



GLASGOW

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GLASGOW

Throughout Glasgow's history the river Clyde has exercised a dominant influence upon the city's topography and development. From the mid-16th century onwards the Clyde river and its estuary offered opportunities for maritime traffic which were unparalleled in western Scotland; and these unique opportunities were exploited with an equal measure of local enterprise. Even in its earliest days, before river traffic reached commercially significant proportions, the shelter afforded by the valley itself encouraged settlement.¹ The valley floor was of glacially-deposited sands, gravels, and clays, sheltered, mild and moist in climate, drained by terraces and by small hills or drumlins, and densely wooded, to judge from the evidence of place names.² Between the river bank and the colder, exposed moorlands, which ran parallel to it, lay the zone of the first routeways and earliest building, elevated some 150 feet above sea level: the site of the cathedral and of the *Quadrivium*, or cross road of Drygate, Rottenrow, and the High Street.³

The early site of building, therefore, was at a little distance from the river and approached by a fairly steep incline up the High Street,⁴ but the river-crossing exercised a strong influence upon subsequent building, tending to draw the centre of secular affairs downhill and southwards—a tendency probably accelerated by the siting of the market, granted in the 12th century. The river-crossing itself was a natural ford, only twelve or fifteen inches deep at low water; and the ford remained the route for all heavy traffic even after Bishop Rae's stone bridge had been built in the 14th century.⁵

Early Settlement

The earliest evidence of permanent settlement in Glasgow's immediate locality occurs in the Neolithic period, approximately 3,500-1,900 B.C. Several undifferentiated long cairns and two stone burial chambers of the Clyde-Solway type are to be found in the area between the city and the Campsie Hills, which lie a few miles to the north-west.⁶ Within the area of the city itself a few fragments of pottery, and axe heads of jadeite and flint have been found which date to the later neolithic period, but the dug-out canoes, excavated at London Street, St. Enoch Square, and other sites, between 1780 and 1825, are of a simple type which may well have continued in use throughout the Dark Ages.⁷ Even if these small dug-out canoes merit the great antiquity which earlier writers assigned to them,⁸ their presence cannot legitimately be made to bear too great a weight of generalization concerning trade and settlement, for the subsequent incidence of finds from the later periods of pre-history is unusually slight. There are a few cups, urns, and axe-heads from the early and middle Bronze Age, excavated from suburban sites at Milngavie and Cathcart, but very little from the later Bronze Age or the Iron Age.⁹

It may be argued, of course, that the lack of evidence for extensive periods of pre-history is not surprising in a city which was so densely and completely built up by the mid-19th century; but, on the other hand, there is no shortage of finds—mostly coins—from the Roman period, within the city's boundaries.¹⁰ Yet even the plentiful evidence from the Roman period suggests that the site of Glasgow was relatively undeveloped. The nearest legionary fortress was at Balmuidy, several miles to the north. The nearest fortlets on the Antonine wall lie in the suburb of Bearsden, and at Old Kilpatrick, near the exit to the Forth-Clyde canal.¹¹

The choice of Old Kilpatrick—ten miles west of Glasgow—for the termination of the Antonine wall may be said to pay left-handed tribute to the strategic importance of the ford at Glasgow, since it threw a curtain wall along the north bank of the Clyde to a point sufficiently far downstream to render the crossing difficult. But the Romans evidently did not feel it necessary to erect permanent buildings at the river-crossing itself during the half-century they occupied the wall, and literary evidence suggests that the typical settlement pattern of the tribal Damnonii, who occupied the locality, was that of small and widely-dispersed homesteads.¹²

In the Dark Ages the site at Glasgow continued in obscurity, the chosen capital of the British kingdom of Strathclyde being not at the Clyde's shallow ford but fifteen miles west, where the great natural rock at Dumbarton provided easy defence and commanding views. However, the high ground between the Molendinar and Glasgow burns, or streams, had evidently attracted some form of permanent and defended settlement by the 5th century, when St. Ninian was reputed to have consecrated a cemetery on the site now covered by the south transept of Glasgow cathedral.¹³ It was to this spot that St. Kentigern returned, according to Jocelyn of Furness, when the British King of

The following special abbreviations have been used:—

<i>Burgh Records</i>	James D. Marwick, <i>Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, 1573-1717</i> (4 vols., 1876-1908).
<i>Early Glasgow</i>	James D. Marwick, <i>Early Glasgow</i> (1911).
<i>Glasgow Charters</i>	James D. Marwick and Robert Renwick, <i>Charters and other Documents relating to the City of Glasgow, 1175-1707</i> (2 vols., 1894-1906).
<i>Glasgow History</i>	Robert Renwick and John Lindsay, <i>History of Glasgow</i> (1921), vol. i., G. Eyre Todd (1931), vol. ii.
<i>Glasgow Memorials</i>	Robert Renwick, <i>Glasgow Memorials</i> (1908).
<i>Glasgow Protocols</i>	Robert Renwick, <i>Abstracts of Protocols of the Town Clerks of Glasgow, 1530-1600</i> (11 vols., 1894-1900).
<i>Reg. Epis. Glas.</i>	<i>Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis</i> , ed. Cosmo Innes (Maitland Club, 1843).

¹ R. Miller, 'The Geography of the Glasgow Region', *The Glasgow Region: a General Survey* (ed. R. Miller and J. Tivy, 1958), 1 sqq.

² Woodlands, Woodside, Blythswood. The marshy and flooded nature of many of the lands bordering the river is attested in haugh endings: Provosthaugh, Linningshaugh, Kelvinhaugh, Parson's Haugh.

³ Drygate (in its Latinised form *Via Arida*) describes the route's outstanding physical characteristic.

⁴ The gradient of the High Street has been altered by work executed under the Glasgow Improvement Act of 1866, but in 1832 was 1 in 13.88: A. McLellan, *Essay on the Cathedral of Glasgow*, 136.

⁵ The bridge was of stone, steeply inclined, with eight arches, and replaced an earlier wooden bridge. Its width was only 12 feet, and it was unsuitable even for two-wheeled traffic. The ford was in use until the later 1770s: J. Pagan, *Sketch of the History of Glasgow*, 161. James Brown's sketch c.1776 shows wheeled traffic using the ford: *Glasgow Memorials*, opp. p. 72.

⁶ J. G. Scott, *South West Scotland* (Regional Archaeologies series, 1966), 19; H. Fairhurst, 'The Clyde in Pre-History', *The Glasgow Region*, 119-26.

⁷ Preserved in the Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow.

⁸ D. Murray, *Early Burgh Organization in Scotland*, i. 543-60.

⁹ J. G. Scott, *op.cit.* 48-54.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 64.

¹¹ Anne S. Robertson, *Trans. Glasgow Arch. Soc.* 1960, 78-89.

¹² *Idem.*, 'The Roman Period', *The Glasgow Region*, 129.

¹³ Jocelyn of Furness, *Vita Kentigerni*, quoted in D. Murray, *op.cit.* i. 575-6. For the latest views on the Ninianic controversy see A. C. Thomas, *Christianity in Britain 300-700* (1968), 94-6. Professor Thomas also stresses the cemetery as 'an important, and underrated element in this story,' and suggests it might have been 'a sub-Roman undeveloped cemetery, still recognizable as such e.g. by its enclosing bank or shape,' *ibid.* 110. I am grateful to M. W. Barley for drawing to this my attention.

Strathclyde, Rydderch Hael, embraced Christianity late in the 6th century; and it was here that Rydderch Hael, Kentigern, and 665 accompanying saints were reputedly laid to rest.¹⁴ At the same time, or shortly afterwards, the place name of Gleschu may have been attached to the now sacred area on the western bank of the Molendinar burn. According to the historian of the medieval church in Glasgow, the place name was actually bestowed by Kentigern himself, and signified 'the dear family, or church'; though others have argued, more simply, that it derives from Celtic roots, describing the physical characteristics of the area: 'green field', or 'dear green place'.¹⁵ The evidence upon which theories concerning the place-name's origins, and Kentigern's movements, are founded is itself so slight as to permit wide latitude of interpretation. What remains of major importance for Glasgow's history is that, however flimsy the legends concerning the holy site may seem, they were not merely credited, but officially enshrined as an article of lay belief, and commemorated in stone, by the 12th-century bishops of Glasgow.

The Origins of the Burgh

The origins and character of the burgh of Glasgow, like those of many other English and European towns, have been the subject of divergent interpretation.¹⁶ Some writers have held that the burgh 'emerged silently' in Scotland, either from agricultural communities, or from settlement around castles or great religious houses, and that its appearance in the 12th century is 'sudden in record' rather than in fact.¹⁷ To others the burgh has seemed a clear act of legal creation and of artifice. 'To identify or postulate the presence of a population group is one thing; to account for a burgh is quite another . . . The key-word to the burgh is creation, not growth.'¹⁸ The disagreement already implicit in these views has been further compounded by debate upon the complexities of the precise legal status granted in Glasgow's charters. What exactly was the city awarded by the charters of Burgh of Barony (1175-8), Burgh of Regality (1450), or Royal Burgh (1611), and were these formal awards merely written recognitions of privileges already granted to Glasgow by custom or by the king's 'word of Mouth'?¹⁹ The evidence standing behind the divergent interpretations by historians of the town, though perhaps not less satisfactory for Glasgow than for many other towns in this period, is still relatively slight in extent and inconclusive in nature.²⁰ It neither seems likely to be supplemented significantly, nor calculated to lend itself to definitive re-interpretation.²¹

The one sure guide through the confusing period when Glasgow formally emerged as a burgh, in the 12th century, is the ecclesiastical character of the legal and economic identity created. The formal re-establishment of the Bishopric of Glasgow by David I in 1115 preceded the written grant of burghal privileges and status by seventy years, and might be said to foreshadow them.²² The fourth bishop, upon whom the mantle of the Celtic saints had fallen, was, in fact, the same Jocelyn who, as already mentioned, commissioned his namesake, Jocelyn of Furness, to record the life of St. Kentigern; and one might well view Bishop Jocelyn's civic charter from William the Lion (1175-8), as being merely another monument to the importance and sacred associations of the site between the Molendinar and Glasgow burns.²³ It is significant that the formal wording of the charter grants a weekly market, the King's Peace in going and coming throughout the land, and a burgh at Glasgow to 'God and St. Kentigern, and Jocelyn, Bishop of Glasgow'.²⁴

By origin, therefore, Glasgow stands alongside many other cities in England and Europe which were closely linked with great ecclesiastical foundations; and in its early years it ranked next only to St. Andrew's in precedence and wealth as a Scottish cathedral city. In both cases the existence of an enclave of literacy, and the concentration of influence which the Bishops enjoyed, led to the establishment of collegiate Universities.²⁵ The large endowments of the Cathedral, the system of residential prebendaries, the establishment of a Dominican priory, of various hospitals, and a Franciscan monastery, the large traffic of pilgrims—at first to see the shrines, the well, and other holy sites, later to obtain plenary indulgence and present their offerings at the high altar:²⁶ all these consequences of Glasgow's erection as an episcopal burgh of barony have an economic as well as cultural significance. The stimulus to urban growth which the concentration of academic and clerical institutions might give to an already promising, but neglected, situation is well-known.

Of course, the growth involved was small between the 12th and 15th centuries, and must not be exaggerated. Glasgow's population at the time the University was founded, in 1450, has been estimated at only 1,500; and at the time of the Reformation (1560) it is said to have been only 4,500. This figure rose to 7,500 in the early 17th century, to 13,000 at the time of the Union (1707), and to 84,000 by the end of the 18th century.²⁷ But although the marked acceleration of growth which set Glasgow upon its distinctive course towards metropolitan size was essentially a product of the 18th century, and owed nothing to the church or her institutions, there can be no doubt of the church's importance for the first four centuries of Glasgow's burghal existence. As detailed below, the architecture and topography of the medieval town can be described almost entirely in terms of the building undertaken by the various orders and charities. The employment which they offered considerably widened the very limited range of Glasgow's early craft and market activity—the medieval trades of fulling, tanning, and skinning, and of fishing, which had begun to take up quarters in the lower part of the town, near the river.²⁸

¹⁴ W. F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland* (2nd ed. 1886-90), ii. 189-90, 260. This probably refers to the (exaggerated) number of monks who accompanied St. Kentigern from Wales: *Glasgow History*, i. 17.

¹⁵ J. Primrose, *Medieval Glasgow* (1913), 6-12; W. G. Black, *Trans. Glasgow Arch. Soc.* (1883), 219-28.

¹⁶ W. M. Mackenzie, *The Scottish Burghs*, 1-14.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 2, 7.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 14. This is Mackenzie's own view.

¹⁹ G. S. Pryde, 'The City and Burgh of Glasgow, 1170-1750', *The Glasgow Region*, 134-9.

²⁰ *Early Glasgow*, and the works already noted by Murray, Mackenzie, Pryde, and Renwick.

²¹ See list of abbreviated titles, and J. D. Marwick, *Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs, 1295-1738* (5 vols., 1866-85); *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis* (3 vols., Maitland Club edn., 1854).

²² *Early Glasgow*, 8-9, citing Inquest of 1115.

²³ *Reg. Epis. Glas.*, i. 38, 42.

²⁴ *Loc.cit.* Cited earlier in translation in J. Gibson, *The History of Glasgow* (1777), 300.

²⁵ J. Primrose, *op.cit.* 136.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 87.

²⁷ All these estimates, except the last, are approximations. J. Cleland, *Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow*, 200; *idem*, *Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the City of Glasgow*, 3; *Glasgow History*, i. 181, 292; D. Murray, *op.cit.* i. 51.

²⁸ The earlier street-names for Stockwell Street and Saltmarket were Fishergate and Walkergate (*via Piscatorum* and *vicus Fullonum*).

Above all, the residence of the bishop gave a security and importance to Glasgow quite out of proportion to the city's modest size and activity. Bishops William de Bondington (1233-1258), Robert Wishart (1272-1316), John Cameron (1426-1446), William Turnbull (1446-1455), and Andrew Muirhead (1455-1473), Archbishops Robert Blackadder (1484-1508), James Beaton (1509-1522), and Gavin Dunbar (1524-47) were all men whose roles in secular affairs were at least as important as their services to the church. Some were connected by birth with the landed nobility, others self-made careerists, but the range of their functions was so wide as to make it certain that the city which was the seat of their cathedral, palace, and court, could not slide into obscurity or poverty. They held, at various times, the offices of tutor to the King, Councillor of Regency, Chancellor of Scotland, and were entrusted with the levying of papal taxes, and with foreign missions to arrange royal marriages, or to act as ambassadors to the courts of Renaissance Italy and Spain.²⁹ During the Scottish Wars of Independence they were required to give guidance upon matters of succession and loyalty, and during the 16th-century Border wars to pronounce formal curses upon the raiders.³⁰ In addition, they exercised wide powers of dispensing local justice, in lay as well as ecclesiastical affairs, through their Consistorial Court, which brought into Glasgow a large concourse of litigants and suitors three times a week.³¹

The reflected importance which Glasgow's bishops bestowed upon the city was not marred by friction between town and church. A mill was granted to the townspeople upon the banks of the Molendinar for a nominal annual payment of two pounds of wax candles to light St. Kentigern's shrine.³² The nomination of the bailies, though it lay within the bishop's choice, was exercised with a discretion which has been remembered in anecdote.³³ The town's interests were well served by the bishop's provision of hospitals for paupers and for those suffering from the two scourges of the Middle Ages—leprosy and the pest;³⁴ and the interests of town and church were at one in securing confirmation of chartered rights to markets and fairs, in securing local rights to weighing and customing goods, in the assertion of civic trade privileges against neighbouring burghs, and in the improvement of communications.³⁵ In all these matters the wealth and influence of the bishops was extremely useful to the burgesses; and although episcopal administration was autocratic, it was not oppressive. No quarrel is recorded between the townspeople and bishop until the Reformation.

The Medieval Town Plan

The most important buildings in medieval Glasgow, not surprisingly, were the cathedral and Bishop's Palace, situated just to the north of the 'Wyndheid', or junction formed by Rottenrow, Drygate, High, and Kirk Streets. Indeed, nearly all the street-frontages of this northern quarter were occupied by the episcopal buildings just mentioned, by Blackadder's and St. Nicholas's Hospitals, and the manses and gardens of the residential prebends.

The cathedral itself had been partly constructed and dedicated in 1136, though no trace of this early structure survives. Bishop Jocelyn substantially enlarged the building between 1181 and 1197, partially completing the choir, nave, and transepts.³⁶ The capital for the execution of this work came from several sources; principally the teinds (tithes) and land grants, with which the bishopric had been generously endowed, but also a loan of 1,400 merks from Florentine merchants.³⁷ The building material was a local sandstone, probably from a quarry near the Glasgow Burn.³⁸ The fabric of the cathedral was added to in 1240 by Bishop William de Bondington, who completed the crypt (lower church) and choir above. In this case funds were raised by the granting of indulgences to those who contributed; Latin mass being interrupted in the cathedral, and in all parish churches, by an announcement 'in the vulgar tongue' concerning the indulgences.³⁹ Other additions to the fabric included two towers—a campanile and a treasury—in the late 13th century, the large central tower, the chapter-house, and the crypt to the south of the transept in the 15th century.

The Bishop's Palace, or Glasgow Castle, lying slightly to the west of the cathedral, was designed to resist armed onslaughts. It consisted of a large central keep—with vaulted kitchen, banqueting hall and apartments—surrounded by a ditch, which was crossed on the northern side by a drawbridge.⁴⁰ Around this central structure were added at various times a curtain wall and several towers and gatehouses. Although it was reputedly captured in the 13th century by a small force under Wallace, after a skirmish in the High Street, the main attacks upon it took place in the 16th century, in 1516, 1517, 1544, 1560, 1568, and 1570.⁴¹ The cannon used in the later sieges reduced the castle to a ruin, and the Reformation removed the principal reason for its existence. It was used for some time by the Protestant bishops, and later as a prison, before its demolition in 1792.⁴²

The area around the castle and cathedral was set aside for the residential manses belonging to the canons. At first twenty-three in number, the chapter was increased to thirty-two by 1440, and each prebendary was required to provide his own church with a vicar when cathedral duties required his own presence in town.⁴³ These thirty-two manses, which were two-storey stone buildings with stair-case towers, wooden balconies, and extensive gardens, dominated the topography of the northern quarter of the town until the late 17th century, and are clearly visible in Captain

²⁹ J. Primrose, *op.cit. passim*.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 43-57, 183-4.

³¹ John M'Ure, *History of Glasgow* (1830 edn.), 74.

³² *Glasgow Charters*, i (2), 25.

³³ *Reg. Epis. Glas.* ii. 580; J. Gibson, *op.cit.* 312-3.

³⁴ *Glasgow Memorials*, 247-65.

³⁵ *Reg. Epis. Glas.* i. 36, 38, 112-3, 149; *Glasgow Charters*, i (2), 79-88; *ibid.* 12, 28.

³⁶ *Early Glasgow*, 8; *Glasgow History*, i. 78. The inaccessible source materials are gathered together, and the latest results of field work reported in C. A. Raleigh Radford and E. L. G. Stones, 'The Remains of the Cathedral of Bishop Jocelyn at Glasgow (c. 1197)', *Antiquaries Journal*, xlv, 220-32. Bondington's two-storey extension involved the demolition of a good part of Jocelyn's building: *ibid.* 221.

³⁷ *Glasgow History*, i. 48; J. Primrose, *op.cit.* 21.

³⁸ Cracklington quarry, now (1968) the site of Queen Street station: *Glasgow History*, i. 105.

³⁹ J. Primrose, *op.cit.* 23-33.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 248; *Early Glasgow*, 64-5.

⁴¹ J. Primrose, *op.cit.* 163-7, 192-6, 221-6; *Early Glasgow*, 65-6, 79, 94-5, 117-9.

⁴² To make way for the Royal Infirmary. See plan of castle and infirmary in J. Gordon, *Glasghu Facies* (1873), i. 251.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 252-65; *Glasgow Memorials*, 207-24; and *infra* main map.

John Slezer's view of the city in 1694.⁴⁴ The northern quarter had been 'entertained and upheld' by these 'great and sumptuous buildings', the resort of bishops, parsons, vicars, and others of the clergy, and so greatly felt the loss caused by their dilapidation and decay after the Reformation that it petitioned Parliament to take measures to relieve the area by providing alternative employment. It suggested removing one of the markets—of salt, or of beer and malt—from the cross at Trongate to the upper part of the town; a symbolic tribute to the alteration in the city's economic centre of balance in the 16th century.⁴⁵

The other buildings in the northern quarter, and in the area immediately south of Drygate and Rottenrow, were likewise ecclesiastical in nature or origin. Nearest to the cathedral were the two almshouses, St. Nicholas's hospital, founded by Bishop Andrew Muirhead in the mid-15th century, and Blackadder's hospital founded about 1524 by a nephew of Archbishop Robert Blackadder.⁴⁶ In both cases the foundations were endowed with further slices of episcopal land within the central area of the city, to provide rents in money or in kind for the hospitals' maintenance.

Further south, one of the principal buildings on the south side of Rottenrow was the old Pedagogy, the original site of University teaching in the 1450s.⁴⁷ A quarter of a mile further south again, was the Dominican friary. The Dominicans, or Friar Preachers, had arrived in Glasgow about 1246, when the customary indulgence (of forty days) was offered to those contributing to the completion of the church, two halls, kitchens, and chambers 'with houses above'. On the opposite side of the High Street lay the tenement granted in the late 15th century to the Franciscans, or Friars Minor. At the Reformation their friary was abandoned and destroyed, the site passing eventually to the University.⁴⁸ The church of the Dominican friary was left standing, but the adjacent ground of the convent was used for the Nova Erectio, the college built in 1563-73.⁴⁹ This change of use was less marked than others which followed the Reformation, for both the Blackfriars and their new neighbour were clerical in origin.

The University itself was erected by a Bull of Pope Nicholas V, 7th January 1451, and modelled upon the University of Bologna: Glasgow, in the words of the Bull, 'being a place of renown where the air is mild and victuals are plentiful . . . we erect a University in the said city and decree and also ordain that henceforth such University may flourish in all time to come forever.'⁵⁰ In fact the University was far from flourishing in its early years, annual matriculations being numbered in mere dozens or scores; and at the Reformation its endowments were also confiscated for a time, though the secular value of a 'good cheap market of all kinds of languages, arts, and sciences' was sufficiently evident to cause its re-instatement.⁵¹

Apart from the Grammar School, founded in 1460 on a tenement to the west of the High Street presented by one of the prebends, the remaining hospitals and chapels were situated peripherally, in what were then the outskirts of the city.⁵² Partly there was a deliberate intention to isolate them, as with the Chapel of St. Roche, founded c.1506, almost half a mile north of Stable Green Port, or the Hospital of St. Ninian, founded in 1350 and situated at the south-east end of the bridge, on the south bank. The former of these chapels was dedicated to the remarkable 14th-century saint who had devoted his life to caring for the plague-stricken, and his name, in the form St. Rollox, was attached to a six-acre site for chapel and burial ground on the Boroughmuir.⁵³ The second hospital, situated outside the gates and dedicated to St. Ninian, was for lepers, who were ordered to be 'secluded from the town'.⁵⁴ Both sites fell into disuse in the 17th century as leprosy and pestilence disappeared, and were sold for other uses.⁵⁵

The primary function of the city's ports (or gates) may be seen from the location of these two sites. During visitations of the plague the gates were closed, and entry via the 'tails', or back-yards, forbidden by the Burgh authorities.⁵⁶ It was for these purposes, and for the regulation of trade and public order, rather than for any military reasons, that the various ports were constructed. Indeed Glasgow never had, at any time in its history, a defensive wall encompassing the city itself—a token of its relatively peaceful and out-of-the-way situation, compared with other Scottish cities to the east and south-east, which lay more directly on the route of raids and invasions.

The remaining chapels were both later foundations, about 1500, and dedicated to the principal figure in Glasgow's history, St. Kentigern, and to his mother St. Tenew. By the usual process of change the name of St. Tenew's chapel and croft, which lay just beyond the West Port, was corrupted to St. Enoch's. Little St. Kentigern's chapel, alternatively known as St. Mungo's in the Fields, lay at a similar distance of a few hundred yards beyond the East Port.⁵⁷ In both cases a burial ground was attached to the churches, and this suggests a further reason, apart from their relatively late foundation, for their location upon the outskirts.

In contrast to all that has been described above, were the modest secular buildings which occupied the lower part of the town. Along Gallowgate and Trongate small booths were to be found, sometimes with storage lofts above, on either side of the Market Cross; and Saltmarket and High Street were lined with wooden and thatched cottages, sometimes built 'high and low', i.e. 'with street frontage' or 'with access through a yard, or close'. Most of the houses on Trongate, and on Stockwell street, had kilns, small barns, and malting troughs attached to them in their 'tails' or gardens.⁵⁸ Stone buildings with slate roofs were a rarity, and some idea of the primitive nature of the ac-

⁴⁴ J. Primrose, *op.cit.* 94; D. Murray, *op.cit.* i. 54-5. For view see *Early Glasgow*, 64-5.

⁴⁵ *Glasgow Charters*, i (2), 213-5, 243.

⁴⁶ *Glasgow Memorials*, 255-65.

⁴⁷ *Regality Club*, iii. 65-8.

⁴⁸ *Glasgow Protocols*, nos. 1217, 1370, 2242, 2291.

⁴⁹ *Glasgow Charters*, i (2), 129-30, 149-62.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 31-5.

⁵¹ J. Primrose, *op.cit.* 97.

⁵² *Glasgow Charters*, i (2), 436.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 97-9; *Glasgow Memorials*, 134, 238-41.

⁵⁴ *Burgh Records*, i. 19 Jan. 1574.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* ii. 29 Mar. 1656.

⁵⁶ D. Murray, *op.cit.* i. 259-61. Written reference to the gates dates mostly to the 16th century, although they were probably earlier in construction. All were removed 1740-55, after which time the 'ladle' dues on market goods were levied at the nearest turnpike.

⁵⁷ *Glasgow History*, i. 283; *Glasgow Memorials*, 227-32, 236-8.

⁵⁸ *Reg. Epis. Glas.* ii. 438, 474; *Glasgow Protocols*, no. 2344.

commodation of the craftsmen and local tradesmen of the 13th to 16th centuries can be gained from the engravings and water-colour sketches made of old houses in Stockwell Street, Saltmarket, and Gallowgate in the late 18th or early 19th century. Thatch or earth roofs and two-storey construction was common, and the buildings are not merely old and dilapidated, but would have been unimpressive even when they were in pristine condition.

The number of stone secular buildings of any size or importance remained small until the early or mid-18th century. The Tolbooth, the booth at which the market charges were levied, was situated immediately next to the market-cross, at the junction of the four main roads of the lower town—Trongate, Gallowgate, Saltmarket, and High Street. In time other civic functions were transacted in the same premises, which were enlarged to include a council hall, gaol, and court-house.⁵⁹ These were certainly in use by the early 16th century, and possibly a good deal earlier; in 1626 a five-storey stone Tolbooth was built on the site of the old one, and remained in service during the 17th and 18th centuries. It is uncertain, however, how long the old custom of holding the thrice yearly open-air head courts continued. The Michaelmas court was reputedly held at the Simmerhill, just under a mile west of the cathedral, on the edge of the jointly-owned Wester Common; those at Yule and Easter were held on the open land known as Muthill or Mutland croft between Trongate and Bridgegate, just north of the river.⁶⁰ Moreover these spaces remained open and unbuilt for a long time, Simmerhill until the 19th century, and even the centrally placed Muthill until the 16th century. The extent of building remained very strictly defined, along both sides of Gallowgate, but only as far as the Molendinar burn, and both sides of Saltmarket to its junction with Bridgegate, after which the frontages became less nearly continuous. A few houses and booths lined the upper part of Stockwell Street, and both the southern and northern sides of Trongate as far as the West Port. Secular buildings, yards, and markets also lined both sides of the High Street, as it climbed up towards the Rottenrow and Drygate crossing, and towards the cathedral.⁶¹ But it must be emphasized that these buildings merely formed thin ribbons of development along the streets, and even in the 16th century the areas to the west and east of Stockwell Street (St. Tenew's croft, the Old Green, and Mutland croft) remained open land. Similarly, the area a little further north, now as densely built as any in Glasgow, was quite open. Between Trongate and Rottenrow were the lands of Langcroft and Meadowflats, upon which the only landmarks were the drove routes for cattle returning from pasture on the commons—'Cow lone' and 'Back Cow lone'.⁶² To the east of the High Street, building only extended a little way, and agricultural 'rigs' or holdings thereafter ran eastwards to the Molendinar.

Evidence of the trades and crafts followed by those who occupied these tenements is sparse for the earlier period, and the fourteen incorporated trades were not recognised until the 16th century. Incidental references in documents dating back to 1270 refer to individuals who were skimmers, dyers, and fullers (or waulkers), and to bakers and fishermen; references are also made to land upon which were pits used for liming and tanning.⁶³ So it may be assumed that the essential catering crafts, together with those concerned with preparing and processing cattle-hides, sheepskins, herring, and salmon, could be found represented from the mid or late 12th century. Certainly when the incorporated trades did emerge into public light they included amongst their numbers Skinners and Furriers (incorporated 1516), Websters, or Weavers (1528), Tailors (1546) and Dyers; these were soon formally joined by the other indispensable urban crafts of mason, wright, hammerman (or smith), baker, and flesher (or butcher). The numbers of members in individual guilds, however, were still inconsiderable, even in the 16th century. The freemen of the Skinners and Furriers, for example, totalled only eleven.⁶⁴

Further employment and residence was afforded to those who marketed the produce of the area. At first, in 1175, there is reference only to one undifferentiated market, and the goods offered for sale there were exhibited in the Trongate and other streets immediately next to the cross. There was no open square, or place, as in many English cities, but Trongate itself was of unusually generous width and able to accommodate the 'crames' or stalls. By the 16th century more specialized market-places had been established; for linen and woollen cloth, above and below the Market Cross; for fruit and vegetables in Gallowgate.⁶⁵ The flesh, or meat, market was placed slightly north of Trongate, upon the lower part of a rig in Langcroft purchased by the Council in 1637. The meal-market was in the yard of the Blackfriars, or (from 1636) on the opposite (west) side of the High Street. The horse-market was also there. The fish-market was at the West Port, the Grass-market by the new or Tron church. Here also was the actual Tron, or weighing place, for the goods offered for sale.⁶⁶ The significance attached to these markets can perhaps best be illustrated by the gradual superseding of the older street names—St. Tenew's Gate becoming Trongate and Walker Gate becoming Saltmarket. The enclosing of the markets and their removal from the streets was largely a task for the late 18th century. By this date the annual fair in July, granted by William the Lion in the last decade of the 12th century, had less commercial than social significance. Horse and cattle sales were transacted, but primarily the occasion was notable for the rough and bawdy entertainment offered.⁶⁷

Burghal Landownership and Government at the Reformation

Although, as has just been suggested, the number of burgesses was relatively small in medieval Glasgow, they shared the commercial and legal privileges which were customary to all burgesses, and they were freemen—unlike the inhabitants of the outskirts, Woodside, Shettleston, Possil, Cowcaddens, Govan, Monkland, and Cadder, who were the bishop's bondsmen.⁶⁸ Burgesses were able, therefore, to hold land directly, in their own names, and the ownership

⁵⁹ *Glasgow History*, i. 65; J. Gordon, *Glasghu Facies* (1873), i. 375-80.

⁶⁰ See map of Burghal Lands, and D. Murray, *op.cit.* i. 187 sqq.

⁶¹ A sketch plan showing the probable extent of building in the 16th century is printed in *Glasgow Protocols*, i.

⁶² See map of Burghal Lands.

⁶³ *Reg. Epis. Glas.* i. 181, 198; ii. 519, 608.

⁶⁴ G. Crawford, *A Sketch of the Trades' House* (1858), *passim*; D. Murray, *op.cit.* i. 361-4.

⁶⁵ *Burgh Records*, i. 3 Oct. 1577, 19 Aug. 1582, 18 Jan. 1595.

⁶⁶ *Glasgow Memorials*, 5, 84.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 204-5; J. Gordon, *op.cit.* i. 577-81.

⁶⁸ *Reg. Epis. Glas.* i. 143, 148.

of a plot of burgage land was, in fact, the token of burgh status, even if the owner in question was 'furth-dwelling', or non-resident.⁶⁹ The portions were originally laid out in narrow 'rigs' or 'roods', a furrow-long (220 yards), in length, and about 5½ yards in width, though these units were sometimes grouped in pairs, side by side, to make a somewhat broader strip of half an acre's extent. Subdivision of the plots took place almost invariably as soon as building began, and even on the tofts which were still open, topographical features distorted this abstract plan.⁷⁰ Nevertheless the 'tails', or gardens, mentioned earlier, often represented the survival of the rig or burgage plot, and they were to be found even in properties advertised for sale in the late 18th century.⁷¹

These burgage rigs serve largely to explain the configuration of the lower part of the town, to the north and south of Argyle Street and Trongate. One rig provided just enough space for the formation of a narrow alley way—a Vennel or a Wynd in local terminology—and there is record of single rigs being purchased to secure access and right of way in this manner.⁷² The larger streets were sometimes formed by taking eight rigs (as with Miller Street) or ten rigs (as with Queen Street).⁷³ This provided enough land to form a generous roadway, with space left over for house frontages at both sides. Before the speculative value of the sites, if used for building purposes, had become so apparent in the second quarter of the 18th century, the rigs were sometimes purchased to supply space for a town mansion with lengthy avenue approaches, and the private dwelling was later demolished to form a street with building plots for sale at both sides. This was the way in which Virginia and Buchanan Streets were originally formed.⁷⁴ A variant upon the same procedure may be seen in Hutcheson Street, where four rigs, side by side, had originally been purchased by the Patrons of Hutchesons' Hospital as a site for their almshouse in 1643. In the 1780s the site was sold, the hospital demolished, and a new street cut through the gardens from Back Cow Lane down to Trongate.⁷⁵ In the case of each of these streets (except Buchanan Street) their length is almost exactly a furlong. Similarly, although the frontages offered on each side of the newly-cut streets are varied according to functional requirements, there is a tendency for the north and south frontages along Argyle Street and Trongate, and the west frontages of Stockwell Street, to be divided into multiples of the conventional width of a rig.⁷⁶

It is worth dwelling upon the units of burgh ownership in some detail, for they help to explain, to a great extent, the apparently arbitrary topography of the lower town, as it expanded in the 17th and 18th centuries. The size and shape of the unit, though evolved for convenience of tillage, could hardly have been better devised for the convenience of speculative builders opening up the new town. For everyone involved in such an enterprise the ideal was to be able to offer for sale properties consisting entirely of frontages, rather than awkwardly shaped blocks of land. Such blocks might well have internal access only by narrow vennels or alley-ways. The property built in such a situation, without frontal access, was of low value and usually of poor character; and even if the sacrifice of land were made in order to form an internal road of reasonable width, there was the distinct probability that it would be badly aligned in relation to existing roads outside the property concerned. Only if the blocks of land acquired were exceptionally large—as they were when the Ramshorn, Meadowflats, and Blythswood lands came onto the market in the 1770s—could such considerations be ignored. But even here the procedure deliberately adopted was to lay out the area in a grid-iron pattern, with as many expensive frontages, and as few shabby 'back-lands' as possible: in other words, to adopt a plan which resembled, in many respects, that which the historical accidents of medieval landownership patterns had already suggested.⁷⁷

Apart from the topographical insights into the town plan which these old tenurial units afford, the actual distribution of ownership, and the manner in which transfer was effected in the century after the Reformation, has a further significance. The unusual concentration of episcopal landed wealth which was then available for disposal provided both an additional inducement to seek civic office, and also an unusually large number of opportunities for securing title to urban properties, and to large common or church lands on the fringes of the old city. The loosening of the land market, and the alienation of the common good, in the late 16th and the 17th centuries, produced a transformation of the central and inner districts. In the countryside, the upheaval in property relations which followed the expropriation of the Church has long been appreciated. In the city of Glasgow the changes were no less widespread and complete.

Earlier, in the 14th or 15th centuries, the burgage land had been partly in individual possession, partly in possession of the bishop, of the two orders, the two hospitals, and the prebendaries. There is only one historian who has been bold enough to estimate the numbers involved, and he suggests that there may have been one or two hundred landholding freemen.⁷⁸ The proportion held by the church is not certain.

Apart from the property owned by freemen, the bishop, and the various orders and charities within the 'biggit land' or *terra burgalis*, the religious bodies also held supplementary estates in the *terra campestris*, or tillage land, on the outskirts of the old town. Quite often the sites covered were of great significance for the future development of the city. Thus, for example, St. Nicholas's Hospital held over five acres of central land, in addition to their almshouse, and two acres of this was on the Broomielaw, the future quayside of Glasgow.⁷⁹ The Blackfriars owned thirteen acres and three roods, apart from their site on the High Street. All this fell into the hands of the University after 1560.

⁶⁹ D. Murray, *op.cit.* i. 20, 95.

⁷⁰ References acknowledge the difference between great rigs and curt rigs: *Glasgow Protocols*, nos. 743, 1411.

⁷¹ They are clearly visible in James Barry's map drawn for J. Gibson, *History of Glasgow*, and in the anonymous map accompanying William Fleming's lawsuit, in J. Gordon, *op.cit.* i. 494 sqq.

⁷² *Town Council Minutes*, 24 Dec. 1664, quoted in D. Murray, *op.cit.* i. 106.

⁷³ *Glasgow Past and Present* (1884), ii. 406, 421-2.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 396-405, 446-52.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* i. 526-44.

⁷⁶ Hence the street name suffix—riggs. On open land the ridges dividing the rigs were visible in the 19th century: J. Cleland, *A description of the manner of improving the Green of Glasgow*, 10.

⁷⁷ J. R. Kellett, 'Property Speculators and the Building of Glasgow, 1780-1830', *Scottish Journal of Political Economy*, viii. 211-32.

⁷⁸ D. Murray, *op.cit.* i. 98-100.

⁷⁹ *Glasgow Protocols*, nos. 528-30, 834; *Early Glasgow*, 240.

The Greyfriars, adhering strictly to their vow of poverty, owned little except their convent, which was demolished, and the land escheated.⁸⁰

Some of the other ecclesiastical landholders possessed extensive lands outside the *terra campestris* but on the fringes of the city. Thus, for example, the Prebendaries of the cathedral held Provanside Lands, Parsons Croft, and Wester Craigs to the west, north-west, and east of the cathedral. All these lands were dispersed to secular owners, together with the whole north-central area of the city, where space had been devoted to the manses and their gardens. Some were disposed of by the incumbents to their nephews or brothers, some handed over to Protestant ministers and treated by them as heritable properties, a few went to the Council to defray the upkeep of the cathedral and bridge, some fell into the hands of the lay nobility.⁸¹ The greatest prize, Wester Craigs, became the property of Sir Matthew Stewart of Minto, twice Provost in the 1580s.⁸²

The Bishop's Palace itself, and the lands and superiorities attached to it, also fell into various lay hands after 1560: the Regent Moray, the Earl of Lennox, Sir John Stewart of Minto and his son Walter, before settling firmly in the hands of the Lennoxes.⁸³ Both Stewarts and Lennoxes were appointed Provosts of Glasgow in the two decades following the Reformation, and the dilapidation of episcopal and civic estates began at this time. The merchants and craftsmen petitioned in 1574 against the alienation of common land; and the agent of the refugee Archbishop Beaton, who was still the legal superior, complained in 1568 that the action of the new magistrates 'had made his hair turn from black to white'.⁸⁴

The remaining burghal land was that held in common by the burgesses, for peat digging, fuel gathering, quarrying, and pasture. The part nearest to the city was the Gallowmuir, just to the north of Gallowgate and outside the East Port. This was feued to forty private individuals in the hundred and fifty years after the Reformation.⁸⁵ The other main commons (Easter and Wester commons) were in a bleaker situation to the north of the city and were not feued until the mid-18th century.

Outside the area of burghal land lay the considerable estates granted to the church in Govan, Partick, and other parts of the Barony further east.⁸⁶ On these lands, which were relatively thinly settled, the inhabitants were *nativi*, or 'kindly tenants', unfreemen owing services and payment in kind to the bishop. Over a period of time some services had been commuted to money rents, and in the confusion of titles after the Reformation the 'rentallers' were able to possess themselves of their land by converting their rent into a fixed feu.⁸⁷

Sometimes the lands were simply seized by those 'who considered they had given enough for them by becoming Protestants'.⁸⁸ On other occasions there may have been nominal payments for the land transferred during the late 16th and the 17th century. George Elphinstone, for example, who had been a rentaller of the Archbishop, obtained a feu charter for the lands of Gorbals and Bridgend in 1579 for £6 and eight bolls of meal per year.⁸⁹ He also purchased the lands of Blythswood, to the west of the city—the heart of modern Glasgow's central business district—from one of the Prebendaries for an unspecified sum, and before he died added to his possessions the lands of Woodside, Cowcaddens, and Nether Newton (see Burghal Lands map). In 1594 Elphinstone was knighted, and in 1600 appointed Provost, as the Duke of Lennox's nominee. The close association between landholding and civic office continued throughout the 17th century, and the Bells, Andersons, Walkinshaws, and Campbells all repeated Elphinstone's story. Indeed these four families almost monopolized the offices of Provost and Bailie from 1635-1700, and during this period acquired large holdings of land from the common good of the city.⁹⁰

The Gorbals and Bridgend lands which had belonged to Elphinstone were bought for a fair price by the Trades' House, Hutchesons' Hospital, and the Provost and Burgesses of Glasgow, and subsequently rendered a handsome profit when their development began in the late 18th century.⁹¹ But most of the other lands, which were ripe for development in the early and mid-18th century, were not retained by public bodies but stripped from the town's patrimony. Cowcaddens passed into the hands of Patrick Bell and his family, about 1661, for a sum which is unspecified,⁹² the Walkinshaws bought over 30 acres to the east of the town in the Barrowfield ('Burrowfield'),⁹³ and the lands of Blythswood, 470 acres, immediately to the west of the 16th-century city, were sold in the mid-17th century to the Provost, Colin Campbell.⁹⁴ The Stobcross lands, which were the property of the Andersons, were probably acquired earlier, when the Andersons were rentallers.⁹⁵ The total effect of these transactions was to place a ring of land surrounding the existing city (excepting only on the south bank), in the hands of four families holding civic office.

Much of the industrial and suburban expansion of Glasgow was bound to take place over these lands, and, in doing so, greatly enhance their value. The first two industrial villages on Glasgow's outskirts were those of Calton to the east, formed on Walkinshaw's land in the first decade of the 18th century, and of Anderston to the west, formed on Anderson's land in the second decade.⁹⁶ In both cases the process of feuing and developing these satellite villages was taken over more energetically by John Orr in the 1720s and 1730s.⁹⁷ The Bells' lands at Cowcaddens

⁸⁰ J. Gordon, *op.cit.* i. 338-41.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* 252-67; and see Burghal Lands map.

⁸² J. Gordon, *op.cit.* ii. 745-9.

⁸³ *Glasgow History*, ii. 27, 67.

⁸⁴ *Burgh Records*, i. 1 May 1574, 21 June 1576; *Glasgow History*, ii. 28.

⁸⁵ *Glasgow Past and Present* (1884), ii. 490.

⁸⁶ 45,000 acres altogether. *Regality Club*, iv. 141 sqq.

⁸⁷ J. Gordon, *op.cit.* ii. 1143; J. Gibson, *op.cit.* 61.

⁸⁸ J. Gordon, *op.cit.* i. 473.

⁸⁹ *Glasgow History*, ii. 122, 127.

⁹⁰ *Regality Club*, ii. 110 sqq.; *Glasgow Past and Present*, ii. 210-1.

⁹¹ *Glasgow Past and Present*, iii. 398, 449.

⁹² *Ibid.* ii. 210.

⁹³ *Ibid.* i. 11.

⁹⁴ J. Gordon, *op.cit.* i. 467-72.

⁹⁵ *Idem.* ii. 1123; *Regality Club*, iv. 187-212.

⁹⁶ J. Gordon, *op.cit.* ii. 818.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 1125.

became the centre of Glasgow's malting, brewing, dyeing, and chemical industry; a location re-enforced by the construction there of the principal basins and wharves for the Forth-Clyde and Monkland canals in the late 18th century. The opportunity for using the Campbells' Blythswood lands for building did not arise for a hundred years, so Colin Campbell can hardly be argued to have anticipated their development value. But they remained in the possession of the same family over that period, and what had merely been seen as good and well-situated land appreciated fifty-fold in value in the last quarter of the 18th century.⁹⁸

It may be coincidence that all these lands skirting the Reformation city fell into the hands of a small number of civic leaders who exchanged the principal offices amongst themselves throughout the 17th century.⁹⁹ It might also be argued that the land was, in some cases, acquired first by the rentallers, before they assumed civic office. Yet it seems beyond doubt that the Corporation of Glasgow, if it be regarded as the natural inheritor of the bishop's patrimony, was fleeced of its burgh lands. This, certainly, was the view of the Royal Commission of 1835, which asserted that if the town lands had not been sold off at an unduly low price the estate 'would have relieved the inhabitants of almost all the burghal taxes that now press on them.'¹ And earlier, in 1691, when further common lands were sold, the petition to the Convention of Royal Burghs had spoken of the debts of the previous magistrates and the 'mis-applying and dilapidation of the townes patrimony in . . . employing the common stock for their own sinister ends and uses'.² By the end of the 17th century such misapplication was virtually at an end; indeed the lands themselves were nearly exhausted.

The Beginnings of Modern Trade and Industry in Glasgow

Glasgow's trade privileges, like those of other west-coast Scottish burghs, date from the granting of her charter in the late 12th century. The earliest trade disputes of which details are recorded—conflicts between Glasgow, Rutherglen, and Dumbarton—go back to 1226 and 1242.³ The Royal Burgh of Dumbarton, in fact, made a formidable opponent to Glasgow until the late 17th century. The other free burghs, Renfrew and Rutherglen, six miles downstream and two miles upstream from Glasgow, made less effective rivals, although wrangles over territory and privileges continued through the 14th and 15th centuries.⁴ Yet it is hard to regard the early trade disputes with these small burghs as very significant. The maritime trade itself was very small, but the question at issue was, when a foreign ship arrived, to whom should it be allowed to sell? Once the ship was there, the burghs were prepared to take drastic measures to secure their monopoly rights of pre-emption, even if it meant that boat-loads of armed men had to be despatched to seize the vessel, like a war-time prize.⁵

Dumbarton, though small, presented a great potential threat. Its harbour could take the largest ships of the day, and there were signs that the burgh might itself begin to build large ships. Only the smallest craft could make their way further upstream to Glasgow; and so Glasgow merchants chartered vessels to start their voyages from Potter Rig or Inchgreen, on the opposite side of the Clyde from Dumbarton, and near the future site of Port Glasgow. Such voyages are noted as early as the 1560s.⁶ From this point the goods were transhipped by 'gabbarts' or lighters, or sometimes by mere rafts, and taken upstream to Glasgow. This short journey could take up to six weeks, and the alternative of carriage by pack-horse was expensive, though probably not unduly so for the relatively high-value goods involved.⁷

In spite of these difficulties, foreign trade attracted the energies of some Glasgow burgesses, the first of whom was a William Elphinstone in the 15th century. The cargo he reputedly used to drive his trade was cured salmon.⁸ Salmon, herrings, and agricultural products—wool, hide, skins—a certain amount of coal, these were the commonest exports; and brandy, salt, wines, were the imports most frequently mentioned.⁹ The trade in barrelled herrings was probably the most lucrative of these, and best suited to Glasgow's comparative advantages in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. From 1501 Glasgow was designated the place for the delivery of the royal tax, or assize, upon herrings 'barrelled and well salted', and the herring was commonly known in Scotland as a 'Glasgow capon'.¹⁰

Gradually the variety of cargoes and the number of ships increased; four ships in the 1620s, ten or a dozen in the 1650s and 1660s, thirty by the late 1680s, seventy by the 1730s.¹¹ Walter Gibson and John Anderson were the first to extend regular trading to the Baltic, for dyestuffs and iron, and to Biscay for sherry wines.¹² Other anonymous adventurers began trading with the West Indies and Virginia, and the older trade with the Western Isles and Highlands, and with Ireland, was also more fully exploited by the mid-17th century. Thomas Tucker gives the following picture of Glasgow's trade in 1656:

'The inhabitants all, but the students of the college which is here, are traders and dealers. Some for Ireland with small smithy coals in open boats from four to ten tons, from whence they bring hoops, rungs, barrel staves, meal, oats, and butter. Some for France with plaiding, coal, and herring (of which there is great fishing yearly in the western sea), for which they return saltpetre, rosin, and prunes. Some to Norway, for timber, and every one with their neighbours, the Highlanders . . . with plaiding, dry hides, goat, kid, and deer skins.'¹³

⁹⁸ *Glasgow Past and Present*, i. 319-20.

⁹⁹ Glasgow was by no means the only Scottish city to be treated in this manner. W. M. Mackenzie (*The Scottish Burghs*, 161-85) gives many other examples.

¹ Royal Comm. on Municipal Corporations in Scotland, H.C. 1835 (30), xxix, 26, 31.

² Report of Cttee H.C. 1793 cited by W. M. Mackenzie, *op.cit.* 170.

³ *Glasgow Charters*, i (2), 12; *Reg. Epis. Glas.* i. 114, 148-9.

⁴ J. D. Marwick, *The River Clyde and the Clyde Burghs*, 1-26.

⁵ *Glasgow History*, ii. 372.

⁶ D. Murray, *op.cit.* i. 421; J. D. Marwick, *The River Clyde*, 65, 105.

⁷ D. Murray, *op.cit.* i. 419.

⁸ *Glasgow History*, i. 248.

⁹ T. C. Smout, 'The Development and Enterprise of Glasgow, 1556-1707', *Scottish Journal of Political Economy*, vii. 200.

¹⁰ *Glasgow History*, i. 296-8; D. Murray, *op.cit.* i. 407.

¹¹ T. C. Smout, *loc.cit.* 205. The figure for 1735 is from J. Gibson, *op.cit.* 210-1, which also details the owners.

¹² J. Gibson, *op.cit.* 205. Walter Gibson used a 450-ton Dutch vessel.

¹³ J. D. Marwick, *Miscell. of Scot. Burgh Records Soc.*, 26.

The ships engaged in this trade remain relatively small until the 18th century. Tucker mentions three or four ton vessels going upstream to Glasgow. Shortly after his report a 260-yard quay was built at the Broomielaw, but it was still not envisaged in the 1690s that vessels larger than twelve tons would moor there.¹⁴ Six larger vessels, displacing 100-150 tons, were confined in their operations to the roadstead at Newark, downstream, and it was there in January 1668, that the Provost, John Anderson, negotiated for the purchase of land by the Corporation, and the building there, at the Corporation's expense, of the first quays and warehouses.¹⁵

At first this outpost was known simply as Newport, later as Port Glasgow, and, with subsequent additions, docks, breastworks, offices, and cellars, it remained the head port and principal customs station on the Clyde, with Glasgow and Greenock as its 'creeks' until the closing years of the Napoleonic Wars.¹⁶ Glasgow merchants were obliged to register their ships there if they were engaged in overseas and not local trade; and in 1705 all burgesses were reminded that their ships should also be rigged and fitted out at Glasgow's outpost.¹⁷ The total expense was not inconsiderable and the action represents an unprecedented civic initiative on the part of the magistrates, not easily to be paralleled elsewhere at this time.

The building of Port Glasgow removed one of the checks upon Glasgow's commercial activity of which Tucker had spoken, and the view of older historians that significant increases in urban growth and prosperity dated from the Union of Parliaments in 1707 has recently been challenged.¹⁸ If the proportionate contribution made by Glasgow to the Convention of Royal Burghs of Scotland be taken as a reliable indicator of the city's prosperity, the whole period from the Reformation to the Union was one of continuous, if irregular, progress, during which Glasgow's status as contributor rose from eleventh burgh to second, and her share of the total tax from 2 to 20 per cent.¹⁹

Of course Port Glasgow was really a substitute for the improvement of navigation to bring ocean-going ships upstream to the Broomielaw; and in the mid-18th century the cartage from Port Glasgow added 25s. per ton to cargoes brought for sale, warehousing, or processing in Glasgow.²⁰ However, the engineering techniques of dredging and scouring a channel were not developed until the mid-18th century. The Clyde burghs had jointly undertaken some deepening, and removal of sandbanks, further downstream as early as 1556; and in 1611 Provost James Inglis had consulted Henry Crawford for his opinion upon how the river might be improved.²¹ But even John Smeaton, who was consulted in 1755, failed to execute his modest scheme to bring 30- or 40-ton vessels to the Broomielaw; and Glasgow, at the time of Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, was still 'perfectly tantalized with its river'.²² It was only when the Corporation adopted, in 1770, John Golborne's ingenious scheme for 'assisting nature', by building jetties to constrict and direct the tidal flow, that transatlantic vessels were able to make the complete journey to Glasgow's quaysides.²³ Even then, horses were required to tow the vessels from Renfrew, because of the impossibility of handling a vessel under sail in such a narrow channel. The marine steam engine—at first in tugs, later in ocean going vessels—was the answer to Glasgow's difficulties; and it was only in the second quarter of the 19th century that Glasgow itself became a seaport of the first rank.²⁴

The effects of this commercial enterprise upon industrial activity in Glasgow were most marked. After the Reformation the old pattern of craft guilds survived, but was supplemented in 1582 by an incorporation of merchants—a measure viewed with justifiable suspicion by the craftsmen.²⁵ The remaining years of the 16th century were marked by 'terrible heats, strifes, and animosities' between the burgesses who were small tradesmen, 360 in number, and the burgesses of merchant-rank, numbering just over two hundred.²⁶ The two matters at issue were the composition of the burgh's government, and the dividing lines between wholesale and retail or between foreign and home traders; and both were settled effectively, and for two centuries, by the so-called Letter of Guildry (1605), under Sir George Elphinstone's arbitration.²⁷ Thereafter the Trades' and Merchants' Houses shared the government, and the competitive impulses of small and large tradesmen were not dissipated in internal struggles.

As time passed the importance of manufactures produced under the old guild system rapidly diminished. After the Restoration (1660), a series of industrial companies were formed to engage in industrial operations upon a larger scale—a soap-boiling factory at the head of Candleriggs, and three sugar-boiling factories, in Bell Street, Gallowgate, and Stockwell Street.²⁸ All these projects were connected with the processing of raw materials brought by maritime enterprise, were directly inspired by Dutch examples, and were organized upon the joint-stock principle. Later in the 17th century other joint-stock companies were formed to manufacture rope, glass, hardware, porcelain, earthenware, and woollen cloth—all intended to enable Glaswegian merchants to compete in the field of what Defoe called 'sortable' cargoes:²⁹ 'It is very probable indeed, that some things cannot be had here so well as from England, so as to make out such a sortable cargo as the Virginia Merchants in London ship off, whose entries at the Custom-House consist sometimes of two hundred particulars.'³⁰ In the early 18th century, however, the range of manufactured goods which could be offered increased considerably. John Gibson in his *History of Glasgow* (1777) traces, over ten pages, the items locally manufactured for sortable cargoes. 'The reader will at the same time take notice,' he observes, 'that

¹⁴ *Memorabilia of the City of Glasgow* (1868), 280.

¹⁵ J. R. Anderson, *The Provosts of Glasgow, 1609-1832* (ed. J. Gourlay), 24; *Memorabilia*, 207.

¹⁶ *Memorabilia*, 203-22; J. D. Marwick, *The River Clyde*, 117, 138, 178.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 155; D. Murray, *op.cit.* i. 428.

¹⁸ T. C. Smout, *loc.cit. passim*. There are reasons to suspect the impartiality of the gloomy Report by the Convention of Royal Burghs in 1691: W. M. Mackenzie, *op.cit.* 154-9.

¹⁹ T. C. Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of Union, 1660-1707*, pp. 282-3.

²⁰ D. Murray, *op.cit.* i. 418.

²¹ J. O. Mitchell, *Old Glasgow Essays*, 85; J. R. Anderson, *op.cit.* 3.

²² J. D. Marwick, *The River Clyde*, 177; Thomas Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland* (1772), 148.

²³ J. D. Marwick, *The River Clyde*, 201. The first 100-ton ship to arrive at the Broomielaw in 1807 brought out a crowd of thousands: *Glasgow Past and Present*, i. 252.

²⁴ W. Campbell, *Improvements on the River Clyde*.

²⁵ *Burgh Records*, i. 3 July 1582.

²⁶ John M'Ure, *A View of the City of Glasgow* (ed. D. MacVean), 133. The list of burgesses is printed in D. Murray, *op.cit.* i. 484.

²⁷ The Letter is printed in J. Gibson, *op.cit.* 338-61.

²⁸ J. Gordon, *op.cit.* ii. 827-8.

²⁹ W. R. Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish, and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720*, iii. 123-95.

³⁰ Quoted in J. Gordon, *op.cit.* i. 17.

by manufactures I mean that quantity of goods made and sold, over and above what is sufficient for the consumption of the inhabitants of the place in which they are manufactured.³¹ The list, mostly of items the manufacture of which had been very recently established at the time he wrote, begins with anchors, brushes, and candlesticks, runs through to woollens, and is fully supported by separate evidence of a similar nature from other historians and travellers.

The Causes of Glasgow's Growth, 1560-1800

The primary reason for Glasgow's prosperity from 1175 to 1560, it has been suggested, lay in the employment and stability which episcopal patronage afforded. However, there is, on the face of it, no compelling reason why the decay of the Church's possessions should not have been accompanied by a slackening in the pulse of economic life. Yet not merely did Glasgow continue to flourish, but her development entered a new phase of accelerated growth.

Some of the chief reasons for this growth are obvious and familiar. In spite of the disturbances caused by the Civil War, and by the religious discord which followed, the political background, even after 1603, and certainly after 1707, was more favourable to settled trade and industry than at any earlier time in the burgh's history. The pattern of Scottish migration and settlement, from Ulster to Virginia, also encouraged the growth of unusually strong links in trade and investment. The new orientation of international trade strongly favoured ports on the western seaboard. This presented opportunities not merely to Glasgow but also to Bristol, Liverpool, and many smaller west-coast harbours. Moreover, as Defoe had pointed out, 'Glasgow vessels are no sooner out of the Firth of Clyde, but they stretch away to the north-west, are out of the road of the privateers immediately, and are often at the capes of Virginia before the London ships get clear of the Channel'.³² This was no small advantage during the forty-three war-years of the 18th century; and even in peace time, according to the same source, fourteen or twenty days could be clipped each way off the London sailing times.

Unless one subscribes to a very simple view of geographical and historical determinism, however, all these factors remain simply potential opportunities and advantages. As we have seen, the Clyde river itself did not present the citizens of Glasgow easily or automatically with a chance to share the general expansion of maritime traffic. Larger questions still remain, concerning the quality and timing of the local response to these commercial opportunities. Why were they exploited so promptly and energetically by the Corporation and by individuals, and what were the sources of local initiative, capital, and enterprise?

The chronicle of Glasgow's commercial growth after 1707 is too familiar to need repetition, and forms the staple of M'Ure, and many later historians.³³ It is clear, without running once again through the catalogue of merchants and early manufacturers, that, from wherever their families originated, they came to join a close-knit community, connected by marriage, by civic office, by business interests, by property settlements and land purchase. Even at the very end of the 18th century they still constituted a relatively small élite, of less than a hundred families; a mere handful amongst the thousands then finding employment and seeking housing in Glasgow.

It is worth considering the possibility that the links of self-interest which bound this group together were formed much earlier, during the transitional period after the Reformation. Until research has probed more deeply into the emergence of the civic and mercantile élite between 1560 and 1707, no final statement is possible, but one feature which appears to stand out clearly, is the rapidity with which the families of 'rentallers' turned to trade. In 1590 Commendator Walter Stewart was ordered to feu the lands belonging to the Church, 'to the effect that the tenants, being thereby become heritable possessors of their several possessions, might be encouraged by virtue and policy to improve that country'.³⁴ And in the next two or three generations, these 'bonnet lairds', provided an unusual number of recruits to the mercantile and civic families of Glasgow. George Elphinstone, Walter Gibson, John Anderson—whose names have been mentioned above—were all, not only pioneer merchants, and Provosts, but also rentallers by origin.³⁵ So also were other well-known local families such as the Bells, Bogles, Hills, Hutchesons, Lyons, and Tennants. Others, as has been suggested earlier, enriched themselves by holding civic office during the alienation of the burgh's common good, rather than by acquiring individual title to Church lands.

The landed wealth which accrued during these generations formed the possible basis for further enterprise. A rentaller might become maltster, 'to increase his stock', like Walter Gibson, or Andrew Buchanan, as a first step towards wholesale trading and civic office.³⁶ His land itself, and the secure income attached to it, formed an acceptable basis for credit, and an excellent counterbalance to more speculative investment. The younger sons in such families, with capital of a few hundred pounds, formed less conspicuous but equally hard-working recruits to the field of urban commerce. 'The smaller Scotch landowner has never been an entailor, but he has been a pretty strict primogeniturst', wrote J. O. Mitchell, '. . . his younger sons have mostly had to shift for themselves. In this district, they have naturally come here to push their way.'³⁷

Whatever reasons, and by whatever process they emerged in the century after the Reformation, there can be no doubt that merchants, burgesses, and landowners were unusually closely associated in Glasgow. The same names, Bell, Maxwell, Anderson, Campbell appear upon the land titles surrounding the old town, in the joint-stock partnership to set up the Glasgow Soaperie, and in the minutes of the Town Council recording the decision to build Port Glasgow.³⁸ The inheritors of civic power and episcopal land were also the founders of a new mercantile tradition.

³¹ J. Gibson, *op.cit.* 238-48.

³² J. Gordon, *op.cit.* i. 17.

³³ e.g. Gibson, Brown, Denholm, Cleland.

³⁴ J. O. Mitchell, *op. cit.* 371.

³⁵ *Regality Club*, ii. 110-8; iv. 186-212.

³⁶ G. Stewart, *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship*, 4. George Elphinstone also made a similar transition, through milling; *Glasgow Past and Present*, iii. 80.

³⁷ J. O. Mitchell, *op.cit.* 371-2.

³⁸ J. Gordon, *op.cit.* ii. 873. According to Andrew Brown (*History of Glasgow*, ii. 33) the decision to open Port Glasgow was connected with the magistrates' interest in the Soaperie. George Elphinstone and Colin Campbell (Provosts) also had shares in the same vessel: D. Murray, *op.cit.* i. 423.

Topographical Extension of Glasgow, 1560-1800

During the century after the Reformation, although the centre of business shifted down the High Street, from the upper town to the area round the Market Cross, the built-up area of Glasgow remained confined within the medieval topographical limits; essentially the eight streets, Drygate and Rottenrow, Trongate and Gallowgate, with High Street, Saltmarket, Bridgegate and Stockwell running north and south to join the first four mentioned with each other and with the old river bridge. What is, perhaps, more surprising is that only two further additions were made to this medieval plan, even between 1660 and 1750—the period in which Glasgow's fortunes as a trading city were firmly established. It was only in the mid-18th century that the city burst its medieval bounds, and that the building of what might be called the first and second 'new towns' commenced.

Earlier, a pair of streets running parallel to and west of the High Street was added by traverses of Langcroft and Mutland croft. The northernmost of the two streets, Candleriggs, was formed in 1662 upon land belonging to the Town Council and laid out in corn rigs.³⁹ Its evolution was unplanned, but provides an early example of land use zoning. In 1649, and again in 1654, the magistrates, alarmed by 'the late miserable accident of fire that fell in Edinburgh, through occasion of a candle house', and the complaints of danger received from local inhabitants, had forbidden the practice of this trade within a hundred yards of any dwelling houses.⁴⁰ They followed these orders by granting permission for the candle makers to build on the town's rig in Langcroft.⁴¹ Other trading sites of a similar nature, a soap works and two sugar houses, were built in the same location in the next twenty years, and Candleriggs and a smaller alley known as Bell's Wynd, linked these industrial premises with Trongate and the High Street.

King Street was the logical extension of Candleriggs southwards from Trongate to Bridgegate, across garden grounds belonging to the Council, but it was not set in hand until the 1720s. In that year the Burgh Records mention the first negotiations with the proprietors of the few houses which blocked the route, and a new street, containing the covered meat, fish, mutton and cheese markets, was cut southwards.⁴²

At this time, in the early 1720s, the Corporation of Glasgow still seemed likely to play an important part in the planning and building of any extensions to the city. Although the outer lands of Blythswood and Cowcaddens had fallen into the private hands of the Campbell and Bell families, the Corporation still owned Provanside, and controlled, together with Hutchesons' Hospital, the lands of Ramshorn and Meadowflats. As may be seen from the map, these lands stood directly in the path of any westerly extension of the city. The magistrates also bought, and held for a short time, the Barrowfield lands, to the east. Unfortunately, however, the sacking of Daniel Campbell's mansion during the malt tax riots of 1725 led to a successful action against the Corporation for compensation, equal to approximately five years' revenues, and compelled the sale of both Barrowfield and Provanside.⁴³

Daniel Campbell's mansion of Shawfield, built in 1712, had been one of the most westerly houses in Glasgow, just outside the West Port on Trongate.⁴⁴ It was probably the most splendid mansion in the central area until William Cunninghame built, at a reputed cost of £10,000, the house now incorporated into the Royal Exchange; and like some of the other mansions already mentioned, it provided, within the space of the rigs which made up its gardens, sufficient room for the cutting of a new thoroughfare with generous frontages.⁴⁵ Some dozen similar town houses were built between 1710 and 1780 in the west central part of the town, along new roads branching off Trongate, in a style which formed a marked contrast to the crow-stepped gables and dormer windows of the 16th-century manses of the upper town. Contemporary illustrations show imposing stone buildings of neo-classical design, with balustraded roofs, entablatures and urns.⁴⁶

Trongate itself underwent a rapid transformation in the mid-18th century—a development, which more than any other single topographical change, provides the key to the city's growth in the late Georgian, and even the Victorian periods. The old West Port was demolished, by order of the magistrates in 1751, and the main obstacle to westerly expansion removed. The road beyond the West Port, which had only been 'rudely causewayed' as far as the Glasgow burn, was improved and renamed Argyll (later Argyle) Street, in honour of the Dukes of Argyll; a choice of street name which was deliberately selected—in contrast to the older, traditional street names, evolved by common usage—and which proclaimed the social pretensions of the new thoroughfare. Eight further streets were opened, in the next decades, branching off from Trongate/Argyle Street; six to the north and two to the south.

The first of these, Virginia Street, was opened in 1753 through two acres of cabbage plots in Langcroft, northwards from the point at which the West Port had stood.⁴⁷ The speculator was Andrew Buchanan, Provost, and the name alluded to the Virginia Trade, Glasgow's greatest source of wealth in the mid-18th century. Miller Street, adjoining and parallel to Virginia Street, was opened in 1762 by John Miller, a maltster and bailie, upon another two-acre strip in Langcroft; although the cutting of the street involved the demolition of half of his newly built mansion. Queen Street was formed in 1766, again on rigs belonging to a maltster, John Neilson, and fronting the Common or Cow Lane. Buchanan Street, projected by Andrew Buchanan, merchant, in 1775, was opened in 1778 by the administrators of his bankrupt estate.⁴⁸ The remaining two streets in Langcroft—Glassford and Hutcheson Streets—were opened in 1796 and 1791 through the gardens and back lands of the Shawfield Mansion and of Hutchesons' Hospital respectively; in each case the complete demolition of the buildings fronting Trongate being

³⁹ *Glasgow, Past and Present*, iii. 447.

⁴⁰ *Glasgow Memorials*, 84.

⁴¹ D. Murray, *op.cit.* i. 256-7.

⁴² *Glasgow History*, iii. 144; *Burgh Records*, 19 Apr. 1720.

⁴³ *Glasgow History*, 137-41; J. O. Mitchell, *op.cit.* 19-20.

⁴⁴ *Glasgow, Past and Present*, ii. 385.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 281-4.

⁴⁶ C. Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1717), ii. pl. 51; *Glasgow History*, iii. 238.

⁴⁷ The information in this paragraph may be found in several more recent monographs, but the original information is largely to be found in the topographical sections of *Glasgow, Past and Present*, ii. 387-9, 448-52, 405-19, 419-31.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 443-452; G. Stewart, *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship*, 1-21.

required. South of Trongate two more streets, commercial rather than residential in character, were cut through St. Enoch's croft by the merchants Colin Dunlop and Stephen Maxwell in the early 1770s, and named after themselves, in the manner which became increasingly common, not merely for streets, but even for districts, as the territorial expansion proceeded.⁴⁹

This series of new streets, branching off to the north and south of Trongate, might well have been sufficient in itself to transform Trongate and its Argyle Street extension from a traditionally important thoroughfare into a major new artery. However, the pull towards western locations was still further reinforced by the opening of a new route, leading down from Argyle Street to the riverside (Jamaica Street in 1761), and the construction of a second, more westerly bridge across the river later in the same decade.⁵⁰

All these developments took place over what had been the old burghal tillage land, and they set in motion a westward march of building which was accelerated in the first half of the 19th century and quite transformed the old balance of land uses. Until the mid-18th century the main contrast had been that between ecclesiastical ownership and uses in the upper part of the town, and the commercial activity around the Market Cross. Now the whole centre of balance began to remove westwards as new streets were opened and new land uses were established. At first the new West End was typified by mixed or sequential occupation. Several of the new streets included restrictive clauses in their feus to ensure that they would retain a character suitable for gentlemen's residences; but amongst the earliest purchasers were the Ship, the Arms, and the Thistle banks and several fine new hotels. Soon the residents moved still further west, and their houses proved readily convertible to use as lawyers' chambers, solicitors' and commercial agents' offices and counting houses.⁵¹

No such harmony of land uses characterized the older parts of the town, or the developments to the east and south of the High Street. Here the picture was one of increasingly fragmented ownership, dense fourth-class residential development, and intrusive industrial uses. Attempts were made to establish property of high prestige and value, by the cutting of Charlotte Street (1779) from Gallowgate down to the open common or Green, and the laying out of a fine street, Monteith Row, on a slice severed from the Green, and facing open land.⁵² For a time, indeed, both Charlotte Street and Monteith Row succeeded in attracting wealthy residents; David Dale bought a house in Charlotte Street, and early Directories list other residents of considerable local standing in Monteith Row.⁵³ In the same area, St. Andrew's Square, completed about 1787, was also, for a short time, noted for its commodious, ornamental and genteel residences, liveried lackies and gay equipages, but within a generation had become the location for tobacconists, leather-merchants, pawnbrokers, tailors, basket-makers, straw-hat makers, press-mangle keepers and teachers.⁵⁴ So convincing was the failure to establish successful residential zoning in these areas, in fact, that two further east-side squares which had been intended, were forthwith abandoned. St. James's Square was sufficiently far advanced to be represented upon contemporary plans; and Graham Square, on the Gallowmuir, also fell through at the project stage.⁵⁵

Similar difficulties overtook the new building south of the river, in the area between the two bridges. There the Hutcheson lands, to the west of the small village of Bridgend or Gorbals, fell into the lands of the brothers David and James Laurie.⁵⁶ Once again ambitious residential development, intended to satisfy a growing demand from the mercantile and professional classes, was marred by the intrusion of industrial users, and the houses were subdivided, not into professional and commercial premises, but into warrens of one and two-roomed homes for casual labourers.⁵⁷ The neighbouring areas of Tradeston, to the west of Laurieston, and of Hutchesontown to the east, underwent a similarly rapid metamorphosis, but started with more modest pretensions.

All this rapid development, it must be noted, did not take place until the closing decades of the 18th century. The first houses in Tradeston and Hutchesontown were sold in 1791 and 1794; the first in Laurieston not until 1802.⁵⁸ Even Virginia and Miller Streets were only half finished in 1778; and James Barry's map published in that year shows only a few houses completed in the more westerly part of the first new town.

The planning and construction of a second new town, contiguous to the first, but to the north and west of it, was the work of the closing years of the century and the first three decades of the 19th century, and called for very much larger resources than those previously employed. In 1786 a company was formed by Dugald Bannatyne 'for the purpose of erecting a class of houses designed to meet more fully the growing wants of prosperous city merchants'.⁵⁹ The ex-Hutcheson lands of Meadowflats and Ramshorn were laid out in a pattern of squares and broad streets by the eminent architect James Craig, already well-known for his superbly landscaped designs for the Prince's Street area of Edinburgh's new town (1767).⁶⁰

As may be seen from the main plan, the realization of these designs in bricks and mortar, though still sketchy, had proceeded rapidly by the end of the century, and the project had proved an immediate and brilliant success, setting up a favourable gradient of land values, and a locational prestige which was sufficiently powerful in later years to draw the Municipal Chambers and General Post Office to its centre.⁶¹

⁴⁹ *Glasgow, Past and Present*, ii. 434-45.

⁵⁰ J. Cleland, *The Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow*, 115.

⁵¹ *Glasgow, Past and Present*, ii. 452, 390-1, 411, 397.

⁵² *Ibid.* iii. 58. Since the slice was removed from the Green, the street's name does not appear on the main map.

⁵³ J. Tait, *Directory of . . . Glasgow (1783)*; N. Jones, *Directory of . . . Glasgow (1787)*; G.P.O. *Directory of . . . Glasgow*, 1831-2.

⁵⁴ *Glasgow, Past and Present*, i. 129.

⁵⁵ *Plan of the City of Glasgow* in J. Gibson, *The History of Glasgow (1777)*; J. McArthur, *Plan of the City of Glasgow (1778)*.

⁵⁶ *Laurieston Feuing Book*, Mitchell Library 548595.

⁵⁷ J. R. Kellett, *loc.cit.* 225-31.

⁵⁸ *Minute Book*, Incorporation of Masons, fols. 102-4, Nov. 1790; G. Crawford, *A Sketch of the Trades' House*, 187-97; *The Constitution Rules and History of Hutchesons' Hospital*, 91 sqq.

⁵⁹ G. Stewart, *op.cit.* 133.

⁶⁰ R. Renwick, *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow*, viii. 444, 475; A. J. Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh*, 70-111.

⁶¹ J. Pagan, *Sketches of the History of Glasgow*, 104-5; J. Cleland, *Annals of Glasgow*, i. 342-3; A. MacGeorge, *Old Glasgow*, 286-8.

The main plan also underlines the way in which all vacant spaces in the first new town (i.e. in the rectangle formed by Buchanan, Ingram, High Street, and Trongate) had by now been built over, densely and completely. The individual speculations which had laid the ground plan for this area, although undertaken piecemeal, had shown certain common features. They had all been set in hand either by maltsters and 'bonnet lairds', closely connected with civic office, or by the newly rich traders, bankers and professional families with whom they were closely linked by ties of marriage, property and business interest. The amounts involved, however, had been relatively small, and the scale of operations that of the individual family. The scale of operations in the second new town, rapidly taking shape at the end of the 18th century, was very much larger, involving the expenditure by the ground landlords of at least £330,000 to set the enterprise afloat.⁶²

Yet still the links with the old established civic élite persisted. Dugald Bannatyne, the leading spirit of the 'Glasgow Building Company', was also a director and founder member of the Chamber of Commerce, and held civic office; his partners Robert Smith and John Thomson were from families engaged in banking and also holding civic office; new members absorbed into the co-partnership included James Cleland, Superintendent of Public Works. By the end of the Napoleonic Wars twenty-four new streets had been built across the lands of Archibald Campbell of Blythswood, the descendant of Provost Colin Campbell; the opening of each street being faithfully chronicled by Cleland in his alternative capacity as local historian.⁶³ Unexampled opportunities, in fact, were thrown open, in the late 18th century city to existing proprietors, and the plans which they sponsored largely shaped the evolving character and land uses of Victorian Glasgow's central districts. Behind the Town Plan may be discerned the features of a closely knit society, in which building and owning local property still formed the natural complement to civic office and mercantile enterprise.⁶⁴

⁶² J. Cleland, *Rise and Progress of . . . Glasgow* (1820), 108; idem., *An Account of the Former and Present State of Glasgow* (1837), 6.

⁶³ Idem., *Annals of Glasgow* (1816), i. 342-3.

⁶⁴ J. R. Kellett, 'The Private Investments of Glasgow's Provosts', *The Accountant's Magazine*, Nov. 1968, pp. 598-603.

In compiling the maps and plans reference has been made to documentary sources, to archaeological and other printed articles, to 18th and 19th-century prints, and to the following map sources:—Map of Glasgow, c. 1641, from *Glasgow Facies*, J. F. S. Gordon; Plan of part of the City of Glasgow, c. 1752, W. Fleming, Saw Mill Case; Plan of the Barony and Regality of Glasgow, 1773; Plan of the City of Glasgow by James Barry, 1782; *New and Correct English Atlas*, by John Cary, 1793; Plan of the Barony of Gorbals, 1795; Plan of Glasgow, 1/2,400 scale, by Peter Fleming, 1807; A Clue Map of Old Glasgow prepared by James Barr, published 1925; Ordnance Survey Roman Britain series, scale 16 miles to 1 inch. Ordnance Survey ¼ inch to 1 mile series.

The compilation of the 1:2,500 scale plan was prepared by W. Forsyth, M.A., and other maps and plans by W. H. Johns, O.B.E., A.R.I.C.S.