on policy. It bears repeating that Improvers were largely but not exclusively 'Big Capital' and the Economisers were again largely but not exclusively 'Small Capital', and that Don is neither, being a former owner-manager of a civil engineering company which was as he describes, declared bankrupt through the treachery of his business partner. Don does not have the 'class position' expected of an improver and perhaps no class position at all.

As for latter-day Regulation Theory (after Jessop) specifically the ‘complementarity’ supposedly necessary between Modes of Regulation and Systems of Accumulation, I have doubts that

- it is ever definable and operationalizable
- it is ever quite attained
- doubts about what the accumulation system gains from a ‘happy marriage’ with the regulation system
- about what accumulation (or regulation) crises are triggered if there is poor concordance between them

Doornbos (2001) describes how the term ‘relative autonomy’ has meant different things at different points in time and that by 2001 the term had gone out of fashion. Therefore, I also doubt which variety of relative autonomy might suit today’s accumulation system (however characterised).

Marx’ early rendition of regulation concerning limitations on the working day is tidier than latter-day regulationism. The problem arises that even Marx’ (and Smith’s) tidy model is a lot tidier than the data it is meant to describe and which I have presented to it. It is useful as something to hang the evidence on, but only as a temporary measure in the research process. It works in one place better than another and for one period better than another. This is a weakness in a theory which aspires to provide a comprehensive theory of history for all places and periods at any scale. There are, indeed, awkward empirical exceptions. As neo-Marxian and neo-Durkheimian theory have different derivations and do not inhabit the same paradigm there is a case for setting neo-Marxian theory aside altogether, to avoid the one confusing the other, or else treating them as strictly orthogonal descriptions which can be used in conjunction to pinpoint specific instances in two dimensions as a kind of cross-sectional analysis. As it *is* possible to see class as well as rites and animation in each case, I am agnostic on this point, but commend the greater usefulness of the Durkheimian approach.

I can state with confidence that the objects through which my respondents contemplate encapsulate rites, affects, the sacred and profane, authority and ethics. I was able to assist some town centre respondents to elicit what mattered to them by using simple installations based on what I knew, and this experience is thoroughly consistent with Durkheim’s description of ‘classifications’, ‘totems’ and even scientific thought.

This has been just one of many ways of making place-comparisons, but, however accomplished, I appeal to researchers to draw detailed synchronic comparisons which also benefit from diachronic depth. Places matter very much, both as ready test-beds for theories and as means of gauging the range of social possibilities, between the visionary and the 'okay'.

Reprise on the Sacred

I have detailed ways in which the sacred is conceptualised in Uxbridge and Dartford in the introductory section to this Chapter but briefly here. As I have stated a reading of *Forms* does not allow definitive identification of what the sacred is. Durkheim's account is complex, contradicting and incomplete, advancing as he does partially at least through examples taken from many different places chosen somewhat haphazardly according to what little field anthropology had been undertaken. Riley (2005) suggests that the workings of the sacred, which consists of the 'pure' - and 'impure', are not established in *Forms* and that Durkheim privileges the pure above the impure improperly. Meanwhile Kurakin (2013, 12-13) discusses the 'sacred pure' and 'profane' relationships, suggesting that these are often misunderstood. He proposes that the relationship between the sacred pure and impure and profane is often visualised as synchronic, whereas in actuality the sacred impure arises from contact between the sacred and the profane and is therefore correctly understood as a diachronic outcome. Masuzawa (1998, 27) highlights the tensions in Durkheim's arguments, suggesting that Durkheim advances two theses in *Forms* concerning the nature of the sacred, one representing 'untotalizable heterogeneity' for the sacred, the second claiming 'effervescent unity and totality'.

The sacred is, as has been said, is easier to grasp through objects and this is true of researchers and non-academic lay persons. In Dartford the coalescence of religious sentiment around objects and places is obvious, in Uxbridge less so. The sacred does not have to be obvious, perhaps. Uxbridge's less animated, enactments still coalesce around a religious sentiment which may then be objectified. Empirically, religious sentiments are co-constitutive of ethics, and generate emotion, which generates action (or fail to do so).

In this chapter I have, so far, discussed comparatively theory and place and brought them together. I have highlighted the differences in the 'religious sentiments' of

Dartford and Uxbridge and I have advanced the theoretical discussion of the last chapter. Although the research questions have been addressed as part of the discussion process, I summarise the responses made integrally. I also summarise contributions made, which again have been addressed as part of the discussion process.

These have been my responses to the principle research questions.

Limitations

The dissertation required time-consuming forensic historical research which might be difficult to replicate, and which gathered much more rich evidence than could be presented here. The research focussed on the principle town in LBH (Uxbridge) as the seat of local authority. The comparison with Hayes was only drawn out in a very limited way but would have doubled the length of the existing LBH case. However, having developed and demonstrated the method others should have an easier path to follow and have a clear idea of what it is that they are seeking.

The locations do not match exactly as Dartford is a District Council, whereas Hillingdon is a large unitary authority, with several towns within its boundaries. In this sense the study was asymmetrical.

Another source of asymmetry may be the author's familiarity with UBH. As a participant observer in its civic life, this ought to be an advantage. On reflection my own painstaking approach to research, which I experience as proportionate, may even have something to do with the public affects which inhabit me. When contemplating the significant differences in the 'religious lives' of Dartford and Uxbridge, I find these a little disconcerting. I am. I suspect 'more Uxbridge than Dartford' in my tastes and dispositions, and this may go for theory also. I prefer careful and cautious discrimination among the evidence, to grand claims which see history as a cumulative triumph of some kind; details matter.... getting it right rather than forming strong prior theoretical affiliation to adhere to.

Future Research

The approach used in this study could be deployed by local authorities (or other bodies) in order to divine their local sacred, or assist in selecting and crafting intelligible objects which assist local authorities and locals alike in divining their local sacred and thereby identify what is practicable in terms of existing local sentiments and capacity for mobilisation. The method has clear application to Town Centre Management especially.

The method I developed, adopted and then applied is designed to be sensitive to heterogeneity, in this case to just how different one local sacred can be from another local sacred. I find these differences to be pronounced. They confirm my initial sense that Uxbridge was for some reason then not understood, polite and diplomatic. We now understand why 'okayness' pervades Uxbridge discourse. It is its sacred. Dartford's inextinguishable belief in its brighter future is as distinctive and the history of this different sacred is now equally well understood. Local sacreds are powerful in the sense that actors do not need to know the histories of the sacred in order to be affected by them.

Like all forms of local variation, variations in the local sacred present a severe, and I think lethal challenge to the propositions a) that places are on convergent paths either to becoming, say, similarly urban or b) converging under the directives of national legislation.

While their national legislative environments have not been identical, Dartford and Uxbridge/Hillingdon have been subjected to many Central Government Acts since the Great Reform Act (1832) and while the same basic services are offered, they are provided with varying degrees of enthusiasm and conviction. Methodologically speaking, researchers will always struggle to bend national contexts to explain local variations and therefore national legislation could not form my primary interest. It is important to compare different local responses to the same national legislation and I have done this in relation to the 1848 Public Health act, for example. In Uxbridge the Act was met by a quieter response which in the end enabled the local works. Dartford's elite was already divided bitterly on the question of filth and Ranger's inspection elicited at least one sustained vitriolic response.

Local acts are more valuable in determining local variations and Dartford's initially conflicted and then firm convictions can be traced in its early lighting and cleansing act, in its ambitious 1902 act and in its pursuit of (largely honorary) Borough status. None of these were done quietly. Uxbridge was forced by the Government to close its cemetery. The ensuing Vestry discussion turned on the relative merits of a commercial scheme and a Parish scheme. The quality of the debates was high but without rancour and Uxbridge settled on a public scheme because it was thought it would be more economical.

Unfortunately, few sources have much to offer by way of explicit identification of what the local sacred is and why local sacreds vary. Fraser's assertion of a 'spirit of the age' dedicated to improvement is acknowledgement of a certain fiery quality to reformers' convictions in the great reforming cities such as Birmingham, Leeds and Manchester. Urban historians tend to agree that the cause of improvement was supported more by big business than small business (which tended to side with economising). But the *exceptions* to this rule (the 'outliers') are particularly informative such as Jardine and Wilks in Dartford, and Don in the 'North' of Hillingdon especially. These are important because they enable us to distinguish between the civic expression of supposedly 'class interests' and the civic expression of local sacreds. A small draper who supports improvement matters because it is possible to infer that they are fired by something besides 'interests'. But even a big business actor who supports a 'cleaner future' should be inspected closely too. Polluters who oppose pollution (Hesketh, Kidd) are, again, not fired by class interests but by something else.

In this study I have therefore paid special and careful attention to these exceptions. They raise the possibility that what we think of as civic *leaders* may be considered as *followers* or *custodians* of a local sacred, at least as much as its creators.

Mention of 'spirit of the age' is lacking careful explanation of why the spirit is as it is found and is weak in dealing why one spirit prevails in some places but not others and in some persons but not others.

It is striking that historians as far apart as Sweet and Fraser ('liberal historians' of what could be called the Leicester School) and Foster, Smith, Hill, Thompson and Hobsbawm (self-described Marxists) all refer in passing at least to evidence which strikes me as redolent of ritual, the sacred, of public affect, ethics and action. None

dwell on the special connections between these elements. The Durkheimian sees and understands what the liberal *and* Marxist historians notice with too little comment.

If done differently, local comparative historical studies have much more to tell.

Questions then arise about ‘where to start’, ‘how much is enough’ and ‘when to stop’. The last of these is the easiest to decide. Once one has divined the local sacred and its main period of formation, then meticulous study of the later decades is much less important than the study of the contested years of its formation. Where to start is a question of picking episodes from local records which express the interaction of each of the elements which I have recommended throughout this study. The researcher will probably find contestations that are emotional, and even violent, the outcome of which will not have been clear at the time, but with successive episodes begin to show some pattern. Once the pattern is established, then the evidence gathering can ease off. But the start-point in local affective histories is harder to settle on. If the researcher has very limited resources, then tracing backwards rather than forwards is probably advisable.

I knew from the beginning that Uxbridge had a quality – its okayness – that called for an explanation. Reflecting on the literature, even the best candidate theory, Durkheim’s essay *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* needed repeated readings in order to extract a workable set of propositions that could be framed in such a way as to differentiate places in a way that he did not aim to or perhaps could not manage. I have engaged with his thoughts as a means of clarifying his methods to the point they could be applied to the seemingly mundane details of local civic disagreements. The community studies literature, which was largely Durkheim-inspired, relied on a rural-urban continuum on which most places were determined to be urban even if they were *urbs in rure* (Pahl, 1965). My chief contribution has been to show that comparative local study is a viable intellectual enterprise after all. Civic totems are invested with more affective history than most would suspect, including the unofficial slogans: ‘Dirty Dartford’ or ‘Sleepy Town on Colne.

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